



ENCOMPASSING THE GLOBE

Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries · Essays

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Portugal and the World in the 16th & 17th Centuries
Essays

The Portuguese voyages brought about a dramatic revolution: they were the first real interaction among the cultures of the world in modern times, and the ensuing cultural, social, and economic interchanges led to the creation of strikingly beautiful and highly original works of art. The exhibition *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th & 17th Centuries* examined those voyages of exploration to Africa, Asia, and South America and the unique empire that resulted—one based on trade rather than on territory.

In keeping with the vast territory covered by the exhibition, the catalogue has been published in three volumes. This third and final volume features scholarly essays, written by experts in the field, that place the Portuguese voyages in context, while the other books feature full-color reproductions and detailed descriptions of the 250-plus exhibition objects. Like the exhibition itself, the three volumes offer an unforgettable image of a new world in formation.

Published by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery on the occasion of the exhibition *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th & 17th Centuries*, organized by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in partnership with the National Museum of African Art.



ENCOMPASSING

EDITED BY JAY A. LEVENSON

PUBLISHED BY THE ARTHUR M. SACKLER GALLERY, SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

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On the cover:
Detail, Tortoiseshell
dish, India, 16th century.
Kunsthistorisches
Museum, Vienna.

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Proofreader: Catharine McNally
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A Note to the Reader

Occupying the western edge of the Iberian Peninsula, Portugal was the best situated of all the European countries to send its ships south and west into the Atlantic and, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, led the way in connecting Europe to the rest of the world. The forts and commercial settlements the Portuguese built on the coasts of the Atlantic, Indian, and Pacific oceans were linked by cargo-carrying ships that transported soldiers, merchants, and missionaries along routes that began in Lisbon and led east to Nagasaki and west to Rio de Janeiro. Joining Europe to the other continents by means of its fleets, Portugal created a framework for global interaction that endured for centuries.

Organized by the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery in partnership with the National Museum of African Art, the exhibition *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th & 17th*

Centuries examined Portugal's voyages of exploration to Africa, Asia, and South America and the unique empire that it established—one based on trade rather than on territory. In keeping with the vast territory covered by the show, the exhibition catalogue has been published in three volumes. The first features more than 250 full-color reproductions of paintings, sculptures, manuscripts, maps, early books, and many other extraordinary creations from museums and private holdings around the world. The second volume offers detailed descriptions of those objects, written by experts in the field. With scholarly essays focusing on art historical, historical, and scientific themes that influenced the Portuguese explorations, the third and final volume provides a context for the artworks and the exhibition itself. Like the exhibition, these volumes look at a new world in formation.

THE ATLANTIC



VENICE, FLORENCE, AND LISBON

Commercial Routes and Networks of Knowledge, 1300–1550

ANGELO CATTANEO

COSMOGRAPHY

Between the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern age, the depiction of the *imago mundi*—the universal description of lands, seas, animals, plants and, above all, people, their history, customs, costumes, and trade—was based on a vast body of knowledge derived from ancient and diverse sources. According to a tradition that dates from classical antiquity to the start of the modern age, cosmography—in the form of treatises of geography, universal chronology, encyclopedias, and *mappae mundi*—included elements of Christian cosmology (Earth within the context of the creation story); astronomy and Ptolemaic astrology (Earth in relation to the planets and stars); Aristotelian natural philosophy (Earth in relation to other elements of the sublunar world: water, air, and fire); and information concerning universal geography, peoples, and trade.¹ Such an eclectic body of knowledge resulted from a composite set of written material, including maps, travel accounts, merchants' letters and handbooks, diplomatic correspondence, geographical and astrological treatises, medical handbooks, botanical *herbaria*, and chronicles, as well as evidence derived from material culture. Other sources included Latin *auctores veteres* (geographers such as Pliny, Pomponius Mela, Solinus, Orosius, and the poets Virgil, Ovid, Seneca, and Lucan, whose poems are an endless source of geographic knowledge)² and Greek *auctores veteres* (such as Ptolemy and Strabo, whose works became known in the fifteenth century); the travel narratives of *auctores novi*, including the missionaries who traveled to Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (e.g., Franciscans William of Rubruck, Odoric of Pordenone, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine), merchant-travelers such as Marco Polo and Niccolò de' Conti; pilgrims to the Holy Land and "modern" compilers of geographic treatises such as Ristoro d'Arezzo (thirteenth century) and Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420).³ There were "those who saw things with their own eyes"—the often anonymous travelers, monks, merchants, diplomats, navigators. There were cartographers such as the Cresques from Majorca (late fourteenth century); Fra Mauro of Venice (early fifteenth century); and Martin Behaim, a merchant from Nuremberg who was active in Lisbon during the late fifteenth century. These diverse individuals collected the evidence, i.e., the descriptions, of the vast regions of northern Europe, Africa, and Asia, and starting in the late fifteenth century, the New World. For example, *Navigazioni e viaggi* (Navigation and Voyages), 1550–59 by Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557), a humanist and secretary of the Council of Ten (the government of the

Republic of Venice), offered the most systematic summary about the long process of European expansion published up to that time; it was based on information acquired from Portuguese navigators passing through Venice.⁴

Marica Milanesi has stressed the continuity, or *longue durée*, of the epistemological status of cosmography. Between the late Middle Ages and the beginning of the modern period, there was no direct flow from "ancient" to "modern"; thus neither progress nor decline in the history of cosmography and ancient cartography can be found.⁵ Alleged epistemological ruptures, such as "from the flat Earth to the round Earth"—often mentioned in the ongoing celebrations of the multiple "discoveries" of America and Brazil and the various and numerous "first voyages" of one or another navigator to explain European expansion—not only cannot be documented but above all are banal and misleading oversimplifications about the past.⁶

Paolino da Venezia (circa 1270–1344), a Franciscan priest active first in Venice and then with the papacy in Avignon, became the bishop of Pozzuoli in 1324 and also authored three celebrated universal chronologies: *Epitoma*, *Chronologia Magna*, also known as the *Compendium*, and *Satyrica Historia*. In his geographical treatise of the inhabited world titled *De Mapa Mundi*, Fra Paolino clearly defines the function and status of universal cartography in relation to cosmography.⁷ He describes cartography as the heir to a tradition with roots in classical culture that asserts the need to know about the geography of people in order to understand their history. Regarding written cosmography, the "map"—which he understood as a depiction of the inhabited world through the symbiosis of "writing" and "pictures"—assumes a pedagogical and exemplifying function.⁸ Fra Paolino writes:

*For [the construction of] a map both the picture and the text are necessary. In fact, I would agree that one without the other is insufficient, as the image without the text shows kingdoms and provinces in a confusing way. The text without the aid of the image does not sufficiently clearly indicate the boundaries of the provinces that extend under the different parts of the heavens in order to be able to see them in a single view.*⁹

This idea remained current well beyond the late Middle Ages and influenced the cosmography of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Nautical cartography of Mediterranean origin and Ptolemaic cartography were revised and expanded in the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively, in light of the "literary discoveries" of works by Pomponius Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo, among others, as well as knowledge that had

Fig. 1
Terrestrial globe (one of the 'Brixen Globes'),
Attributed to Johannes
Schöner, Germany,
ca. 1522. Yale Center for
British Art, New Haven.

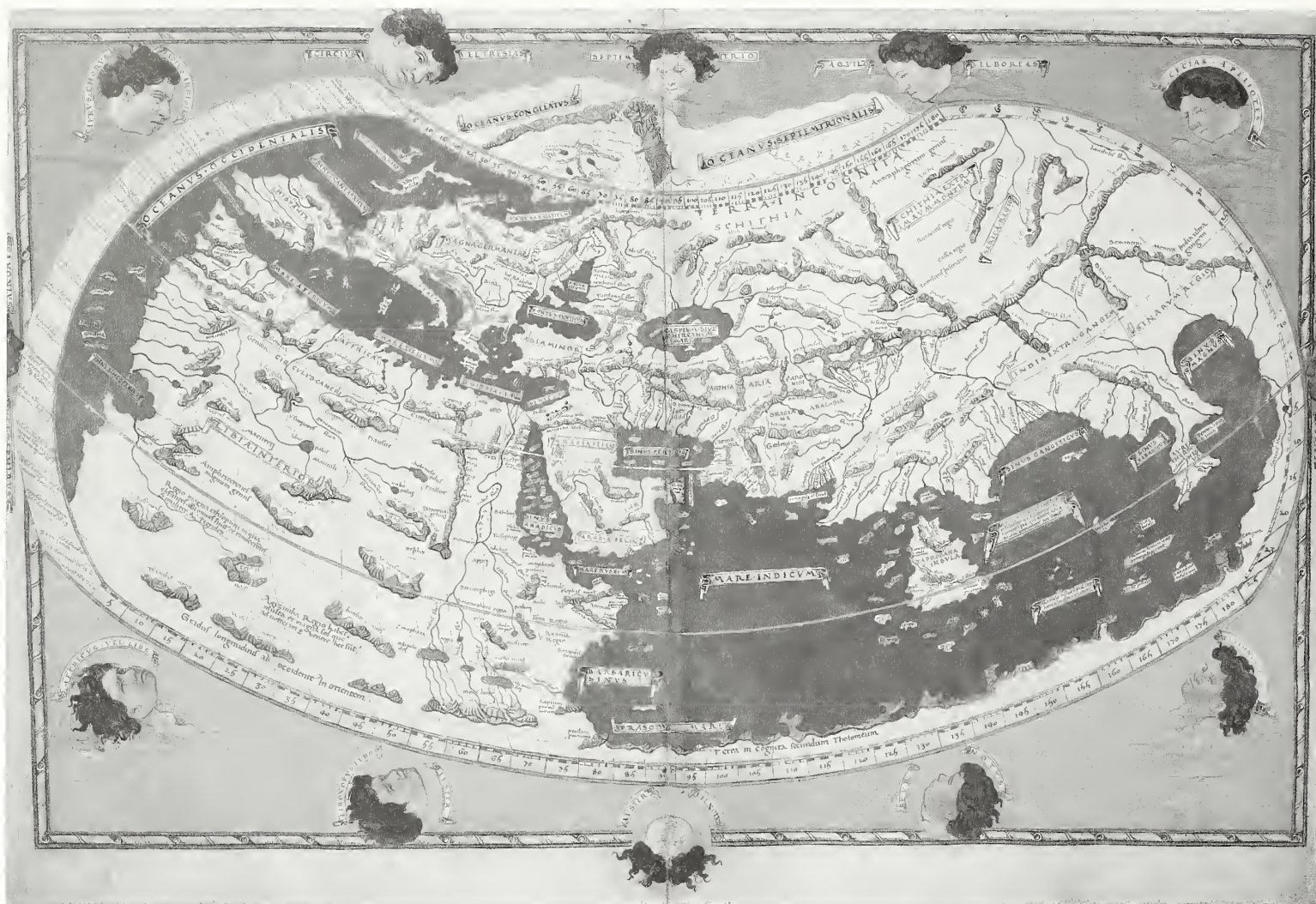


Fig. 2
World map, after
Claudius Ptolemy's
'Geographia,' Henricus
Martellus Germanus,
Florence, early 1490s.
Biblioteca Nazionale
Centrale, Florence.

emerged from travels beyond the inhabited world of antiquity. Ancient treatises of Roman geography, such as the *De chorographia* by Pomponius Mela (first century C.E., recovered by Petrarch and Boccaccio circa 1330–35) and narratives of pilgrimages to the Holy Land and voyages of Franciscan missionaries and traveling merchants led to the first redefinition of the *imago mundi* by cartographers such as Fra Mauro (Venice, early fifteenth century), Henricus Martellus Germanus (Florence, late fifteenth century) (figs. 2, 3), Bernardo Silvano of Eboli (Padua and Venice, early sixteenth century), Martin Waldseemüller (Saint-Dié des Vosges, circa 1475–1522), Sebastian Münster (Basel, 1488–1552), Jacopo Gastaldi (Venice, early sixteenth century—after 1565), Gerard Mercator (Louvain and Duisburg, 1512–1594), and Abraham Ortelius (Antwerp, 1527–1598).

During the Age of Discovery, Portuguese and Spanish cartographers—such as Pedro and Jorge Reinel, Lopo and Diogo Homem, and Diogo Ribeiro—were the only ones with direct access to the maps drawn by navigators during their expeditions and to their official synthesis, known as the *padron real*. It is important to emphasize that they included written texts in the design of their universal maps; for parts of the globe they did not know directly, they relied on maps they knew to be speculative. Examples include the depictions of eastern Asia or the interior of the New World in the *Cantino Planisphere* (fig. 4) and the *Miller Atlas* (see p. 44).¹⁰

LITERARY DISCOVERIES AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES

In 1341, King Afonso IV (1291–1357) of Portugal promoted an expedition to the Canary Islands that had military and commercial objectives; it was led by the Genoese Nicoloso da Recco. Over the next two centuries, until the 1550 publication of Ramusio's *Navigazioni e Viaggi*, the form, size, and perception of the inhabited world as it was understood at that time underwent a slow but profound change.¹¹ It is possible to identify two meticulous and closely related processes that altered the ancient and medieval concepts of the *imago mundi*.

The first changes arose in the thirteenth century as a result of the above-mentioned literary discoveries. These included long-forgotten classical texts that had been translated into Latin from Arabic and, to a lesser extent, from the Greek Aristotelian corpus.¹² An essential moment of this process had roots in the culture of humanism that influenced Florence, Venice, and the papal curia in the fifteenth century: the translation into Latin of the *Geographiké Uphégesis* (Guide to Cartography) written by the scientist Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria (second century C.E.). It was translated under the title *Cosmography* and then as *Geography* around 1406–9.¹³ Likewise, the *Geography* of Strabo (first century B.C.E.) was translated into Latin between 1453 and 1458.¹⁴

An anonymous *mappa mundi* drawn on parchment in 1457 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence), one of the most

important small-scale cartographic depictions from the period, represents a compendium of the geographical innovations and discoveries discussed in humanistic circles. Its elliptical format, measuring 39.5 × 79.5 cm, is decorated with many scrolls, with inscriptions and a rich iconographic apparatus. At the extreme west of the map, in gold on a red scroll, is an inscription that is much deteriorated and in parts almost illegible: *Hec est vera cosmographorum cum marino accorde des(cri)cio quorundam frivolis naracionibus rejectis 1457* (This is the true description of the cosmographers according to nautical maps with additions from frivolous and fantastic tales). One can read in the word “marino” a reference to nautical cartography, and in the “cosmographorum” a reference to Ptolemy, Solin, and Pomponius Mela—cosmographers *par excellence* during first half of the fifteenth century. This advanced *mappa mundi* nicely delineates the *imago mundi* just prior to the Portuguese expeditions. One can make out Africa and its contours; though incomplete on the southern end, the map suggests the possibility of circumnavigating it. An important feature of this map is the solid job done on Asia and its islands, based on the account of the Venetian merchant and explorer Nicolò de’ Conti, as recorded by papal secretary Poggio Bracciolini, which is placed on a Ptolemaic coastal profile.¹⁵

The second process, that of the so-called “geographical discoveries,” was the result of the voyages of trade and conquest beyond the inhabited world of antiquity. Explorers traveled first along the African coast and then in the direction of the “spice islands” in the Indian Ocean and the “New World.” Included among these are the voyages to the Canary Islands (1341), the Azores (before 1424), and the Cape Verde

Islands (1454), as well as those of Gil Eanes (who sailed beyond Cape Bojador in 1434), Diogo Cão and Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama, Pedro Álvares Cabral, Gaspar Corte Real, and Amerigo Vespucci (for the Portuguese crown); Christopher Columbus and Vespucci (for the Spanish crown); John and Sebastian Cabot (for the English crown); and Giovanni da Verrazzano and Jacques Cartier (for the French crown).¹⁶

Between the coasts of Iberia and Asia—i.e., the Cathay (China) and Cipango (Japan) of Marco Polo and the Cartigara (China) of Ptolemy—islands and vast continental spaces were rapidly given form. Year after year they expanded, changing the form of the inhabited world of antiquity described in Ptolemy’s *Geography*. The *imago mundi* was extended and details were filled in, with actual measurements, rivers, mountains, and people that geographers of antiquity had described in addition to the newly discovered spaces added by their modern counterparts.

An unpublished geography emerging from the voyages of exploration was placed alongside the *imago mundi* inherited from antiquity. Cartographers became interpreters of diverse texts and languages, providing graphical and geographical form to information, which only in the best of cases included data pertaining to distances, usually described in days of travel or miles. This explains why the cartographers who worked to synthesize new geographical knowledge were usually scholars and often humanists: universal cartography was the result of a complex exercise of analysis, mostly textual, obtained from synthesizing very heterogeneous and often non-geographic fields of research.

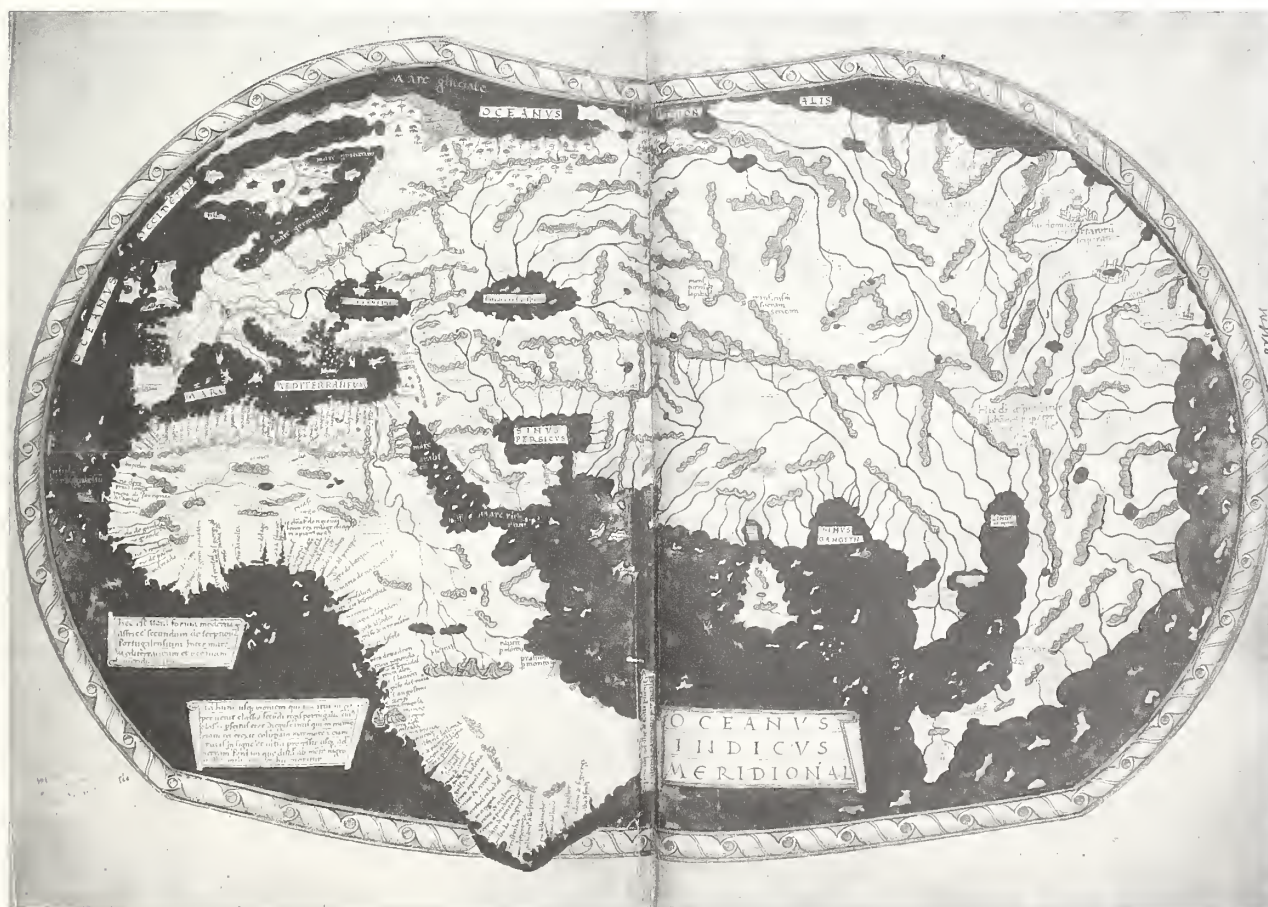


Fig. 3
World map,
in ‘*Insularium illus-
tratum . . .*,’ Henricus
Martellus Germanus,
Florence, 1490–96.
British Library, London.

Over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the slow cultural process of redefining, correcting, and expanding the *imago mundi* took place in Portugal, Spain, the itinerant Holy See, and several Italian cities, particularly Venice and Florence. In the late fifteenth century, several German and French cities began to take part; they included Nuremberg, where Martin Behaim created his famous *Erdapfel* (Earthapple), the oldest surviving globe, and Johannes Schöner made his globes (figs. 1, 6), and Saint-Dié des Vosges, where humanists and cosmographers Martin Waldseemüller and Matthias Ringman were based.¹⁷

This movement went beyond the boundaries of Christianity by encompassing the entire Mediterranean basin, including the Ottoman empire. The most obvious documentary proof is a map depicting Brazil, the Caribbean, Africa, and the western Mediterranean, the only surviving fragment of a universal map drawn by the Turkish admiral Piri Re'is (1470–1554), dated “Islamic year 919” (1513).¹⁸ It is preserved in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul and, according to the author's statement, was created from “the twenty oldest maps and from eight *mappae mundi*,” including Portuguese and Spanish maps and reports of voyages to the New World.¹⁹ It features numerous references to Portuguese voyages (e.g., “They [the Portuguese] traded with these people by signs. That barge [flat-bottomed boat] saw these lands and wrote about them which, the said barge without going to Hind, returned to Portugal, where, upon arrival it gave information. They described these shores in detail. They have discovered them”).²⁰ With extraordinary depictions of the African coasts and Brazil (including the Amazon River), the map reveals profound and “first-hand” knowledge of cosmographical information originating from the Portuguese voyages.

This essay examines the movement of cosmographical information between Portugal and the principal Italian cultural centers, primarily Venice and Florence. This exchange can be explained in connection to two primary spheres: commercial relations between Italian and Portuguese cities,²¹ and policies carried out by the Portuguese crown in relation to the Holy See, the Venetian Republic, and the Florentine signoria (Florence's highest executive council) in order to provide a political and diplomatic dimension to expansion, first toward Africa and the southwest Atlantic, and then in Asia and the New World.²²

Large collections of documents preserved in Portuguese, Florentine, Venetian, Genoese, and the Vatican archives reveal that from the mid-thirteenth century, three principal processes framed the gradual emergence of more stable relationships between Portugal and Italy.²³ First, there was the formation of commercial networks that linked Europe, Asia, and Africa within a context that Fernand Braudel, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, and Emmanuel Wallerstein have defined as a “world economy.” The second process was the creation of a network for the transfer of knowledge over great distances. Finally, there was the development of geographical exploration and the opening up of minds to spaces and seas previously

considered inaccessible.²⁴ Beginning in the thirteenth century, Genoa and Venice became central hubs in the global trade and communications networks through which not only merchandise but also knowledge and information arrived from the East, northern Europe, and the West, and blended together, returning and spreading into Europe and the East.²⁵ In the early fifteenth century, Florence acquired its own ports, thanks to its conquests of Pisa in 1406 and Livorno in 1421. By 1421 Florence also was equipped with a state-sponsored fleet (which included ships contracted to private persons) for periodic voyages in the Mediterranean and the North Sea. Located at the junction between the routes joining the Mediterranean to northern Europe (England and Flanders), Lisbon in the late fifteenth century also became a nerve center on the routes linking Europe to Asia and the New World.²⁶

The beginning of relations between Italian and Portuguese cities took place between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. After the opening of Genoese, Pisan, and Venetian commercial routes to England and Flanders, particularly the ports of Southampton, London, and Bruges, the Portuguese sovereigns gave significant tax privileges to fleets that stopped in ports of the kingdom; their goal was to control merchandise coming from Italian cities and to export local products.²⁷

In 1317 King Dinis of Portugal (1261–1325) appointed Manuel Pessagno of Genoa as *almirante-mor* (grand admiral) of the royal navy. Pessagno—who came from a family of shipowners from Liguria that arranged trade expeditions *ad partes Anglie* (to England)—had jurisdictional authority over all Portuguese seamen, as well as the crown's permission to transfer his position to his direct descendants.²⁸ Commanding a Portuguese fleet around 1336, the Genoese nobleman Lanzarotto Malocello rediscovered one of the thirteen islands that classical Latin and Greek geographers had called *Insulae Fortunatae* (Fortunate Isles), a legendary archipelago located at the limits of the then-known world. It came to be called the Canary Islands after a name used by Pliny in his *Historia Naturalis*²⁹; five years later, in 1341, came the expedition partially sponsored by Dinis's son, Afonso IV. Led by Nicoloso da Recco and a Florentine named Angiolino del Tegghia de' Corbizzi, the Portuguese ships explored the entire Canary archipelago and probably Madeira as well. Recco, one of the twenty captains specified in Pessagno's contract from the Portuguese crown, was identified in the notary documents of the period as a *speciarius* (spice merchant). The crew was made up of various nationalities: Portuguese, Castillians, Majorcans, Genoese, and Florentines. A few Florentine merchants working in the Seville branch of the Compagnia dei Bardi bank collected Recco's report and sent it to the bank's headquarters. Written in the Florentine dialect, the report was translated into Latin by the young Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375); the poet and author was connected to the bank through his father. The *De Canaria et insulis reliquis ultra Ispaniam in Oceano noviter repertis*, written by Boccaccio in 1342, is the most complete surviving testimony of this voyage of discovery.³⁰

In the fifteenth century, particularly during the second half, these relationships gradually became stronger. The

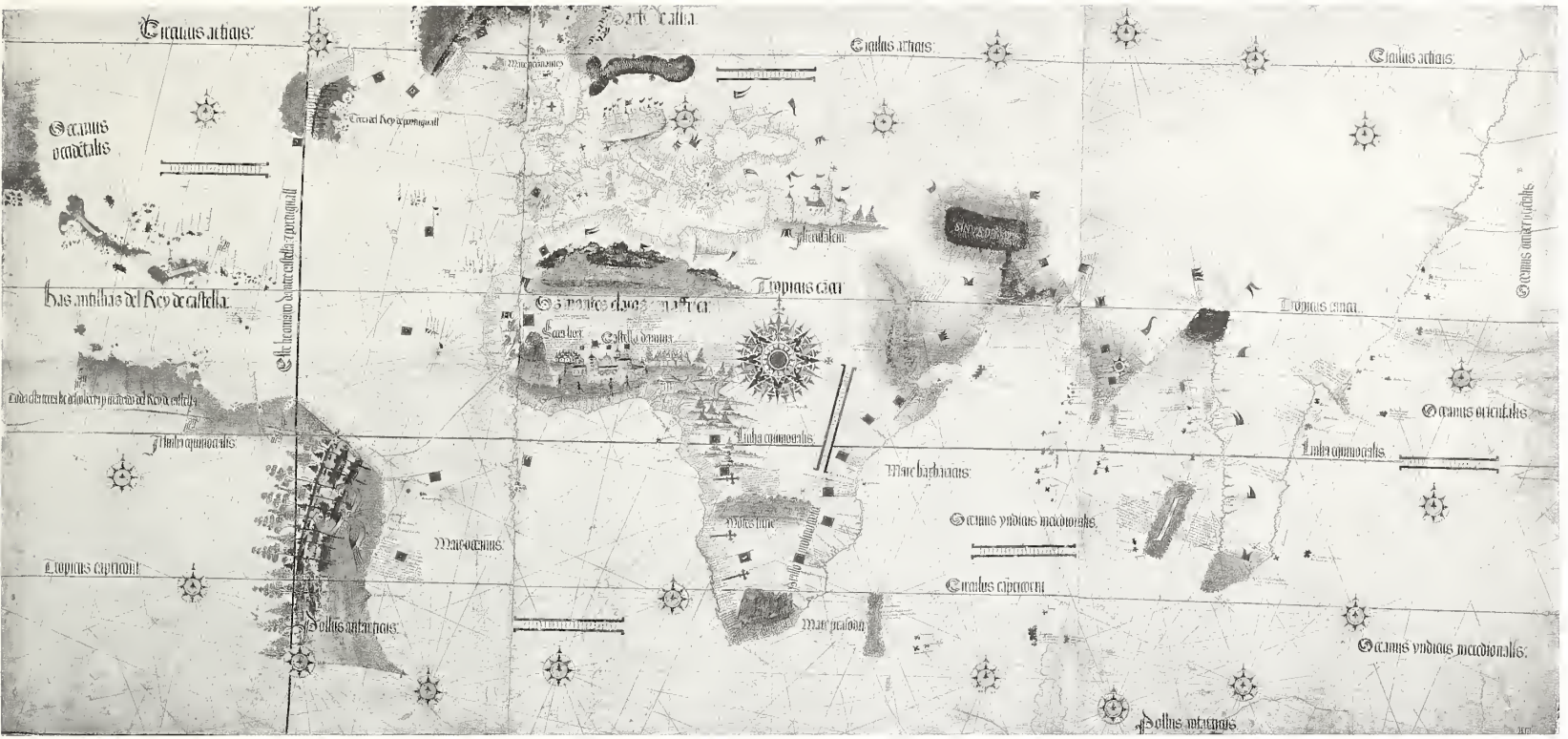


Fig. 4
World map, known
as the 'Cantino Planis-
sphere,' Portugal, ca.
1502. Biblioteca Estense
Universitaria, Modena.

Mediterranean was filled with numerous vessels—Portuguese, Italian, Iberian. The Portuguese offered their services to Genoa, Florence, and Venice and also to Malaga, Valencia, and Majorca. At the same time, a network of consulates was created in the main Mediterranean ports of call, in addition to the cities already mentioned, the ports of Andalusia, North Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia, as far as the Greek islands.³¹

Paradigmatic examples of the movement of people and knowledge in this period are the biographical events of the Venetian Alvise Ca' da Mosto (1432–1488), also known as Cadamosto, and the Genoese Antonio da Noli. Both were merchants on the routes to Flanders and England. Attracted by the prospect of profit during a stopover in Portugal, they placed themselves in the service of the Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), carrying out at least two expeditions to the region of southwest Africa. Between 1455 and 1456 they reached the Cape Verde archipelago and explored the Gambia and Senegal rivers along the African coast. Antonio da Noli remained in Portugal while Cadamosto returned to Chioggia, near Venice. In 1463 he wrote a report of the voyages he had completed, *Delle navigazioni di Alvise da Ca' da Mosto, gentiluomo veneziano* (The Voyages of Alvise da Ca' da Mosto, a Venetian Gentleman).³² Its pages represent the first European description of first-hand experiences in navigation and trade along the coast of Africa beyond the world of antiquity. The Venetian sketched a full account of that moment of European expansion, including the role of Prince Henry. He described, for example, the slave trade, which was not mentioned by other Portuguese chronicles, such as the renowned *Cronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné* (A Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea) by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (1410–1474), rediscovered in Paris by Ferdinand Denis and published in 1841 by Viscount de Santarém.³³ Nor is slavery

discussed in "hagiographic" reconstructions of the sixteenth century, such as the work of Ramusio, in which Prince Henry is described as a humanist motivated only by scientific curiosity and religious interest in the Crusades against the Muslims:

Therefore, you should know that the first inventor in our time of navigating this part of the Ocean sea to the south to the lands of the Blacks of Lower Ethiopia was the illustrious lord Infante Henry of Portugal [. . .] which even though he can be greatly praised for his studies on the course of the heavens and astrology, nevertheless I will pass over all of that. I will only say that since he was of great heart and sublime and refined intelligence, he gave himself fully to the militia of our Lord Messer Jesus Christ in waging war against the barbarians and fighting for the faith, neither did he ever want to take a woman, preserving himself in his youth under great chastity [. . .] And wishing to know more beyond, it ended that the caravels passed the Cape in the following year with the grace and help of God [. . .] and because he wished to discover and learn about new things in order to know the generations of the inhabitants of those countries because he wanted to take the offensive against the Moors, he had three other caravels outfitted with all necessary things and placed valiant men in them who went and passed the Cape, navigating the coast by day and arising at night.³⁴

TRADE ROUTES AND ROUTES OF KNOWLEDGE

Economic historian Federico Melis identified four main types of merchandise that were traded between Italian cities and Portugal: textiles, especially wool cloth from Florence, silk from Florence and Lucca, and brocade and taffeta from Bologna; various manufactured products, including crockery, weaponry from the Brescia and Bergamesque valleys, and paper from Fabriano and Colle Val d'Elsa; artworks, such as illuminated codices, panel paintings, valuable furniture, statues, and ceramics, especially from Florence and Venice;³⁵ and finally, after the invention of printing, books about all branches of knowledge (especially grammar, rhetoric, theology, astrology, and

classics rediscovered by Italian humanists in Latin, Italian, and Hebrew) that originated mainly from the stationery shops and printing presses of Florence, Venice, Bologna, and Rome.³⁶

Portugal exported mainly leather, dyes, dried fish and fruit, and Douro wine and in 1470 began to trade in Madeira sugar (particularly with Genoa and Florence) and slaves. Sugar and slaves established Portugal's economic fortune in the Mediterranean and helped strengthen its navigators' seafaring experiences through the use of carracks—large ships, round in form, that were adapted for long trips and armed for war—as well as the faster caravels.³⁷

Florentine, Genoese, and Portuguese merchant companies also encouraged a constant presence of Portuguese students, clergy, and nobility at Italian universities and cultural centers. Bologna, Ferrara, Siena, Florence, Pavia, Padova, Perugia, and Pisa were academic centers that educated the most important Portuguese scholars of the era, awarding degrees in civil law, canon law, theology, and philosophy. Portuguese students, monks, and nobles who moved to Italy received money from the crown through the network of agencies that handled currency exchange: the companies of Iacopo di Ser Vanni, the Ghinetti, and Bartolomeo Marchionni. Exchanges of funds were made from Florence in the main Italian city squares and at the papal curia.³⁸

These commercial exchanges led to a network of knowledge that spanned great distances. Cosmographic knowledge was one of the central interests of this network, not just because of "scientific curiosity," but because of the concrete geopolitical necessity of dividing up the dominion of the oceans and the organization of commerce. Ongoing diplomatic disputes and

conflicting agreements between Spain and Portugal, sometimes arbitrated by the Holy See, to mark their respective spheres of influence were based on an unscrupulous use of cosmography, which included falsifying and manipulating universal cartography for political purposes.³⁹ Examples include the 1479 Treaty of Alcaçovas in which Portugal ceded the Canary Islands to Castile in exchange for exclusive navigation rights along the southern African coast, and the famous Treaty of Tordesillas of 1494, which determined a line of demarcation between the two hemispheres of Portuguese and Spanish expansion—with the goal of acquiring not the New World but rather the Spice Islands, the Moluccas (Malaku Islands).⁴⁰ It was in this context that, beginning in the mid-fifteenth century, the Portuguese court, ambassadors, and clergy commissioned *mappae mundi* and manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* from cartographers in Venice and Florence. At the same time, cartographers such as Henricus Martellus Germanus, writer-merchants (as defined by Christian Bec) such as Piero Vaglienti,⁴¹ and Venetian scholars and humanists such as Alessandro Zorzi and Giovanni Battista Ramusio were documenting the fundamental moments of Portuguese expansion.

Given the scarcity of available documentation, particularly for the first fifty years of Portuguese expansion, archival documents—both maps and manuscripts and books about Italian voyages—are critical to understanding this crucial phase. The situation regarding documentation about Bartolomeu Dias, one of the great figures of Portuguese navigation and the first to reach the southern end of Africa, is worthy of mention. Portuguese sources are completely silent

Fig. 5
World map, Francesco
Rosselli, Florence and
Venice, Italy, ca. 1508.
National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich.



on his 1487–88 voyage to the Cape of Good Hope; it is not mentioned in either in *Crônica del re D. João II* (Chronicle of King João II) by Rui de Pina and Garcia de Resende⁴² or other contemporary Portuguese documents. Only chronicles and writings from the mid-sixteenth century, such as the *Tratado dos descobrimentos* (Treatise of the discoveries) by Antonio Galvão, and the first *Década* by João de Barros⁴³ shed light on this central personality of the Portuguese discoveries. Until recently the only certainty concerning Dias's biography was that he died in the Atlantic in 1500 in the wreckage of a ship in the fleet of Pedro Álvares Cabral⁴⁴; the fruitful research of Luisa d'Arienzo in the Florentine archives has added to this knowledge.⁴⁵ The records of the Spedale degli Innocenti, the accounting books of the Cambini company, are essential for a detailed study of the presence of Tuscans in Portugal and the presence of Portuguese in the Mediterranean. They also enable the reconstruction of, with great richness of detail, the seafaring and privateering experiences of Dias and Gil Eanes, another important navigator in the service of João II. Dias, the "Receiver of the storehouse of Guinea and Mina" (i.e., the arsenal),⁴⁶ equipped the fleet of Vasco da Gama and sailed at various times on Portuguese carracks to the port of Pisa, which was involved in trade with the Cambini and Marchionni companies in Florence.⁴⁷

The navigation to Mediterranean ports and the deals Dias and Eanes negotiated with Florentine companies in Lisbon and Tuscany gave Portugal the opportunity to strengthen its relations with the most important businessmen of the era. Such was the case with Bartolomeo Marchionni, who arrived in Portugal in 1468 as an agent of the Cambini and soon attained unequalled financial power. He became linked to the Portuguese rulers to whom he provided many loans, participating actively in business traffic in Guinea and in the voyages of discovery. These relationships help explain why the voyages of the Portuguese Diogo Cão (1482 and 1485) and Bartolomeo Dias were immediately recorded in the Florentine planispheres of Henricus Martellus Germanus.

The cartographer Henricus Martellus Germanus, also known as Arrigo di Federico Martello, was a *famulus* (servant) of the Martelli, an important Florentine family and was active in Florence at least from 1459 until 1496.⁴⁸ In one of his works on universal geography, the *Insularium Illustratum* (circa 1490) (see fig. 3), he designed a scaled planisphere of the entire world that changed and expanded the planispheres in Ptolemy's *Geography* (see fig. 2), adding knowledge gained from Cão's and Dias's voyages along the western coast of Africa.⁴⁹ Martello's planisphere is the oldest cartographic depiction of the African coast from the Congo to the Cape of Torments, which upon Dias's return to Lisbon was renamed the Cape of Good Hope. (It is recorded on the planisphere in the *Insularium* as *cavo de esperanza* [cape of hope] at the southernmost point of Africa, as though it is flowing out of the frame.) A printed version of the planisphere, a splendid copperplate engraving by the miniaturist and engraver, Francesco Rosselli ("the Florentine") (fig. 5), is evidence that information about the Portuguese discoveries was disseminated to a

much wider public than just the people concerned with the circulation of manuscripts.⁵⁰

The exchange and circulation of cosmographic knowledge among Italian cultural centers is attested to by older documents. In 1457, a Portuguese embassy to Venice, Milan, and Rome was negotiating the participation of Portuguese militias in the crusade for Constantinople proclaimed by Pope Callixtus III (1455–58) in 1453. The embassy was headed by João Fernandes da Silveira (circa 1420–1484), chief chancellor of King Alfonso V (1438–1481), who commissioned a copy of a monumental *mappa mundi* for the Portuguese court ("la Maiestad del Senhor di Portogallo") from Fra Mauro, a *converso* (lay brother) from the Camaldolese monastery of San Michele di Murano in the Venetian lagoon. The map was sent to Lisbon on April 24, 1459 through the Venetian patrician Stefano Trevisan.⁵¹ Called *cosmographus incomparabilis* by his contemporaries, Fra Mauro was one of the greatest cartographers of his time. One of his *mappa mundi*, now in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, is considered the most complete and complex depiction of the world in the mid-fifteenth century.

Two years after the *mappa mundi* was commissioned, several "ambassadors of the king of Portugal," apparently in the context of the same embassy to Italy led by Silveira, interviewed the humanist-scientist, Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli (1397–1482).⁵² The Florentine knight Francesco Castellani mentions it in his *Ricordanze* (Memories):

*I remember that on the day . . . of July I lent Andrea di Bochacino for master Paolo of master Domenico dal Pozzo Toscanelli my large decorated 'mappamundo, completely finished'; he took . . . his servant and was supposed to return it to me except when doing so he had it for several days and showed it to some ambassadors of the king of Portugal; and so Andrea and master Paolo promised to return it to me.*⁵³

While no other direct information exists concerning the meeting between Toscanelli and the Portuguese ambassadors, it likely pertained to cosmographic issues that were discussed with the aid of a "large decorated mappamundo, completely finished." The connection to the commission from Fra Mauro is obvious.

Receipts for payments made between 1460 and 1461 for the creation of maps for a codex of Ptolemy's *Geography* are preserved in the papers of the Cambini company in Florence. These maps were probably the classic twenty-seven maps by "messer Alvero Alfonso, bishop of Algharvi [Algarve] from Portugal." Alvero Alfonso lived many years in Florence in the retinue of Iacopo Insulani, the cardinal of Sant'Eustachio, before he returned to Portugal and established a close relationship with the court of Alfonso V.⁵⁴

Piero Vaglienti (1438–1514) was a Florentine-Pisan merchant and the author of *A Story of His Times*, written in the form of a chronicle at the end of the fifteenth century. He collected in a type of anthology the numerous and detailed letters and reports about Portuguese navigation and trade in the Indies that arrived in Florence from Lisbon through the Florentine business community, transcribing them into an autograph codex preserved in the Biblioteca Riccardiana of

Florence.⁵⁵ The Vaglienti codex constitutes some of the most important documentary evidence about Portuguese navigation. It includes the expeditions of Vasco da Gama recounted by Girolamo Sernigi (1497–98, 1502); Francesco Corbinelli on the voyages of Giovanni da Empoli, who sailed with Afonso de Albuquerque (1502–4 and 1510–14); a *Report on the Kingdom of the Congo* by the Portuguese chronicler, Rui da Pina; the celebrated *Letters to Soderini* attributed to Amerigo Vespucci; and a description of the expedition to India led by Tristão da Cunha (1507). The twenty-six letters/reports collected by Vaglienti—including at least a pair of unique surviving copies in which the Italian translation entirely replaces the original Portuguese that has been lost—provide first-hand evidence of the primary protagonists during this crucial moment in Portuguese and European history, including their reception in the Tuscan and Venetian commercial environment.

In the texts composed by Vaglienti and in his annotations to the letters, the Florentine merchant distinctly demonstrates his understanding of the role of the Portuguese voyages in world history and their inauspicious consequences for Venetian trade. The opening of a new route for spices through the activity of Vasco da Gama and other Portuguese navigators ended Venetian supremacy in the spice trade, changing the balance of power in the commercial world and also among the Italian states themselves. In a commemorative text addressed to King Manuel I (1469–1521), Vaglienti wrote:

The spices had or used to go to Cairo by the Red Sea route, [the king of Portugal] nowadays has brought them to Lisbon, so that he has taken from the sultan a yearly income of 500 or 600 thousand ducats, and as much again from the Venetians, and he has brought each thing to the port of Lisbon, his port and the place belonging to His Majesty.

In this *Elogio*, Vaglienti gives credit to the Florentine Toscanelli for showing Alfonso V (through the Florentine merchant Bartolomeo Marchionni, who was at the Portuguese court) the way to avoid the Cairo route and establish a direct link between the spice trade and Lisbon:

*of such a thing and activity is the main reason our Florentine medical doctor, who had first lost much of time with histology and heavenly signs, saw and recognized that there was not a single person on the Earth who was better able to make and set in motion this voyage than his majesty the king of Portugal: and this was maestro Pagholo del Pozo Toschanelli, a singular person, who advised one of our Florentines who was in his court named Bartolomeo Marchiane of this matter, and he recommended it to His Majesty so that he that would be praised by the entire world, and the spiceries that should have or used to go to Cairo through the Red Sea . . . from there brought to Lisbon.*⁵⁶

According to Vaglienti, through the mediation of Marchionni, Toscanelli's recommendation would have reached the Portuguese court via the Lisbon cleric Fernão Martins. In a famous letter to Martins sent from Portugal in early 1474, supposedly accompanied by a now lost map, Toscanelli had expressed his opinion not just about western but eastern navigation as well (which was more important to Portuguese interests). Written in Latin, the letter was transcribed by Columbus on several pages in his copy of the *Historia rerum*

ubique gestarum of Pius II, printed in Venice in 1477 and housed at the Biblioteca Columbina of Seville.⁵⁷

Twenty years later, between 1517 and 1538 in Venice, the scholar Alessandro Zorzi prepared a four-volume collection on maritime voyages, collecting fragments of text in printed and manuscript form as well as cartographic notes, drawings, and sketches. The first volume contains many documents related to Asia and Portuguese voyages in the Indian Ocean. The second discusses the New World, highlighting Columbus's expeditions to the Antilles, Vespucci's voyages, the conquest of Mexico, and the discovery of the Straits of Magellan. The third focuses on the northern and eastern regions of Europe, and the fourth combines information from sources on northeast Africa, Calicut, the Malabar coast, and the Moluccan Islands. Although they were meant to be published, the volumes never saw the light of day.

It would be left to Giovanni Battista Ramusio to successfully produce a narrative about voyages that was accompanied by maps. The three volumes of his 1550–59 *Navigazioni e viaggi* not only translated and published descriptions of Portuguese voyages but also gave a voice to Portuguese navigators.⁵⁸ Ramusio credited the Portuguese with great skills in cosmography because they helped create a new image of the world—one that represented a combination of ancient geography, modern experience, mathematical cosmography, and nautical cartography. He recognized the ability of the Portuguese captains to confront tradition with experience and interviewed the Portuguese navigators and gentlemen who passed through Venice so he could compare their voyages with those of the ancients.⁵⁹

CONCLUSIONS

Maffeo Gherardo's notes concerning the Portuguese court's commission for a copy of the *mappa mundi* of Fra Mauro; the memoirs of Francesco Castellani describing the visit of the Portuguese ambassadors to Florence and Venice; the records of the Cambini that refer to the bishop of Algarve's order for a codex of Ptolemy's *Geography* as well as the voyages of Dias and Eanes; the planispheres of Henricus Martellus Germanus; and the documents of Piero Vaglienti, Alessandro Zorzi, and Giovanni Battista Ramusio—these all constitute concrete proof of the circulation of cosmographical knowledge in Portugal, Florence, and Venice during the Early Modern era. The principal agents of the networks of trade and knowledge that connected the Mediterranean to the Atlantic were the mercantile companies of Florence, Venice, and Genoa; the Portuguese, particularly their two great navigators, Gil Eanes and Bartolomeu Dias; the Florentine, Portuguese, and Venetian ambassadors; and the humanists based in Florence and Venice. Portuguese historiography recognizes the role undertaken by the Italian merchants in organizing, from a commercial and financial viewpoint, Portuguese commercial traffic to the Indies and the "New World."⁶⁰ Portuguese navigators constructed a new vision of the Atlantic. No longer perceived as a physical and metaphysical boundary of the ancient inhabited world, it became a space that was navigable in all directions, offering the opportunity of both a new route to India and also control of the seas.⁶¹

Fig. 6
Terrestrial globe (one of the 'Brixen Globes'),
Attributed to Johannes
Schöner, Germany,
ca. 1522. Yale Center for
British Art, New Haven.





THE ART OF NAVIGATION

FRANCISCO CONTENTE DOMINGUES

Portugal began its overseas expansion in 1415 with the conquest of the North African city of Ceuta. King João I (1357–1433) led an expedition of more than 200 ships, accompanied by his sons Duarte, who would inherit the kingdom in 1433; Pedro, who would travel extensively in Europe; and Henrique, later known as “Henry the Navigator” (1394–1460). The enterprise was motivated by political, military, and religious purposes, although the country had no capacity to mobilize such a large number of maritime resources—both ships and sailors—to ensure the transportation of an army of more than twenty thousand troops. The expedition’s ships had been hired and paid for with salt, and the king and the army returned immediately after the conquest to avoid an increase in expenses. Only 2,500 men were left to defend the fortress that would that would be the base for future Portuguese conquests in northern Africa.

Previously—from the twelfth century, when Portugal became an independent nation, until the Ceuta expedition—the country’s maritime experience had been centered on commercial opportunities around the Mediterranean and the European northwest. The Portuguese had two goals when it came to the sea: fishing, essential for the economy and maintenance of the coastal populations; and privateering, a normal way of life in every European country with a maritime tradition during the late medieval period. Portugal’s goals would change, however, after the conquest of Ceuta.

In 1416 João I placed his son Henry in charge of maintenance of the Ceuta fortress, which required the prince to organize the supplies for the troops stationed in the city. The fortress was almost like a trap for the soldiers because they had no means of controlling the people in the interior and becoming self-sufficient. Furthermore, each three years on the average, new troops were needed to replace the garrison’s soldiers, and the efforts to sustain those needs would propel the maritime network in a unforeseeable way. Lagos and other cities in Algarve—the southern region of Portugal, which had a long tradition of maritime activity—provided most of the men and ships for these new demands.

New opportunities for coastal trade and privateering led sailors further south than they had been before. One consequence was the “discovery” of the Madeira archipelago in 1418–19 by João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira. The islands had been included in maps as early as 1351, represented in a way that certainly implied a fair knowledge (for the fourteenth century) of their shape and location, but were not populated until after the Zarco and Teixeira voyages.

Most significant, beginning in 1421 Prince Henry sent his ships southward, along the west coast of Africa, with one main and clear purpose: to sail past the Cape Bojador (located on the northern coast of Western Sahara). According to the prince’s chronicler, Gomes Eanes de Zurara: a) Henry was looking for new commercial opportunities in unknown lands; b) he knew that Portugal’s merchants would not risk an uncertain investment to pursue that search; c) he had to wait approximately twenty years to see any profit from the expeditions he promoted.

The veracity of these statements—particularly the third one—is not an issue I will discuss here. What is relevant is the dramatic change that resulted from these early navigational explorations.

All of the equipment—i.e., ships, nautical instruments, sea charts, etc.—used by the Portuguese during those first years of exploring the West African coast had long been known to the nations around the Mediterranean Sea. The same was true of the technique of navigation itself, which at that time consisted of dead reckoning and staying close to the coast. The further south the Portuguese went, however, the more difficult it was to return: the tides and winds that had pushed them south were obstacles when they tried to come back. According to historian Luís de Albuquerque, around 1435–40, they began to use astronomical navigation, which allowed ships to plot a course in the open sea without losing track of the way back. The first adequate instruments for astronomical navigation and sea charts were made in Portugal during the mid-fifteenth century.

If this chronology is accurate, then two major points must be made.

First, there is an unsolved mystery: the voyage of Diogo de Silves to the Azores as early as 1427 (indicated by a legend in a 1436 map by Andrea Bianco) and other expeditions to the archipelago in 1431 and 1432, namely that of Gonçalo Velho Cabral, who was in charge of the maritime support of Ceuta. Naval historian David Waters has stated that these voyages would have been almost impossible without celestial observations. It is unclear, however, if Prince Henry’s navigators used astronomical navigation that early.

Second, European navigators probably had used rudimentary techniques of astronomical navigation before the mid-1430s. What was new was the fact that in the mid-fifteenth century this became the standard for navigation, allowing the Atlantic to serve as a gateway for intercontinental exploration, as would happen with the expeditions of Pedro

Fig. 1
Plate, Portugal, second
half of the 15th century.
Museu Nacional
de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.

Álvares Cabral (circa 1467–1520) and others who departed from Europe and headed toward Asia, landing in Africa and America along the way.

Another major achievement was the development of the lateen caravel, a ship apparently developed for the discoveries. We can only assume that the size of its masts and sails was significantly bigger than in similar ships, considering the size and shape of the hull, because the first references to the lateen caravel in technical documents do not appear before the early seventeenth century. In fact, apart from the Italian manuscripts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century—which were not dedicated to ocean-going vessels—the first European treatises on shipbuilding were Portuguese: *Ars nautica*, circa 1570, by Father Fernando Oliveria, and a book about shipbuilding, *Livro da Fábrica das Naus*, circa 1580). These manuscripts were immediately followed by publications from the Spanish and the English, though the latter dealt with large vessels and not the small fifteenth-century caravels. It is arguable whether statements from the Italian merchant Alvise Ca' da Mosto (circa 1432–1488) can be accepted as reliable, but he did state that by the mid-fifteenth century the lateen ships of the king of Portugal were the best in all Christendom.

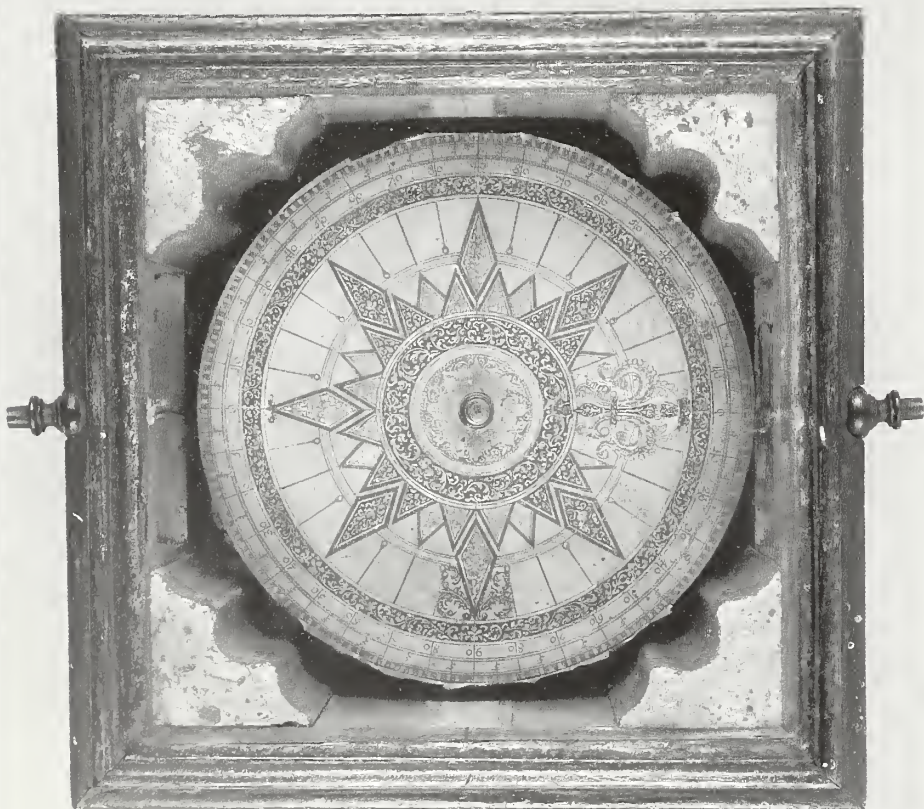
The crucial years were 1430–40, as Prince Henry's navigators acquired the technical instruments they needed to explore the Atlantic: the caravel to sail with the wind, the nautical cartography that allowed them to trace the coastal lines and islands previously unknown to European sailors; and the ability to locate and guide a ship in the open sea by

calculating latitude on board with a remarkable accuracy. (The problem of calculating longitude, of course, would be solved only in the eighteenth century, after John Harrison [1693–1776] invented the chronometer.) In short, the technical basis for sustaining long-distance voyages was established by the Portuguese, an achievement that is by far their most remarkable contribution to the history of navigation.

From approximately 1440 to 1488 the maritime exploration of the Atlantic was Portugal's main goal, followed closely by the search for economic opportunities. In 1468–74, for example, private merchant Fernão Gomes received a commission from King Afonso V (1432–1481) to investigate commercial prospects as his ships sailed along the Gulf of Guinea. It was under King Joao II (reigned 1481–94), however, that the search for a maritime connection to the Indian Ocean would become the systematic goal, which eventually was achieved by the voyages of Diogo Cão (1482–86) and Bartolomeu Dias (1487–88). Dias sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and entered the Indian Ocean using caravels; his ships were pushed by the wind in the difficult progression along the coast of Africa, but he also was assisted, particularly in the Southern Hemisphere, by the sophisticated navigational tools mentioned above. On his way back to Lisbon, Dias found cartographer Duarte Pacheco Pereira (died 1533) documenting hydrographical data on the African coast. As Pereira was ill at the time, Dias took him back to Lisbon in one of his caravels—evidence that shows that systematic observation of local geography could have been used to improve the accuracy of nautical charts in Portugal. A huge amount of work must have been done, considering the quality of the Portuguese nautical charts of the Atlantic at the time, but there is no documentation on the specific activities of the astronomers working for the king. Pacheco Pereira is the one exception, both because his work is documented and because he was a well-known expert on maritime questions. In 1494 he was one of the delegates Joao II sent to negotiate what became the Treaty of Tordesillas, which divided the newly discovered lands in the Atlantic between the kings of Portugal and Castile.

Vasco da Gama's voyage to India (1497–99) would reveal new problems and difficulties. By the end of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese had mastered the navigation of the Atlantic, but not the monsoons of the Indian Ocean. To what extent Vasco da Gama relied on the information he gathered on the East African coast to reach Asia is not clear; certainly he had to obtain sea charts and experienced navigators to guide his fleet to India. The navigator referred to contemporary sources as Gama's guide to India was not the celebrated Ahmad ibn Madjid—the author of the poem *As-Sufaliyya* as well as a large number of texts on navigation—and so the guide's identity remains unknown. But we do know that the Portuguese soon became familiar with the different conditions in the Indian Ocean; navigators learned how to guide their ships properly during the first years of the India run, the annual fleet sent to India beginning in 1500. In fact, navigation in the Indian Ocean probably was not a major challenge for those used to sailing the Atlantic, which was

Fig. 2
Mariner's azimuth
compass, Joseph da
Costa Miranda, Portu-
gal, 1711. The Whipple
Museum of the History
of Science, Cambridge.



a much more difficult and complex task. In the Indian Ocean, at least, sailors could take advantage of the regularity of the monsoons.

A far more crucial question related to the development of adequate ships for sailing to India. The small *naus* (carracks) used by Vasco da Gama, the biggest one weighing no more than 120 tons, soon would be replaced by larger ships, up to 400 tons during the first quarter of the sixteenth century and double that by mid-century. These cargo ships were of a type already known in Europe: large, square-rigged (with an auxiliary lateen sail in the mizzenmast), and with three decks—larger than the average two-deck ships used by the Dutch and British East India Companies even in the eighteenth century. According to the iconography, it seems that the Portuguese were the first to use top sails regularly and to increase the already large area of the bigger sails, but the main feature of the ships sent to India was certainly their robustness. Again, the lack of technical evidence does not allow us to confirm this achievement, but contemporary testimonies (Duarte Pacheco Pereira's among them) refer to the exceptional care taken to prepare the fleets and the fact that the ships were modified to guarantee the strength of the hull. As a result, for Portuguese sailors, the demands of the six-month voyage to India (one way) were nothing compared with the challenges European navies had faced before that time.

The Portuguese sent approximately 1,000 ships to the East between 1500 and 1650, of which about 20 percent were lost at sea. This seems a huge figure, particularly when compared to the 3- to 4-percent losses suffered by their European rivals a century later, but that is a far-from-accurate comparison. When the Dutch and the English sailed to the Indian Ocean several decades later they took advantage of the Portuguese experience, their nautical charts, and their knowledge of the oceans. By the time Jan Huygen van Linschoten (1563–1611) wrote his *Itinerario* (1596), showing the Dutch companies how to navigate east using the Cape of Good Hope route, Portugal's experimental voyages were already underway, each shallow area of the ocean leading to several shipwrecks before it could be marked in the sea charts. We also must consider the development of the shipbuilding technique; seventeenth-century ships were much more adequate than those built 100 years before. It can be argued that other factors might explain (and indeed they do) the losses suffered by the Portuguese in the 1500s, the most notable one being the overloaded ships that were a primary cause of shipwrecks. But in the end, navigation to India just was not efficient in the beginning: everything was new, on a completely new scale (starting with the distance itself), and the naval pioneers paid the price.

Whether due to intellectual curiosity or greed for the profits of the overseas trade, Europe waited eagerly for news about the new lands and opportunities revealed by the Portuguese navigations. A market developed for texts and charts representing these new lands, and by the early sixteenth century Lisbon was full of spies and representatives from commercial and financial companies looking for information to



send to their patrons. The most remarkable map of the early sixteenth century is known as the *Cantino Planisphere* (see p. 17) because Alberto Cantino bought it clandestinely in Lisbon for his master, the duke of Ferrara, who was anxious for news about the new geographical discoveries and the consequences for his own investments in the spice trade. Also known as the "Portuguese anonymous planisphere of 1502," this map is a landmark in Renaissance cartography and contains the elements that would justify the success of the Portuguese cartography abroad: remarkable geographical accuracy and decoration that made the maps true works of art. As might be expected, almost none of the nautical charts used by Portuguese sailors have survived; the charts and maps known to us, most of which were bought to be traded abroad, are almost all located outside Portugal. The Portuguese operated the first large-scale market for cartography, justifying the existence of workshops in Lisbon and about fifty cartographers during the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, a much larger figure than was active in any European country before that time. Dutch cartographers would however take over the industry with the introduction of cheaper printed maps, but that would come later. The

Fig. 3
Nautical astrolabe São
Julião da Barra III,
belonging to the carrack
N. Sra. Dos Mártires,
Portugal, 1605. Museu
de Marinha, Lisbon.



Fig. 4
'Portuguese Squadron
off a Rocky Coast,'
Circle of Joachim
Patiniir, second quarter
of the 16th century.
National Maritime
Museum, Greenwich.

Portuguese reputation for technical expertise and the accuracy of their navigational maps lasted for several decades.

Between the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, the Portuguese established a maritime network whose strongest axis was in the route from Lisbon to India, Malacca, China, and Japan. At that time, it was the longest maritime route known in the era of sailing, if taken as a continuous link from one point to the other, and it was sustained up to about 1640, when the trade with Japan was lost to other competitors. Navigation in the Bay of Bengal was not a major challenge for experienced navigators able to find their way from Europe to India, but from Malacca to China and Japan things became more difficult. Again, experience acquired on the spot combined with the knowledge from local navigators was the key for success. Navigation was mostly an empirical activity, but was it only that?

In 1625, Samuel Purchas, the celebrated author of *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, wrote, "but in nothing more, then that English lady before mentioned [Philippa of Lancaster, wife of João I], whose third sonne Don Henry was the true foundation of the Greatnesse, not of Portugal alone, but of the whole Christian world, in Marine Affaires, and especially of these Heroike endeavours of the English (whose flesh and bloud he was)" (*Purchas* . . . , 1905, vol. II, p. 10). This was the beginning of a long-term commitment of British writers and scholars to build up the image of Prince Henry as the man behind all the extraordinary transformations that occurred in Europe, and thus the rest of the world, as a result of the maritime discoveries. After

all, Henry was descended "flesh and bloud" from the English and in a way, he was responsible for the beginning of the systematic exploration of the ocean that followed his first expeditions. As a matter of fact, there is a clear parallel between Henry and Columbus: they initiated processes that would have tremendous consequences, far beyond the dreams of either man. Henry was as much a "visionary" as Columbus was; they were both engaged in a specific search for faraway riches. One would be responsible for opening the ocean to European navigation, the other for Europe's discovery of a new continent. Neither one would have expected either event to happen as a consequence of his initiatives.

As stated earlier, the voyages launched by Prince Henry were the basis for the long-distance exploration of the open seas with adequate ships, nautical cartography, and art of navigation. But to what extent was the prince himself involved in these developments?

The idea that Henry's navigators had some sort of theoretical preparation arose from the text by Samuel Purchas cited above and would be emphasized over time, leading John Adams, a late eighteenth-century English author, to say there was a naval observatory at Sagres, in southern Portugal. It was natural for the idea of a "School at Sagres" to develop, but in fact the training the navigators received was almost purely empirical. The ocean itself challenged sailors to find the solutions they needed to continue their explorations. There was no school in the formal sense of the word, but certainly the captains, navigators, and seamen recruited by Prince

Henry would have told him what they needed to pursue their missions. The two-mast lateen caravel with large sails, the first nautical charts (made in Portugal circa 1443, according to historian Charles Verlinden, and due to the prince's initiative), the first observations of the stars to measure latitude at sea, and the first nautical instruments—these all appeared in less than a ten-year period and within the nautical milieu that surrounded Prince Henry.

Formal training of navigators started much later, with the appointment of the mathematician Pedro Nunes (1502–1578) first as a cosmographer (1529), and then as chief cosmographer of the kingdom (1547). Nunes adopted a theoretical approach to the problems of navigation that was attacked by the navigators, who accused him of misunderstanding the problems they faced. While that was true, they also were completely unable to understand the exceptional value of his mathematical work. Nunes was replaced by Tomás de Orta, who in turn was succeeded by João Baptista Lavanha, chief cosmographer from 1596 to 1624, the year of his death. It was Baptista Lavanha who truly started the formal training and examination of navigators and chart makers. Quite a different situation occurred in Spain, where Amerigo Vespucci was appointed as the chief navigator of the Casa de la Contratación, the institution that organized a formal training for Spanish navigators as early as 1508, although the *Carreira da Índia*, the voyage to India, was much longer and arduous than the *Carrera de Índias*, the voyage to America. The fact that Portugal did not establish formal training for its sailors for al-

most the entire sixteenth century provides some evidence that the crown believed its sailors were more than capable.

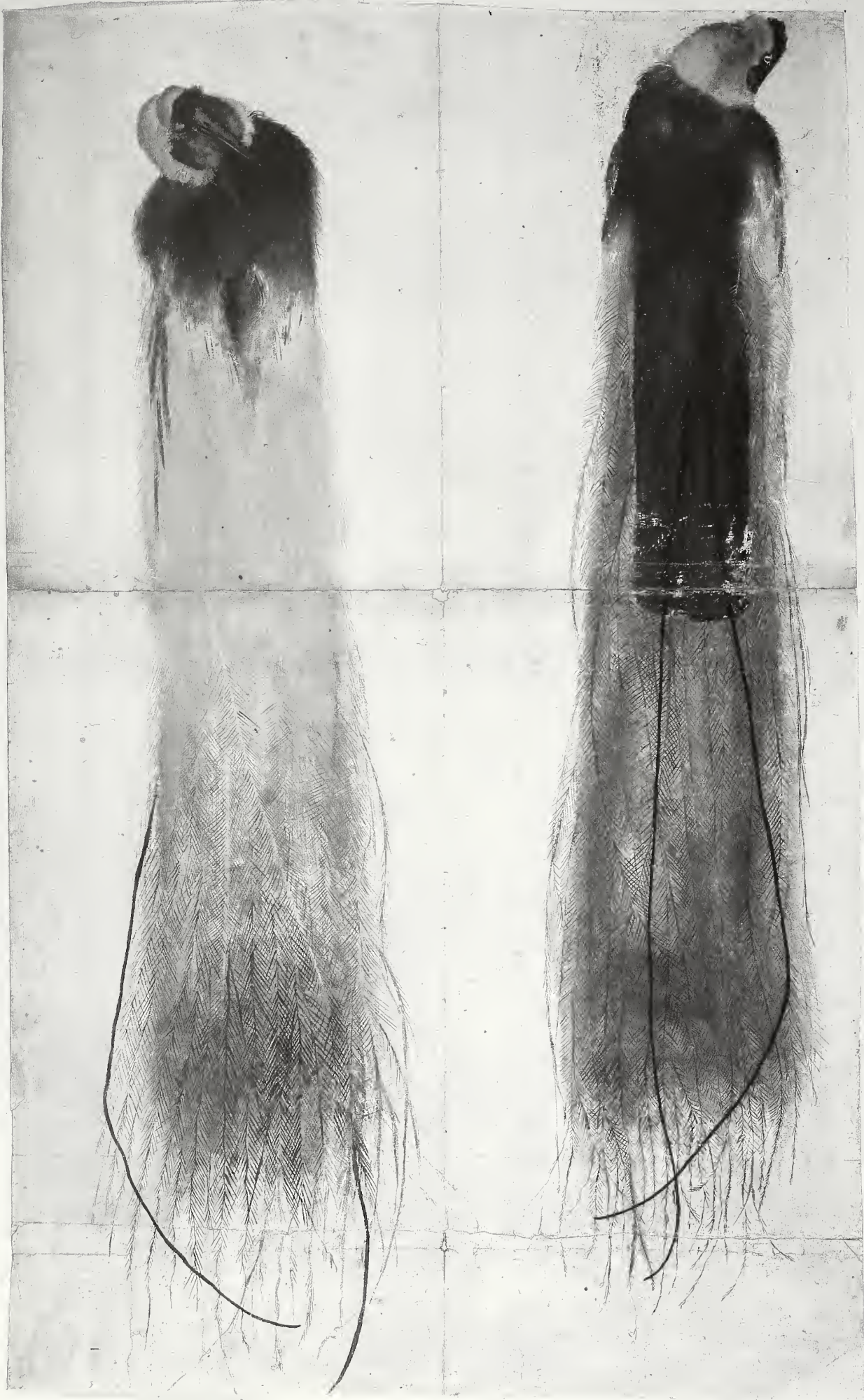
It is clear, however, that the technical capacity to navigate was not enough. As Nunes pointed out in 1537, “[The Portuguese] discovered new islands, new lands, new seas, new peoples, and, most of all, a new sky and new stars.” (“Descobriram novas ilhas, novas terras, novos mares, novos povos, e o que mais é: novo céu, e novas estrelas,” *Obras*, I [2002], 120.) The Portuguese navigators were not able to understand all the challenges that arose as a result of their voyages to unknown seas; their task was eminently practical. In contrast, men like Nunes, Lavanha, and others lacked navigation skills but did have the intellectual capacity for developing observation into theory. But that was a long and complex process that would take time and effort far beyond their own focus of attention.

Onésimo Teotónio de Almeida has summarized what arose as the result of the navigations: a) rejection of the authority of the Ancients per se; b) acceptance of experience as the key criterion of truth; c) development of a scientific outlook and methodology; d) interface of theory and practice, and of scholars and artisans; e) overall awareness of the role of Portuguese navigators in the opening of new frontiers.

The navigations had several consequences; among the most significant is the perception that the physical world no longer could be interpreted based on the lessons from classical authors. A new world had been revealed. As Garcia de Resende, former secretary of João II, wrote, “outro mundo novo vimos” (another world, new, we saw).

Fig. 5
Ship from ‘Livro de Traças de Carpintaria,’ Manuel Fernandes, Portugal, 1616. Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon.





PARADISAEA APODA

The Symbolism of the Bird of Paradise in the 16th Century

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

Among the marvels brought back by the Portuguese from the Spice Islands were birds of paradise, creatures so mysterious that the travelers could agree only about their heavenly character.¹ Writing about the Moluccas (Maluku) in the *Lusiads* (1572), the great Portuguese poet Luis de Camoës added:

Aqui há as áureas aves, que não decem
Nunca à terra, e só mortas aparecem.

In Richard Burton's translation (1880):

Here dwell the golden fowls, whose home is air
and never earthward save in death may fare.²

A Venetian merchant, Nicolo de' Conti, may have been the first European to mention a bird of paradise. He traveled in Asia between 1415 and 1440, living for almost a year in Java. In his account, transcribed by Francesco Poggio Bracciolini in 1440 or 1441, and first published in Milan in 1492, he writes about a strange bird living on the island of Java. John Framp-ton's Elizabethan translation explains:

In 'Laua' the great, there is a Fowle like vnto a Doue, which hath no féeete, his feathers light, and a long tayle: he resteth alwayes on the trées, hys flesh is not eaten, the skinne and tayle are estéemed, for they do vse to weare them on their heads.³

The reference to footlessness indicates that Nicolo may have relied on hearsay or seen only a desiccated body—once the bird was killed the feet were removed, as were the innards, to avoid putrefaction—and the reference is rather too vague and general to guarantee the identification as a bird of paradise. For the bird is not native to Java, but by Nicolo's time was already widely traded for its decorative value in South-east Asia and beyond.⁴ Today, birds of paradise include forty-two species, in seventeen genera, of oscine passerine birds found in New Guinea and neighboring islands; of these, two are endemic to the northern Moluccas.⁵

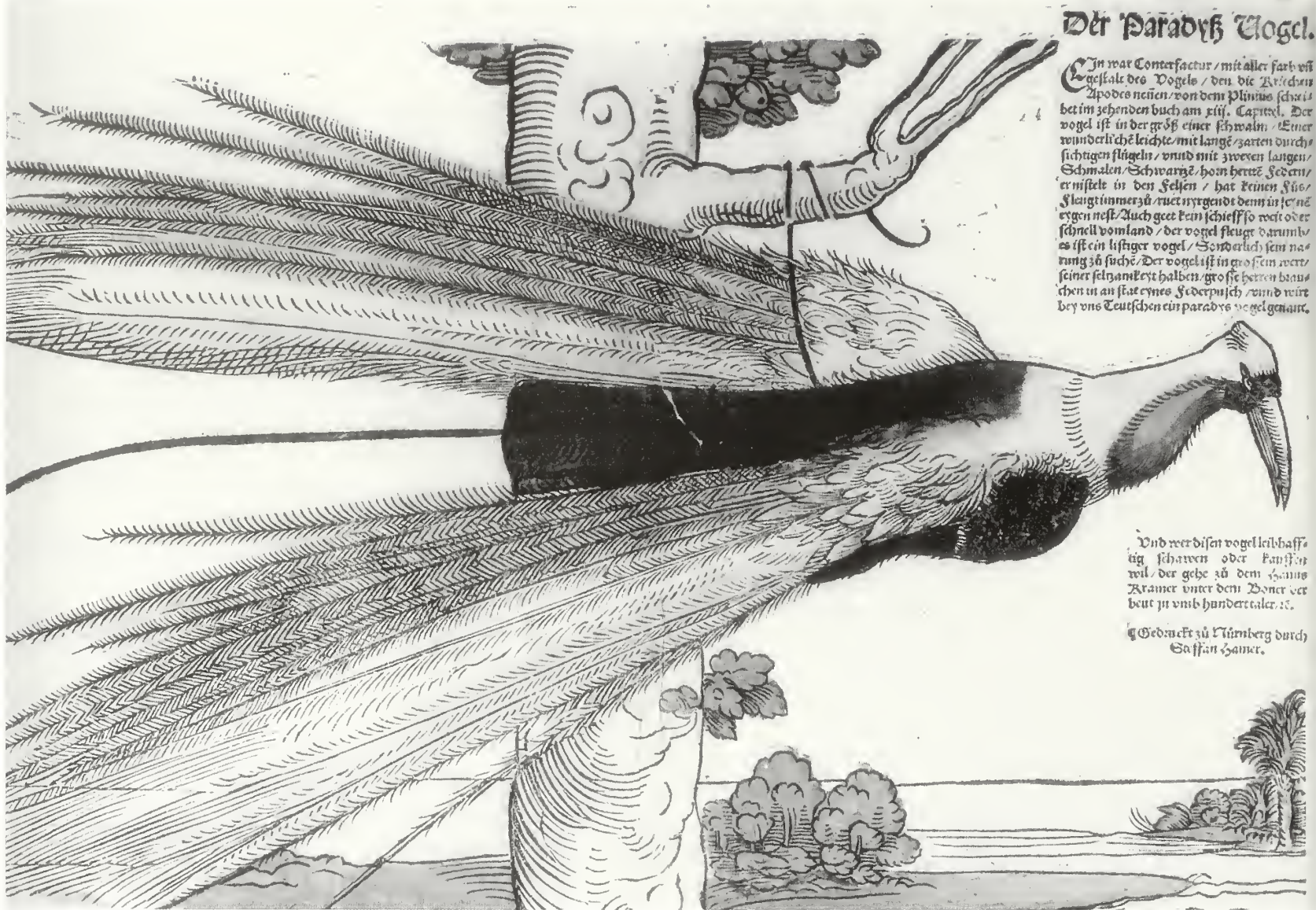
An early, unambiguous European account of a bird of paradise by a visitor to the Moluccas was published by Maximilianus Transylvanus, private secretary to Emperor Charles V, in his account of the circumnavigation of the globe by the ships of Magellan. After Magellan's death, the Basque captain Juan Sebastian de Elcano completed the voyage, stopping on the way on the island of Tidore on November 8, 1521. In a report sent to the bishop of Salzburg, Lang von Wellenburg, from Valladolid on October 24, 1522, Maximilianus writes:

A few years ago the kings of Marmin [in the Moluccas] began to believe that the soul is immortal. They were induced to believe this solely from the following reason, that they observed that a certain very beautiful small bird never settled on the earth, or on anything that was on the earth; but that these birds sometimes fell dead from the sky to the earth. And when the Mohammedans, who visited them for trading purposes, declared that these birds came from Paradise, the place of abode for departed souls, these princes adopted the Mohammedan faith, which makes wonderful promises respecting this same paradise. They call this bird Manuco Diata; and they venerate it so highly that the kings think themselves safe in battle under their protection even when, according to their custom, they are placed in the front line of the army in battle.⁶

The Latin word *Manucodiata* found here is coined from the original Malay name for the bird: *mānuk dēwāta*, bird of the gods or bird of heaven.⁷ Maximilianus adds that the king of Bacchan (Bacan) gave them five such birds as presents.⁸ The gift of such birds is confirmed by another account of this encounter, by Antonio Pigafetta, known in a French translation, which states that the king presented the visitors with two very beautiful dead birds, which "have no wings, but have instead long feathers of divers colors like large plumes . . . they never fly except when there is wind." Pigafetta goes on: "We are told that those birds came from the earthly paradise, and were called *Bolon divata*, that is to say, Birds of God."⁹ This designation also refers to a common Malay word for the bird, *būrung dēwāta*, "Bird of the Gods" (the Achinese, *burung diwata*, is even closer). The birds have kept the association with the earthly paradise, via their Latin names (*Paradisaeidae*), until today.¹⁰ Pigafetta may have known of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale* and his account of what he calls Birds of Paradise (*aves paradisi*) because of their great beauty. According to Vincent, these mysterious birds, have a tawny reddish color, are the size of a goose, and live mainly along the Nile. They are called birds of paradise, he adds, because nobody knows whence they come or whither they go, as they are migratory.¹¹ Of course Vincent's bird had nothing to do with the oscine species. If the birds described by Maximilianus Transylvanus and Pigafetta represent the Lesser Bird of Paradise (*Paradisaea minor*) found on Tidore and Ternate,¹² Antonio Galvão, Portuguese governor of the Moluccas from 1536 to 1540, may have known the larger and even more remarkable *Paradisaea apoda*, the Greater Bird of Paradise, from the Aru Islands, a delicate bird prized for its feathers.¹³

Girolamo Cardano was the first to give a comprehensive, if short, account in his *De subtilitate libri XXI* (1550). Accord-

Fig. 1
'Two views of a Greater
Bird of Paradise,'
second half of the 16th
century. Graphische
Sammlung der
Universität, Erlangen.



Der Paradyß Vogel.

Ein war Conterfactur / mit aller farb vñ
gestalt des Vogels / den die Ritterschen
Apodotes nennen / von dem Plinius schreit
betim zehenden buch am xij. Capitel. Der
vogel ist in der groß einer schwalbe / einer
wunderliche leichte mit lange / zarten durch-
sichtigen flügeln / vñ mit zweyen langen
schmalen / schwarze / horn betetz federn
ermiselt in den felsen / hat keinen füs-
s / fliegt in merz / vñ in irgendet dem in se-
ner nest Auch geet kein schieß so recht oder
schnell vom land / der vogel fliegt darumb
es ist ein listiger vogel / Sonderlich sein na-
rung zu suchē / Der vogel ist in gro-
ßer seiner seltsamkeit halben / große herren blaus-
chen in an stat eines Federbusch / vñ wird
bey uns Teutschen ein paradyß vogel genant.

Vñ wer diesen vogel leibhaff-
tig schawen oder kuffen
will / der gehe zu dem hannis
Kramer vñ der dem Doyner ver-
kauft in vñ handteltaler 12.

Gedmacht zu Nürnberg durch
Gassian Hamer.

Fig. 2
Steffan Hamer, ed.,
'Der Paradyß Vogel,'
1550–1555. Schloss-
museum, Kupferstich-
kabinett, Gotha.

ing to him, the *Manucodiata* do not have feet, as they live in the air; only dead specimens can be found on the earth or sea. They live high in the sky, looking in size and in shape like swallows. Their feathers are like those of female peacocks. The male has a hollow back into which the female, who has a hollow belly, lays her eggs. The tail of the male ends in two long black strings that are used to hold the partner during copulation. Once extended, their tails and wings allow them to stay in the air. Finally, they live on the dew of the night, as air would be too unsubstantial and no insects are ever found inside their bodies.¹⁴ Another short, but intriguing reference is provided by Francisco Lopez de Gomara, in his *Istoria de las Indias* published in Saragossa in 1552. He mentions that the Moors, who call the birds *Mamucos*, believe that they nest in paradise but that the Spaniards think that they live from dew and the nectar of the flowers of the spice trees. Their bodies are not known to rot. And, if the Spaniards collect them for their feathers, the inhabitants of the Moluccas use them to cure wounds and to make snares.¹⁵

That feathers of birds of paradise were brought back to Europe is confirmed by the Venetian diarist Marino Sanudo in 1532, when he describes the extraordinary helmet made by the Caorlini for the Ottoman Emperor Süleyman "... a very

beautifull helmet of gold, full of jewels of very great value, and an aigrette of gold of excellent workmanship... and on the aigrette has been put the plumage of an animal which stays and lives in the air, has very soft feathers of various colours and comes from India."¹⁶ Such featherwork would have been especially appropriate for a Turkish emperor, as the Ottomans made much use of feathers, including those of the legless *Apus* (from the Greek *apous*) bird, if we believe Pierre Belon (1553).¹⁷ England's Queen Elizabeth I had a headdress made of the plumage of an entire specimen. Thomas Platter, who was received in Nonsuch Palace in 1599, describes how the queen wore "a gown of pure white satin, gold-embroidered, with a whole bird of paradise for panache, set forward on her head studded with costly jewels."¹⁸ Most extraordinary, however, is a very faint drawing by Hans Baldung Grien (Copenhagen, Staatens Museum for Kunst, Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamling) showing a specimen of the bird with inscriptions referring to colors, today unfortunately illegible. The date that has been suggested is circa 1525, which would make it one of the earliest recorded examples in Europe—just after the return of Magellan's fleet in September 1522 with the news, and a few plumages, of the birds.¹⁹ Surprising in a different way, and decidedly less realistic, is the image and text on a

broadsheet published by Steffan Hamer in Nuremberg around 1550 (fig. 2)²⁰—certainly before 1555, as the woodcut was known to Conrad Gesner, who quoted its text.²¹ The print shows the bird with stiff, extended wings suspended from a branch with the help of one of its two long, black, thread-like feathers—described by Cardano as strings (*filum*) when he mentions their use during copulation—which, like the feather clearly visible between the wings, represents one of the central rectrices (today also called wires, sickles, or ribbons) of the tail of both the Lesser and the Greater Bird of Paradise.²² The text is not uninteresting; it mentions, among other things, that the Greeks called the bird *Apodes* and Pliny discussed it, and it also recalls the two narrow black feathers, hard as horn, that allow the footless bird to hang on branches. And, finally, we are told that one can see such a bird in Nuremberg and even buy it from one Hanns Kramer for 100 thalers.

The characteristics given by numerous sixteenth-century authors—that the birds of paradise were light and had cavities in their bodies, that they lacked feet and so could not land, and that certain feathers could function as strings—are explained by the circumstance that only the plumed skins of preserved birds were known in Europe. But the new species was also described by those with an awareness of accounts of such strange features in the writings of ancient authors. Aristotle's observation that "some birds have feet which are not much use, and this accounts for their being called *apodes*" was clearly familiar to Cardano and the author of the broadsheet text.²³ Plutarch had mentioned that there is "a little Persian bird which has no excrement, but is all full of fat inside, and the creature is thought to live upon air and dew; the name of it is 'rhyntaces,'" while Pliny, following Manilius, stated that the mysterious phoenix was another bird that had never been seen to feed.²⁵ Indeed, in *Le cinquième livre de la nature des oyseaux*, Pierre Belon calls the bird of paradise *Phenix* and refutes the identification with Aristotle's *Apous*, the name he gave instead to the *grandes Hirondelles criardes* (probably, in fact, swifts). He was not convinced that Pliny knew the phoenix and thought that the bird from the Spice Islands was probably the *rhyntaces*: "Ce corps de plumes, duquel parlons n'a point de pieds: mais nature voulant supplier à ce défaut, a fait qu'il a comme deux plumes en chascue costé de la queue, qui sont longues d'un pied, & recrochees par le bout, & fort dures, desquelles il se pend aux arbres."²⁶ This corresponds to the information in the broadsheet discussed by Gesner in 1555, the year of Belon's treatise. Belon also adds that there was some doubt about how such a bird hatched its eggs, but that some thought the females laid the eggs on the backs of males and hatched them there, an idea first found, as we have seen, in Cardano's text.²⁷ Belon also introduced his phoenix—i.e., our bird of paradise—in his 1557 *Portraits d'oyseaux, animaux* (fig. 3). After informing readers that he used the woodcut from Gesner's study (fig. 4) and providing a résumé of his argument, Belon set his woodcut of the animal within a tripartite structure recalling the format of the emblem, with, however, a title (rather than a motto)—*Phoenix*—and, below, a four-verse comment:

*Tant hault en l'air ie me pais de rosée,
Qu'impossible est me pouvoir vif avoir,
Ny mesmement qu'apres ma mort me voir
Voila comment ma vie est composée.*²⁸

The Nuremberg broadsheet and the Gesner woodcut were the first widely dispersed images of the mysterious bird that, by the mid-sixteenth century, could be found in scholarly and princely collections.

At least five plumages from the Lesser Bird of Paradise²⁹—the species *Paradisaea minor*, as it was classified by George Shaw in 1809, the *Genus Paradisaea* having been defined by Charles Linnaeus in 1758³⁰—arrived in Seville on September 6, 1522. They were on board the *Victoria*, the only ship of Magellan's fleet to survive the voyage that had begun in September 1519. Of these, two sets of feathers seem to have been given to the king of Spain, while another was sent to the cardinal of Salzburg.³¹ The first bird of paradise recorded in a princely collection is clearly identified in the inventory, made before March 21, 1530, of the possessions of Margaret of Austria, daughter of Emperor Maximilian and regent of the Netherlands: she possessed "ung oyseau mort, appellé oyseau de paradis, envelopé de taffetas, mis en ung petit coffret de bois"³² (a dead bird, called bird of paradise, wrapped in taffeta, placed in a small wooden box). Another dead specimen was studied by Conrad Peutinger, the celebrated humanist from Augsburg, who died in 1547: in fact, his bird was used for the illustration in Gesner's book (see fig. 4).³³ Gesner also published a long text he received from Melchior Guilandini (Weiland) from Padua, who admitted that he had only ever seen two dead animals,³⁴ but that was more than Gesner or Belon had done. They probably never even set eyes on the plumage of a bird of paradise,³⁵ although they claimed these were quite common in French princely collections, as well as in Turkey.³⁶

Still, the rarity of the bird in the mid-sixteenth century is indicated by the price of 100 thalers placed on the example owned by Hanns Kramer and reproduced in Steffan Hamer's broadsheet and maybe, too, by the fact that it was worth having the print made to advertise it.³⁷ Some were fortunate enough to get hold of a specimen; Julius Caesar Scaliger, for example, received one from Bernardus Orvesanus, the commander of a French galley.³⁸ Later, in 1575, Ambroise Paré concluded an entry on the bird in his *Des monstres et prodiges* by mentioning that he had seen one in Paris, in the collection of an important person, which, he claimed, was the model used for his illustration—although the latter is clearly based on Conrad Peutinger's plumage reproduced in Gesner's woodcut. In his last, revised edition of the book (1585), Paré adds that he had seen one in Paris that had been given to the late King Charles IX, but that he also had one in his own collection, one "qu'on m'a donné par grande excellence."³⁹ As one would expect, some—no less than three—were found in Schloss Ambras in the collection of Archduke Ferdinand II, governor of Tyrol and the son of Emperor Ferdinand I, who put together one of the greatest *Wunderkammern* of its time; "Drei Paradiesvögel" are

recorded in an inventory dated May 30, 1596, one year after the archduke's death.⁴⁰

In the Netherlands, three plumages were included in the collection of Bernard Ten Broecke (better known as Paludanus), a learned physician from Enkhuizen⁴¹ and a friend of Jan Huygen van Linschoten, the celebrated Dutch traveler who stayed in the East Indies from 1583 to 1592. Paludanus helped Linschoten prepare the publication of his *Itinerario* (1596) and received in return numerous exotic items for his collection, including a penis bell and two plumages of birds of paradise, one male and the other female.⁴² According to Linschoten, it was only in the Moluccas that one could find the bird,

which the Portingales call *Passaros de Sol*, that is Fowle of the Sunne the Italians call it *Manu Codiatas*, and the Latinists, *Paradiseas*, and by us

are called *Paradise Birdes*, for ye beauty of their feathers which passe al other birds: these birds are never seene alive, but being dead they are found upon the Iland: they flie, as it is said alwaies into the Sunne, and kéepe themselves continually in the ayre, without lighting on the earth, for they have neither fêet nor wings, but onely head and body, and the most part tayle, as appeareth by the birdes that are brought from thence into India, and some from thence hether, but not many, for they are costlie.⁴³

The *Thesaurus Picturarum* by Marcus zum Lamm (1544–1606), with three volumes on birds, includes an interesting account by a learned young man, N. Freisbach of Speyer, who saw a bird of paradise in Windsor Castle. Another passage, unfortunately not illustrated, mentions that a bird of paradise from the Heidelberg Rüstkammer was sketched from life (*nach dem Leben . . . Conterfaict worden*) on February 21, 1589, and more information is given for a pair of birds brought to the same town on May 15, 1595, seemingly to be displayed in public for money (although this was not permitted).⁴⁴ The only image illustrating the chapter in the *Thesaurus* shows a bird of paradise kept in a box that bears the coat of arms of Württemberg. This could be either the bird sketched in 1589 or, more probably, another sent by Count Philip von Hohenlohe to the duke of Württemberg in 1604 in a beautifully painted small box (*inn einem schönen gemalten Kistlein*); a scale next to it shows that it was 57.2 cm long.⁴⁵

The beauty of the birds readily explains why, by the seventeenth century, they were favorites of zoological collections.⁴⁶ Nonetheless Gesner's book of 1555 remained a constant source of information, and its illustration continued to be copied time and again.⁴⁷ It was used in Pierre Boaistuau's *Histoires Prodigieuses* of 1560, where a whole chapter deals with this "Oyseau qui n'a aucun pieds, & vit en l'air"⁴⁸ (Bird that has no feet and lives in the air). It is true that Julius Caesar Scaliger, who owned the plumage of a bird of paradise, as we have seen, introduced his own eccentric speculations in his *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus, de subtilitate* (1557), discussing at great length the flight of the *Manucodiata*, which, he thought, glided without moving its wings, and even stayed motionless, as fish stay in water without either falling down or moving forward.⁴⁹ Ulysses Aldrovandi, in his *Ornithologiae libri XII* (1599), believed the bird had no feet, but that it made good use of two rectrices of its tail, which may have been used while building a nest, although he admitted ignorance about the number of eggs they lay, their form, and the length of their incubation. He refuted the idea, however, that they live only on dew, as the presence of a beak meant that they must feed on insects.⁵⁰ Aldrovandi's book also provides descriptions and images of five types of *Manucodiata*, the last being the specimen already known to Peutinger; others came from Italian collections.⁵¹ Looking at it from a modern point of view, three of his "species" can be identified with *Paradisaea apoda* L., while the other two, *Manucodiata secunda* and *Manucodiata cirrata*, are essentially fanciful.⁵² Watercolors based on two of Aldrovandi's birds of paradise have survived, formerly in the library of Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild at Tring in southeast England, in an album with 135 representations of (mainly Italian) birds; of

Fig. 3
'Bird of Paradise,' in
Pierre Belon, 'Portraits
d'oyseaux, animaux,
serpens, herbes, arbres,
hommes et femmes
d'Arabie & d'Egypte,'
Paris, 1557.



*Tant hault en l'air ie me pais de rosée,
Qu'impossible est me pouuoir rifauior,
Ny mesfinement qu'ap: es ma mort me voir.
Voila comment ma vie est composée.*



¶ Sunt qui hanc auem Germanicè *Lufftuogel* appellent, hoc est auem aeris: siue quòd in aere semper serè degat, siue quòd eo etiam uiuere uulgò existimetur. Quidam receptaculum putant sub alis habere foeminam, ubi oua foueat. ¶ Reges Marmin (in Moluccis insulis) paucis antè annis immortales animas esse credere cœpere: haud alio argumento ducti, quàm quòd auiculam quandam pulcherrimam, nunquam terræ aut cuiquā alij rei quæ in terra esset insidere animaduertent, sed aliquando ex summo æthere exanimem in humum decidere. Et cum Mahumethani qui ad eos commercij causa comiteant, hanc auiculam in paradiso ortam, paradisum uerò locum animarum quæ uita sanctæ essent, attestarentur, induerunt hi reguli Mahumethi sectam, quòd hæc de hoc animarum loco mira polliceretur. Auiculam uerò manuco diata, id est auiculā deī appellant: quam adeo sanctæ religio sc̃p̃ habent, ut se ea reges tutos in bello existimēt, etiamsi suo more in prima acie collocati

Fig. 4
Conrad Gesner,
'Historiae animalium
liber III, qui est de auium
natura,' Zurich, 1555.

Fig. 5
Luca Contile,
'Ragionamento sopra
la proprietà delle
imprese,' Pavia, 1574.



these, three are poor copies of those in Belon's *Histoire de la nature des Oyseaux* (1555), while twenty-four (perhaps twenty-nine) of them seem to be based on Aldrovandi's book.⁵³ Other watercolors are extant, such as a splendid sheet at the Graphische Sammlung der Universität in Erlangen, not dated but clearly German and from the second half of the sixteenth century, with two views of the plumage of the bird (*paradisaea apoda* L.) (fig. 1).⁵⁴ The monogramist C. A. (*mit der Eichel*), who is perhaps Conrad Aichler of Basel, also painted a watercolor, now in the Statens Museum for Kunst, Den kongelige Kobberstiksamlng in Copenhagen showing two specimens, also of the Greater Bird of Paradise (labeled *MIRALDO*);⁵⁵ the one on the left, in fact, is shown on another sheet (labeled *MERALDA*, presumably meant as the female), which seems to have been a preliminary study (Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kupferstichkabinett).⁵⁶ Another watercolor in Dresden, of a male *paradisaea minor* L., can be attributed to Zakarias Wehme, a pupil of Lucas Cranach the Younger.⁵⁷ All of these watercolors reflect the interest in the depiction of new species; they are also lasting testimonies, unlike the dried-out carcasses and the stuffed specimens, which did not age very well. Birds of paradise were also found on maps. The famous geographer Ortelius placed a bird of paradise next to New Guinea on his map of Asia (1567), with a text explaining that he had seen the dead bird represented there and that it lived in the Moluccas and had no feet.⁵⁸

In both political and economic terms the increasing Dutch presence in Southeast Asia meant that new information became available about birds of paradise in the late sixteenth-

century. Vice-Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck, for example, who landed near Hitu-Lama on the island of Amboin (in Indonesia) on March 3, 1599, reported that a local captain called Tepil told him that, as far as he knew, birds of paradise come from the island of Ceram, that they can only fly against the wind, and that nobody has ever seen one alive. He also reported that when they go drinking, one of them flies down to see how safe the place is, and that it is only when it has successfully come back that the whole flock descends. As a result, the local inhabitants, who have noticed this practice, hide near the ponds and, after the first bird leaves, surreptitiously pour poison into the water so as to kill the flock. Then, we are told, they tear off their legs and remove the innards, dry out the skin and feathers, and sell the plumages. This, of course, should have ended the myth about the absent feet.⁵⁹ Carolus Clusius (Charles l'Ecluse) introduced this report in his *Exoticorum libri decem*, thus making the information available to a larger public.⁶⁰ Thus Samuel Purchas, for example, in his *Pilgrimage* (1613) comments: "The Birds of Paradise (saith this Author [Clusius]) have two feet, as well as other Birds; but as soone as they are taken, they are cut off, with a great part of their body, whereof a little is left with the head and necke, which being hardned and dried in the Sunne, seeme to be so bred."⁶¹

But it was the persistent myth that gave rise to the symbolism attached to the bird of paradise. In his *Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese* (1574), Luca Contile introduced the device of one Alessandro Farra of Alexandria, an image of the bird with the motto *μετεωρος η ψυχη* (The soul heavenwards) and below, the inscription *Il desioso* (He who

desires) (fig. 5). The text below alludes to the familiar characteristics attributed to the bird of paradise before making the link to the device, the bird representing the rising soul of Farra, striving heavenwards, as he seeks to elevate his mind with the plumage of virtue and the wings of divine grace.⁶² Contile tells of how the bird lives solely in the air; at death its little body falls to the ground or, as others claim, disappears in the air, as none has ever been found on Earth, living or dead. This is why it is the subject of this beautiful and apt device with the motto *Sine pondere sursum* (Weightlessly upwards), meaning that the soul must stay airborne looking to heaven rather than Earth. Its significance is then developed by Contile to flatter Farra. Aldrovandi, in 1599, discussed this impresa, adding that he had one with the motto *Sic animus petat alta* (Thus let the soul strive for heights) painted in his garden.⁶³ Edward Topsell (died 1625), in turn, was referring to Aldrovandi's discussion of the "two Embleames vpon this bird," when he wrote in a manuscript treatise, *The Fowles of Heaven or History of Birds*:

One inscribed thus, 'Sine pondere sursum.' The bird flyinge with her beake vpright to heauen, and so dyinge in the aer, her body falleth downe: So Alexander Farra, a Noble gentleman of Alexandria in Italy, pictured his care of the saluation of his soule, as it were imploringe the helpe of heauen, that when his body shoulde fall into the earth, like one of these birdes of paradise, yet his soule without the ponderous waight of sinne might ascende vpwads to heauen. So Aldrouandi, vnder the signe of his bird, wrote in his garden, 'Sic animus petat alta': ffor as this earth is death to this bird, so is the love and enioyinge of this worlde death to the soule, when it falleth from God aboue, to the base and transitory thinges here beneath.⁶⁴

Giulio Cesare Capaccio, in his *Delle imprese* (1592), also mentions this *avicula dei*, called variously *Manucodiata*, *Paradisea*, *Avis Paradisi*, and *Apos Indica*, which has no feet and never lands on earth (fig. 6). He mentions the books of Cardano and Belon, and reports its two *nervi simili a corde de Leuto* with which it hangs itself from branches. Matteo di Capoa, principe di Conca, used it to symbolize his continual aspiration to high values (*cose sublimi*); his motto *Neglegit ima* (He spurns the depth) was later used by Joachim Camerarius for his own emblem of the bird of paradise.⁶⁵

The symbolic bird of paradise also was featured in the emblematic literature. Johannes Sambucus introduced it in one of his emblems, first published by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp in 1564 (fig. 7). The motto *Vita irrequieta* (An unquiet life) indicates that this image of a bird of paradise flying impressively in the sky has a less high-minded meaning in relation to the traveller shown below in the richly defined landscape. The eight Latin verses explain the strange nature of the footless birds from the Indies that are sustained only by air. They never rest on earth and hatch their eggs inside their bodies (if one can believe it), a remarkable piece of divine handiwork. This signifies, he goes on, how, among us, poets may compete upon such strange events, that those who have wisdom have it so that they do not stay silent. The person who has no rest, who cannot escape from gnawing problems, is like this newly discovered bird of paradise:

*India fert apodes, quas tantum sustinet aër,
Nusquam considunt, perpetuo error agit.
Parturiunt intra ventrem, si credere fas est,
Ingens divini muneris istud opus.
Hic certent miras vates evoluere causas,
Ne sileant, 'σοφίαν/sophiam' qui profitentur, habent.
Qui requiete caret, curis nec edacibus unquam
Proficit, hunc avibus dic similem esse novis.*⁶⁶

Geffrey Whitney took over the motto and image in his *Choice of Emblemes*, but with a new English *subscriptio* better suited to the illustration, as the bird is compared to those who move around and have neither house nor home (fig. 8):

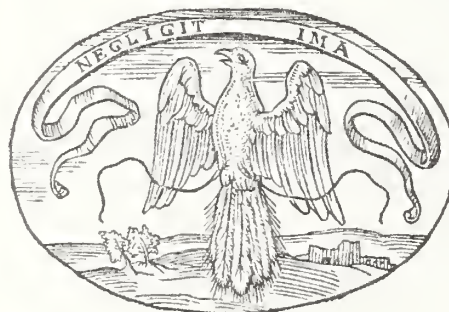
*The Apodes, which doe in India breede,
Still flie about, and seldome take theire ease:
They have no feete, to reste them as wee reade,
But with theire flighte, do encompassse lande, and seas:
Vnto this broode, those that about doe rome
Wee maie compare: that have no house, nor home.*

Fig. 6
Giulio Cesare Capaccio,
'Delle imprese,'
Naples, 1592.

LIBRO PRIMO. 68

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nottio, a cui la Natura non diede i piedi, e per conseguenza mai non poggia in terra, couando anco l'voua nel dorso, à quest'effetto commodamente fabricato. Et in luogo di piedi ha due nerui simili a corde de Leuto, co i quali a i rami de gli arbori si accomanda mentre si riposa. E Impresa di Matteo di Capoa Principe di Conca, giudiciosissimo Signore, nuouo Mecenate de gli huomini virtuosi, e che de' begli studij si diletta; per inferir che come quell'animale mai basso non poggia,

Impresa
del Principe
di Cōca.

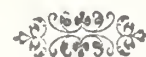


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deuosi egli sempre a cose sublimi stà eleuato; col motto, *NEGLIGIT IMA*. Le prime Figure deuono in tal modo esser del non intiere, che non siano mostruose, come colui c'hauea per l'BO mpresa vn mezzo Leone. E se si ragiona di parte estrinseca, ea del auertiscasi che sia tutta, come la pelle del Leon d'Hercole, e Com Hiena de gli Egittij. Questa qualità di seconda Figura, deu esser con gran giudicio posta; poi che come s'è detto nell'historia, del Nodo di Gordiano, che cose molto conosciute figurino; così bisogna dir di questa qualità d'animale, che trouar vn'altro simile, e che faccia così nobil corpo, sarà no afficile. E della verità di quest'Vccello, fa fede il Vero, che iniera el Museo di Ferrante Imperato, gloria d'Italia nella professione delle cose naturali, si conferua.

Figure non
intiere mostruose.

Pelle di
Leone Hiena.

Ferrante
Imperato.



In

Bothe houses faire, and cities great, they veiwe,
 But Riuers swifte, their passage still do let,
 They ofte looke backe, and doe their fortune rue,
 Since that therin, they haue no seate to set:
 Thus, passe they throughe their longe vnquiet life,
 Till death dothe come, the ende of wordelie strife.

For Whitney the passage refers to Juvenal's *Satires* (x, 19–22): "Though you carry but few plain silver vessels with you in a night journey, you will be afraid of the sword and cudgel of a freebooter, you will tremble at the shadow of a reed shaking in the moonlight; but the empty-handed traveller will whistle in the robber's face." The verses end with a quote from Ovid's *Fasti* (I, 493–494):

Omne solum forti patria est, ut piscibus æquor,
 Vit volucris vacuo quicquid in orbe patet.
 (Every land is to the brave his country, as to the fish the sea,
 as to the bird whatever place stands open in the void world.)⁶⁷

Juan Borja gave a somewhat different slant to the meaning when he included an emblem of the mysterious creature in his

Empresas morales, published in Prague in 1581, with an image of a flying bird of paradise and the motto *Aut volare aut quiescere* (Either to fly or to stay put) and a long Spanish explanation, which ends with the advice to live a quiet life (fig. 9):

To soar or to stay put

It is typical of great and generous spirits to seek to spend their lives in retirement and obscurity rather than to undertake trivial tasks unequal to their valour; thus on many occasions it has happened that such talented people have suddenly risen to the pinnacle of Government, of peace negotiations, and of war, and although their good government was doubted because they had not passed through those areas in which experience is gained, they have, despite this, given a good account of themselves, owing to the weighty nature of their business, being of an importance commensurate with their talents. Thus the person who wants to make known that he does not wish to undertake trivial tasks, and prefers instead to live quietly and in retirement, can demonstrate it in this emblem of the Bird of Paradise, which hails from East Indies, with the motto: *AUT VOLARE, AUT QUIESCERE*, which means: to soar or to stay put. For just as this bird, since it has no feet, is obliged to fly or to remain on the spot, in the same way it is understood that if this man is not able to embark on deeds of great import, which would demonstrate his true worth, he prefers to lead a quiet and simple life.⁶⁸

Fig. 7
 Johannes Sambucus,
 'Emblemata,'
 Antwerp, 1564.

Fig. 8
 Geoffrey Whitney,
 'A Choice of Emblems
 and other Devises,'
 Leiden, 1586.

132

I. SAMBVCI

Vita irrequieta.



INDIA fert apodes, quas tantum sustinet aër,
 Nusquam confidunt, perpetuo error agit.
 Parturiunt intra ventrem, si credere fas est,
 Ingens diuini muneris istud opus.
 Hic certent miras vates euoluere causas,
 Ne sileant, σοφίαν qui profitentur, habent.
 Qui requiete caret, curis nec edacibus vnquam
 Proficit, hunc auibus dic similem esse nouis.

Temporis

Vita irrequieta.

89

Ad Doctiss. virum W. M. fortuna telo iactum.



THE Apodes, which doe in INDIA breede,
 Still flie about, and seldome take their ease:
 They haue no feete, to reſte them as wee reade,
 But with their flighte, do compaſſe lande, and ſeas:
 Vnto this broode, thoſe that about doe rome,
 Wee maie compare: that haue no houſe, nor home.

Bothe houſes faire, and cities great, they veiwe,
 But Riuers ſwifte, their paſſage ſtill do let,
 They ofte looke backe, and doe their fortune rue,
 Since that therin, they haue no ſeate to ſet:
 Thus, paſſe they throughe their longe vnquiet life,
 Till deathe dothe come, the ende of worldlic ſtrife.

Omne ſolum forti patria eſt, vt piſcibus æquor,
 Vit volucris vacuo quicquid in orbe patet.

M

Exilio.

Iduen. Sat. 10.
 Pauca ſicet porces ar-
 genti vaſcula puri,
 Noſtrecter ingreſſus gla-
 dium, contumque ſi-
 rebus,
 Et nota ad lunam tre-
 pidulis arundinis
 vmbra.
 Gantabit vacuus ceram
 latrone viator.

Ouid. 3. Faſt.

Published more than 100 years later (1697), the Latin translation provides a more classical, though essentially similar message:

*Nam sicuti Avi pedibus destituae aut volandum aut quiescendum est, ita ille, cui non datur suscipere res magnas, in quibus Fortitudinem suam posit exerere, malle se vitam quietem ac privatim honeste traducere ostendet.*⁶⁹

The German translation ("Fliegen oder Ruhen"), published a year later in 1698, conveys a similar meaning:

Dann wie dieser Vogel / weil er keine Füsse hat, fliegen oder ruhen muss / also erweist derjenige / der etwas grosses zu thun / nicht gelegenheit hat / worinnen er seine Tapfferkeit erweisen könnte, Er wolle lieber sein leben in der Stille und Einsamkeit ehrlich beschliessen und hinlegen.

This is completed by four additional verses:

*Es fleucht ein grosser Geist / so hoch er kommen kan / Wil aber Zeit und Sturm die Federn ihm verschneiden; So kan er dieses auch mit stillen Muthe leiden Viel besser / in der Ruh; als auf des Pöfels Bahn.*⁷⁰

The verses stress the fact that a great mind can better support the vicissitudes of life and age in tranquillity than can common, unsophisticated people.

Joachim Camerarius not surprisingly included an emblem of the flying bird in his *Symbolorum & emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia* of 1596, with the motto *Neglegit ima* (He spurns the depths), taken from *Cappaccio's Imprese* (1592) (see fig. 6). Two Latin verses stress that the fortunate beings whose minds are raised heavenwards are above all that goes on here below:

*Felices nimium quorum super aethera mentes,
sublatæ cuncta hæc infera despiciunt.*

The explanation that follows on the verso of the page mentions the traditional lore.⁷¹ In the second edition the emblem is found with a more explicit motto: *Terræ commercia nescit* (He has no knowledge of the business of the Earth).⁷² With this message it was used as a model for one of the emblematic paintings in the *Bunte Kammer* in Ludwigsburg, the motto—*Dieser, wie wir von ihm lesen, weiß nichts von dem Erdenwesen*—indicating that the bird of paradise is not concerned with worldly matters.⁷³

The last emblem of the sixteenth century with the marvelous bird is found in a rare Spanish emblem book, *Hernando de Soto's Emblemas. Moralizadas*, published in Madrid in 1599. The woodcut of a flying bird—quite different from the traditional sixteenth-century renderings—has a Latin motto, *Optima cogitation* (The loftiest thinking) and, below, a Spanish one, *Assi es el buen pensamiento* (So are good thoughts), while the epigram stresses that:

*The bird which in the East
Has the air for its nest
Has not been known by man
To land on tree or stone;
With its miraculous flight
This bird comes to show us
That we should rise
Our thoughts up from the ground.*



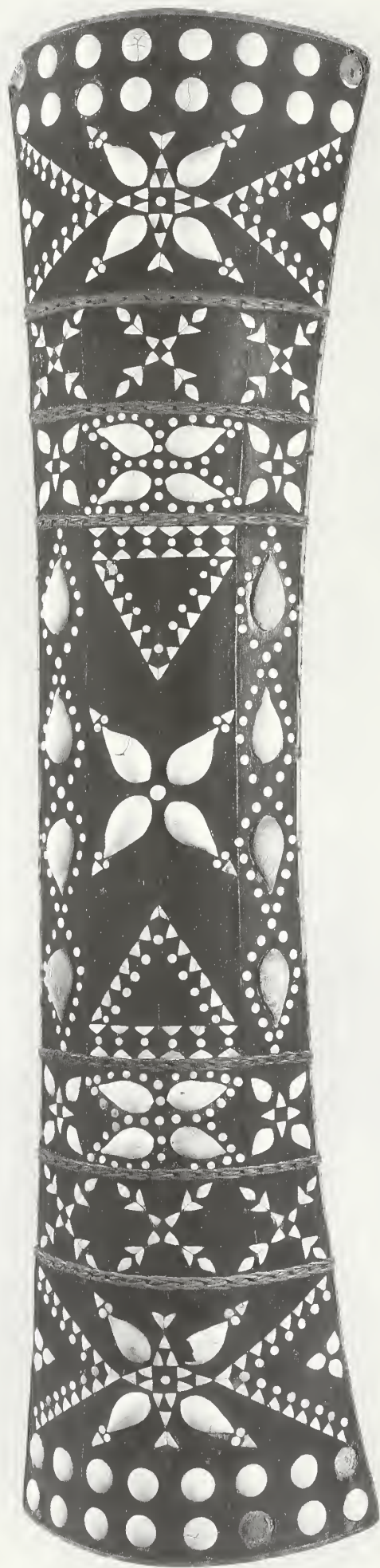
*Del paxaro que en Oriente
El ayre tiene por nido,
Ningun hombre ha conocido
Que en piedra ò arbol se assiente.
Con tan milagroso buelo
Nos viene esta ave a enseñar,
Que avemos de levantar
El pensamiento del suelo.*⁷⁴

Fig. 9
Juan Borja, 'Empresas morales,' Prague, 1581.

The illustrations in all these books clearly confirm that the designers had no firsthand knowledge of the exotic birds.

But surely the most inventive (if outlandish) application is found in the writings of Bishop Simon Maiolus who claims, in his *Dies Caniculares* (1597), that while flying the birds symbolize the angels, but when the birds die, they fall from heaven, like the fallen angels of the Apocalypse, never to return to heaven; this is why they also stand for sinful humanity having refused God's mercy and destined for Hell.⁷⁵

Whether heavenly or hellish, the bird of paradise necessarily lost something of its mystery as it regained its feet and its true nature of the bird became better known. In symbolical works, such as emblem books, however, the myth, and a rich imagery, lasted longer than anywhere else.⁷⁶



FROM MOLUCCAS TO KUNSTKAMMER

Ethnographic Collecting from the 16th to the Early 18th Century

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

The year 1596 saw the publication in Amsterdam of Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert . . . naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*. . . .¹ This was a widely diffused collection of engraved plates in the style of the costume book, a genre developed in the second half of the sixteenth century whose origins can be traced to Albrecht Dürer's systematic study of national and, especially, exotic, dress; the first example of the genre, at least in manuscript form, was Christoph Weiditz's *Trachtenbuch* of 1529.² One of the plates of the *Itinerario* (fig. 2) shows, on the left, a native of Pegu and, on the right, a pair of "St. Thomas Christians" exhibiting, we are told, their legendary cursed feet. In the center is a man from the Moluccas (Maluku Islands).³ He is identified as an "inhabitant of the islands of the Moluccas, where cloves grow in great abundance, whose clothes are made of straw." The text below informs us that the arid and volcanic islands indeed produce nothing but cloves and so the people have to barter them for food and other necessities; we learn, however, that the amazing bird of paradise can be found there. About their clothing, made of straw or grasses, we are further told that it is woven with great care. In the engraving, the pattern of the shirt and breeches is evidently intended to allude to this material and manufacture, but shows no knowledge of real Moluccan dress. The man is shown as a fighter, in marked contrast, therefore, to his effeminate-looking neighbor from Pegu (as traditionally described by travelers). His weapon may be based on a traditional Malay saber (*klewang*), with a slightly curved, single-edged blade widening at the top, though it is rounded towards the front rather than, as it should be, the back.⁴ The shield is even more remote from traditional examples from the region. The lack of ethnographic precision, of course, reflects that fact that Linschoten had never been to the Moluccas and that there were no specific visual resources available to the designers of the engravings.⁵ This was especially true of the Alfuren, a word meaning "inlanders" and used generically for the inhabitants of the interior of all Moluccan islands not under central control until the end of the nineteenth century.

The earliest representations of native Moluccans—as well as of many other peoples of the Far East—appear in a manuscript made, probably by a Portuguese, between 1533 and 1546. The *Album di disegni indiani* in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome includes 141 colored drawings; arranged in more or less geographical order, they depict inhabitants, their customs, and their costumes, from a wide geographical area ranging from South Africa to China.⁶ Three

illustrations refer specifically to the Moluccas, at that time the center of the spice trade, while another two show East Asians from Sumatra and Java. In the first of the three (fig. 3), a turbaned man wears a long yellow dress covering his whole body, with a blue belt tied round his waist and holds a straight double-edged weapon with a fluted and concave-ended blade. His female companion, on the other side of the opening, wears a striped sari over a blue shirt decorated with brown trimmings. The caption tells us that these are "People who live on the Moluccas islands; they are pagans. They are called Moluccans. From this island comes the cloves" (*Jente que habita nas ilhas de Maluco; são jintios; chamão-se Malucos. Destas ilhas vem a cravo [craveiro-da-índia or Syzygium aromaticum]*).⁷ They are both barefoot, like the inhabitants of the island of Banda in the Southern Moluccas (*Jente de ilha de Banda, onde vem a nox noxcada he a maça. são Jintios; chamão-se Bandanese*)—People of the island of Banda, from which comes nutmeg and the apple; they are pagans and are called Bandanese) (fig. 4).⁸ Here the man holds a double-edged, fluted sword ending this time in a pointed edge. He wears a headband and protects himself behind his shield, as does the Moluccan from the island of Gillolo (Halmahera) in the third drawing (*Jente que habita junto da China na mesma costa, muito valentes homens de guera he de grandes corpos; chamão-se Botachinas Jintios*)—People who live next to China [i.e., Gillolo or Halmahera island] along the same coast, very courageous men of war and of large stature; they are Botachinese pagans) (fig. 5).⁹ It is at once obvious that the draughtsman, who was no professional, has used the same formula for the rendering of the three couples, the man with sword and shield, the woman with the left hand on her side and pointing with the other. More problematic from the point of view of the documentary value of the illustrations is the similarity in dress and weapons to other representations in the manuscript—apart, that is, from the shields whose form freely, but distinctly, recalls pieces found in the Moluccas.¹⁰ The style of dress is Malay, with striped and checked cloth, but the last group of the three certainly shows inhabitants not much affected by Malay influence. According to António Galvão's *História das Moluccas* written circa 1544, some Moluccans were nearly naked: "For clothes they have *fisas*, with which the prominent covered their privy parts, whereas the others went around as they were born."¹¹ Presumably the minimal clothing of the "Botachinese" is to some degree authentic. In all three illustrations, the warriors have long, vertical shields, slightly waisted on the longer sides and concave

Fig. 1
Wooden shield
with inlaid decoration,
Moluccas, 17th
century. National
Museum of Denmark,
Copenhagen.

Fig. 2
Inhabitants of South
East India, in J. H. van
Linschoten, 'Itinerario,'
Amsterdam, 1596.



on both top and bottom, probably to indicate a concave longitudinal axis. The general shape if not the decoration recalls traditional Moluccan shields—as does the color red linked by the Alfuren to the martial arts.

The oldest surviving Moluccan shield, set with fragments of shells and large cowries, is the example from the Trades-cant collection of the University of Oxford, inherited by deed of gift from Elias Ashmole; the Ashmolean Museum opened to the public in May 1683 (fig. 6).¹² When Peter Mundy saw the collection in 1634, he found himself “almost persuaded a Man might in one day behold and collect into one place more Curiosities than he should see if he spent all his life in travell.”¹³ The wooden Moluccan shield, 124 centimeters long and twenty-seven wide, was already included in the first catalogue of the collection (1685) and described as a wooden shield from the Indies (*Scutum Indicum Ligneum*).¹⁴ More or less rectangular in shape, convex in both longitudinal and transverse axes, its face is set with discoid and pear-shaped pieces of shell, the largest probably of the *Ovula ovums* L. type. Both vertically and horizontally, the decor is symmetrical and careful, with bindings of palm-wood clearly visible. Such decorated shields are common throughout the Moluccas and traditionally linked to the Alfuren people; this exemplar, together with a rather comparable shield given to the British Museum by the Nationalmuseet (National Museum of Denmark) in Copenhagen in 1816,¹⁵ has been variously linked to Buru Island in the south but also to the north and central Moluccas.¹⁶ The Royal Danish Kunstkammer (Det kongelige danske Kunstkammer) in the Nationalmuseet includes three Moluccan shields of the same type as the previous two—long, rectangular and decorated with a symmetri-

cal pattern of shells (fig. 1); unlike the Ashmolean Museum example, they show no signs of gashes and stab marks from fights, and seem to have been made for sale to visitors.¹⁷

The shields of this type that have been best studied by modern scholars are those, long and narrow, found among the Nuauulu of south central Ceram, an island of the South Moluccas. All of these shields served only for basic protection and parrying during fights—as they are too narrow to offer much shelter. By the second half of the twentieth-century their main use was in the *anwoti* dance during the initiation ceremonies of young males. This took place after *kahuae* dancing, a night ritual that formerly heralded headhunting as well as raids. Among the Nuauulu the shields are carved from a single piece of *kawasa* wood and the edges often faced with a strip of split rattan. The front is inlaid with small pieces of *nautilus* shell, glass, or glazed ware (known as *Kikau*) set in dammar resin, while the shield is painted with abstract motives mainly consisting of outlined zigzags and curves, but sometimes even stylized totemic figures related to the clan of the warrior. Other sorts of shields are sacred shields (*amiaue monne*), the focus of powerful forces and supposed therefore to be impenetrable, by arrow and bullet, conveying their powers to the owner in raids and for head-hunting.¹⁸

Two anonymous drawings, of Ceramese fighters and of a Ceram family respectively, are found among the 207 letters exchanged over twenty-three years by Nicolas Witsen (1641–1717), burgomaster of Amsterdam and member of the board of the Dutch East India Company, and Gijsbrecht Cuper (1644–1716), professor and burgomaster of Deventer.¹⁹ They were made “from life” (*na het leven*) and sent to Cuper. Witsen mentions them in a letter written on June 1, 1714:

Fig. 3 (opposite, top)
Moluccans. Biblioteca
Casanatense, Rome.

Fig. 4 (opposite, center)
Bandanese. Biblioteca
Casanatense, Rome.

Fig. 5 (opposite, bottom)
Inhabitants of
Gillolo. Biblioteca
Casanatense, Rome.

Herewith you find, among other things, the figure of the wild bushmen from our Spice-Islands, especially Ceram. They are called Alfurese; they are not averse to eat human flesh, although we have forbidden them to do so; therefore it was written to me, that they (still) are doing so not secretly. They are a very cruel and murderous people. These little pictures are painted after life and I am in possession of the adornments which they carry on their bodies. The ornaments were sent to me from the islands. I made some other images after life, which I haven't got in my possession right now, on which they are depicted slaying each other and cutting off heads.²⁰

The first surviving composition shows the traditional fight between two warriors, armed with bladed weapons (called *lopu*) and defending themselves with their long shields (called *saluwaku*, which means "miss and catch"), the aim being to cause the enemy's blade to "miss" its intended target and to "catch" it by trapping it in the wood of the shield.²¹ The second drawing shows two Ceramese women with children in front of a house raised on stilts. Two men with their bladed weapons and shields arrive from the left, one of them also holding a bamboo culm (fig. 8).²² The four adults have taroos—some of them in the form of animals—but they correspond fairly well to, for example, the description of Ceramese people made by Georg Everhard Rumphius written in the second half of the seventeenth century but published only at the end of the eighteenth:

*They are large, strong, and savage people, in general taller than the inhabitants of the sea-shores; they go mostly naked, both men and women, and only wear a thick bandage round their waist, which is called 'chiaaca,' and is made of the milky bark of a tree, called by them 'sacka.' They tie their hair up on the head over a cocoa nut shell, and stick a comb in it; round their neck they wear a string of beads.*²³

In the drawing they may wear an imported textile rather than a bark cloth round their hips, but the images present a valuable and very specific testimony to the costumes and the body ornaments—including green fibers hanging from the shoulders and the knees of the men—as well as of the elegant headdresses: the shields too are precisely shown, including their characteristic curve, their red and black decoration, and the rattan bindings on top and bottom.²⁴

Shields with inserted shells were considered especially powerful. Rumphius's celebrated *Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet* (D'Amboinsche Rariteitkamer) published in Amsterdam in 1705 confirms the Alfurens' great admiration for the *Ovula ovum* L. shell:

*The Alphorese, or the wild mountain men of 'Ceram,' greatly esteem these white eggs, which are found most often on Ceram's beaches; none of them may wear these Whelks around the neck, or from a lock of hair, except for their Champions and those who have gotten some head of their enemies. After they have been smashed to pieces, and then ground on a stone until they get round, elongated or in other shapes, they are used to inlay their long shields, called Saloacco, which makes them quite handsome, because these bits and pieces shine, as if they had a white glaze and they stand out very handsomely on their black shields, which are edged with red and yellow, and thus these shells were called after them (in Malay the shields were called 'Bia' or 'Sipot Saloacco').*²⁵

The same author, incidentally, in Book 5 (1743) of his *Herbal* (Het Amboinsche Kruid-boek), mentions a particular





Fig. 6
Moluccan shield.
Ashmolean Museum,
Oxford.

wood that is used for these Ambonese long-shields (which he calls *Salowacko*), from the "Shield Tree" (*Schildt-Boom*) or *Clypearia* (known in Malay as *Caju Salowacko*).²⁶ It may be noted, too, that the link between the *ovula ovum* shell and head hunting is made by later writers.²⁷ Ceremonial fights between warriors were first recorded by François Valentijn who described, for example, a display at the court of King Said of Ternate on July 16, 1601; he also saw, he tells us, fighters in Banda dancing in the Alfuren manner, dressed in branches of trees and leaves, savage-looking with their great shields and their swords, and wearing helmets decorated with the plumage of birds of paradise.²⁸ In the traditional *tjakalele* war dance—to which this ceremony must have belonged—the warriors were opposed two-by-two while wearing weapons and the narrow parrying shield.²⁹

One of the wooden shields in Copenhagen was first mentioned in the 1689 inventory of the Danish Kunstkammer as a "West Indian shield ornamented with large white mussels, which they use against their enemies" and in 1737 as a "large Malabarian shield, ornamented with large white snail and mussel shells," although it is certainly from the Moluccas.³⁰ The other two shields from Copenhagen are found in a 1775 inventory and described there as "presumably Indian." They came from the Gottorf Kunstkammer, which was included in the Danish Kunstkammer by royal decree of September 18, 1742, after the defeat of Gottorf during the so-called Northern War, but only transferred to Denmark in 1751. They were recorded in Gottorf in 1710 as "two long wooden shields inlaid with ivory" and in 1725 as "2 black boards ornamented with small white discs."³¹ The Copenhagen collection also includes two basketry boxes decorated with shells. One that is decorated on the lid with crosses was first mentioned in 1689 as a "large oblong Indian box made of bast, ornamented with small conches" and in 1690 as a "ditto [East Indian basket] in a different fashion, ornamented with shells."³² The second box from Gottorf (fig. 9) is first recorded there in 1710 as a "longish box of basketwork ornamented with small shell" and in 1743 as "A box with straw and bone ornaments about one Ell long . . ."; in Copenhagen in

1775 it was described as a "long, quadrangular box, nicely plaited of Indian reeds and ornamented with small, cut conches. Length 21½, width 11¼ inches." Most important, however, the basketry box can be traced back to the collection of Bernhard Paludanus, a learned physician from Enkhuizen and friend of Jan Huygen van Linschoten; he helped von Linschoten prepare the publication of *Itinerario* (1596) and Paludanus received in turn quantities of exotic items, including the plumages of two birds of paradise, one male and the other female. The 1617 inventory of his collection records a "longish box of basketwork ornamented with small shells," a description suggestively like that in the 1710 Gottorf inventory. The identification is in any case hardly problematic as we know that Paludanus's collection was purchased for Gottorf by Adam Olearius in 1651.³³ The two boxes decorated with cowries in Copenhagen are of a type traditionally associated with the Moluccas: small baskets and boxes made of split bamboo and palm leaves used, for instance, for serving bethel (*sirih*), containing the chewing plugs and other ingredients.³⁴ Two rather similar examples are illustrated in Levinus Vincent's *Wondertooneel der Nature* (1706), unfortunately without explanatory text.³⁵

The Moluccan archipelago was the land of spices, of nutmeg and cloves, and the constant traffic of European ships led to an early form of tourist art, essentially objects made out of cloves. One such, in the Musée de la Marine in Paris, shows an Ambonese barge with ten rowers (fig. 7).³⁶ It has an open, covered central space for the privileged owners or guests, with two people sitting on it. If this particular example is first recorded only in 1842, clove boats of this type were well known before that; Nicolas Witsen, who died in 1717, owned four of them.³⁷ The earliest surviving record of the decorative use of cloves, is a "table service" in Copenhagen first listed in 1737 as "twelve plates, six dishes, two goblets, two candlesticks and one small box, all made of cloves and pleated in India AD 1695." Today, the two plates, six bowls, two goblets, two candlesticks, and a basket made in openwork of cloves and metal wire still exude the characteristic smell of the spice that was the goal of so many Portuguese trading ships.³⁸

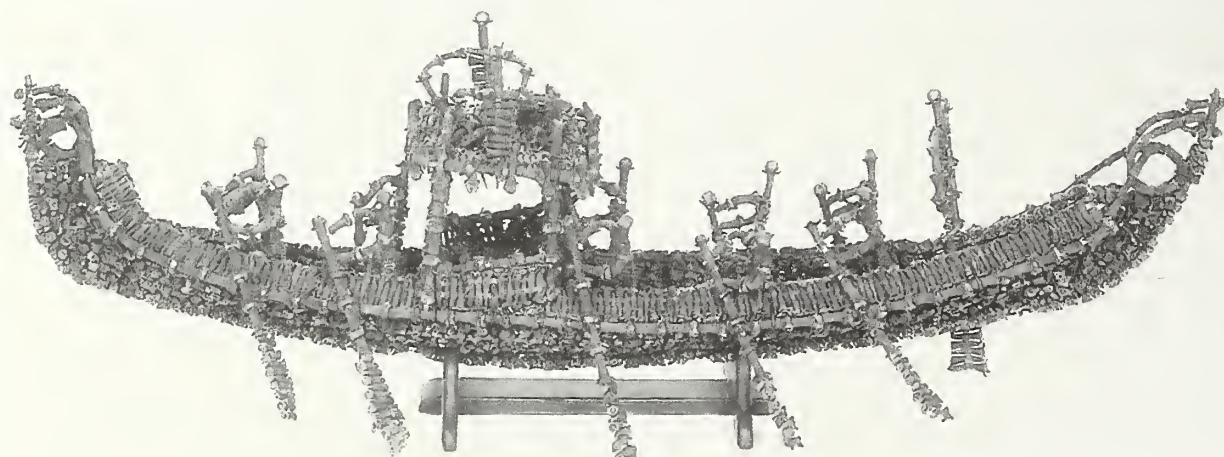
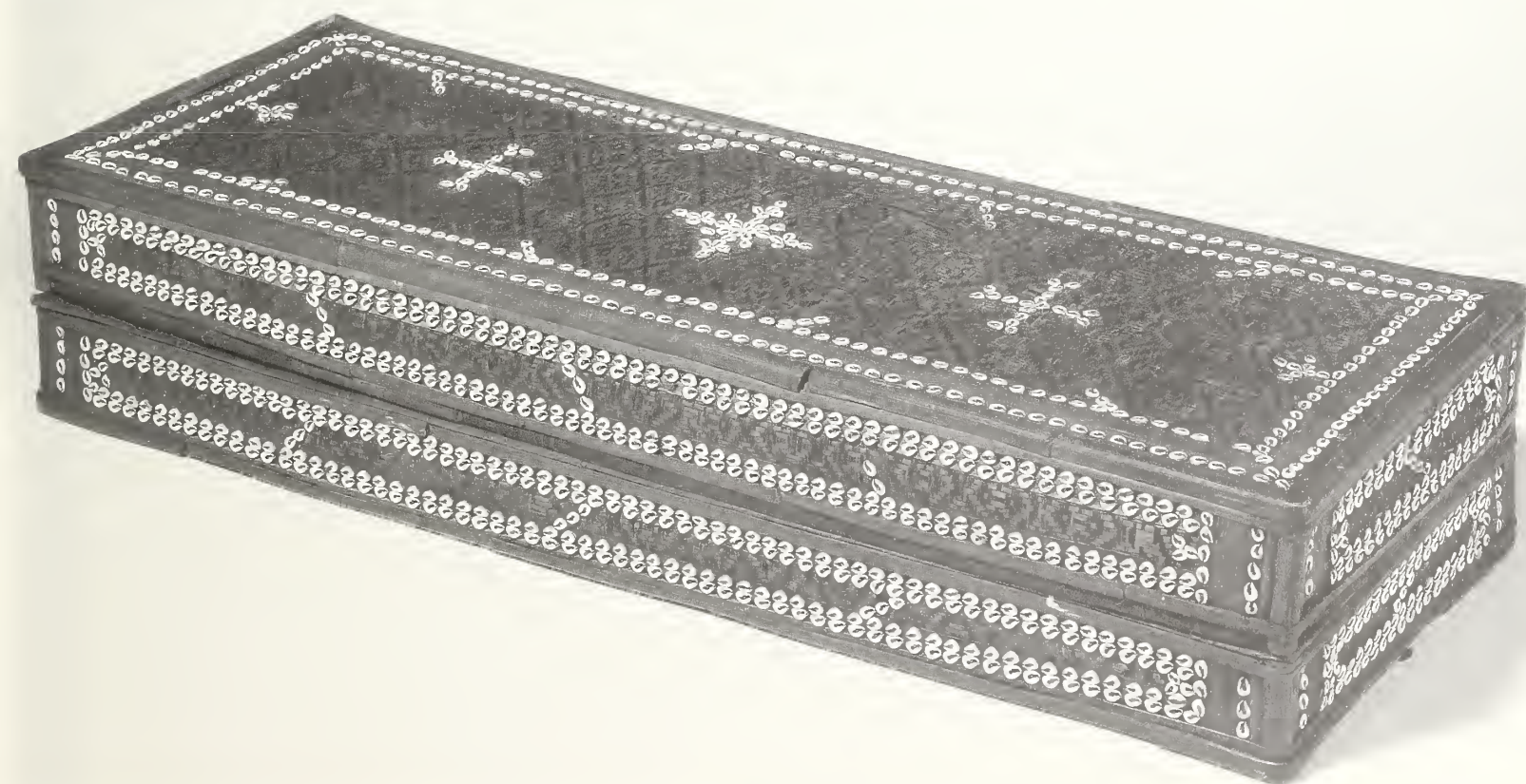


Fig. 7
Boat made of
cloves. Musée de
la Marine, Paris.



Fig. 8 (left)
'Ceramese Family.'
Universiteitsbibliotheek,
Amsterdam.

Fig. 9 (below)
Basketry box.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.



Tabula hec Regionis magni brasiliæ est: et ad partem occidentales
 summas castelle regis obtinet. Gens uero eius nigrescentis coloris.
 fera et immanissima caribus humanis uelut. Hec eadem gens arci
 et sagittis egregie utitur. hic phytici ueluti diores alioq; innumere a
 ues feræq; monstruolæ et seminatz plura genera reperuntur plu
 rimaq; arbor nalcunt que brasili nuncupata uelutis purpureo colo
 re tingendis opportuna censetur.

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TABULA BRASILIÆ

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RACE RELATIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT

THE SLAVE TRADE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The Portuguese were involved in the African slave trade from the 1440s onwards, first to southern Europe, from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, then to the Americas, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. West Africa played a major role in Portugal's Atlantic networks, since it provided gold and slaves for more than three centuries, although the Portuguese eventually were displaced by the Dutch and British. The Portuguese did manage to control most of the slave trade from Central Africa, which became extremely important in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In East Africa, they opened a new source of the Atlantic slave trade from the last decades of the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. As a result, they transported approximately 5.8 million slaves from Africa to the Americas, mainly to Brazil, but also to the Spanish colonies—about 47 percent of the 12.3 million slaves estimated to have been transported across the Atlantic between 1451 and 1870.¹

These data, which have been recalculated only recently, suggest that the Portuguese, mostly those based in Brazil, had an even stronger position in the slave trade than had previously been assumed.² It therefore is important to reassess the direct and indirect impact of Portuguese traders in the hinterland of central, west, and southeast Africa, with the consequential increase of warfare, waste of human life, destruction of many ethnic groups, forced migrations, and depopulation of vast regions. The Portuguese helped spread an economy of war; their demand increased trade based on the enslavement and transport of human beings, disrupted peaceful societies, and devastated huge territories; they helped transform slavery into a mode of production.³ This intensity of trade in people relied on a substantial network of political, social, and economic interests that impeded the progress of civil rights in Portuguese society and colonies. During the government of Pombal (1750–77) the process of abolition looked promising: in 1761, slave trade into Portugal (though not in the colonies) was abolished; in 1773, slavery was abolished in Portugal (again, not in the colonies) under certain conditions. These measures were integral to systematic legislation concerning civil rights: restitution of freedom, property, and trade to Brazilian Indians (1755 and 1758); recognizing the freedom of the Chinese and giving them access to public offices (1758); allowing Timorese women to enter Macao freely (1758); abolition of discrimination against baptized Asian Indians—they could not be designated as black or *mestiços* and were given preferential

access to public offices (1761); abolition of the discrimination against New Christians (1771 and 1773).⁴ But the political conjuncture was exceptional, as there was no further autonomous initiative on these matters for the next sixty years, precisely the period of the enormous abolitionist movement led by the British. The slave trade figures explain the long, slow process of abolition in Portuguese Africa and Brazil. The latter became independent in 1822, but slavery in Brazil was only abolished in 1888, after all of the other countries in the Americas.⁵ Despite constant pressure from the British government, beginning in 1807, the Portuguese did not abolish the transatlantic slave trade until 1836. Slavery was only abolished in Portuguese African colonies by a gradual series of laws dating from 1853 to 1875. All these laws were slowly implemented after several years, if not decades, of international protest.⁶

We have to consider the global effect of the slave trade, not only in the Portuguese colonies but also in Portugal. The ongoing presence of African slaves in Portugal until the end of the eighteenth century raises the issue of their integration and/or segregation. By the middle of the sixteenth century, African people represented seven percent of the population in southern Portugal, but they were scarcely found in the north.⁷ Although their presence declined throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they were comparatively more prevalent in Portugal than in any other European country, with the possible exception of southern Spain.⁸ Slaves were employed mainly as domestic servants but also as agricultural laborers. They had a reputation as good musicians. They were forced to convert into Catholicism, though that imposition did not secure their freedom. Even so, their lack of civil rights was marginally mitigated by the fact that most slaves and freedmen became members of confraternities (brotherhoods).⁹ In these institutions they found solidarity and some support for daily conflicts with their masters or even in their struggle for manumission. The conditions of slavery in Portugal were less exacting than in Brazil, where life expectation was significantly shorter due to the intense rigor of work at the sugar mills. Racial prejudices could be harsher in Brazil than they were at the center of the empire—the result of the difference between a colonial society based on slavery and a European society with slaves. This explains why in Portugal, by the middle of the sixteenth century, minorities could react with good humor to discriminatory jokes; sometimes they managed to return the insults they had received. João de Sá Panasco, a former black slave, represented

Fig. 1
'Map of Brazil from
the Miller Atlas,'
Pedro and Jorge Reinel,
Lopo Homen, and
António de Holanda,
Portugal, ca. 1519.
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.



the most famous case during the reign of João III (1521–57): he became royal jester and confidant of the king; he constantly mocked noblemen of the royal court; he even received permission from the king to wear the attire of the military order of Santiago.¹⁰

The long-term African presence in Portugal has been linked by authors like Gilberto Freyre¹¹ to the previous medieval multiethnic reality of Iberia. According to this view, the Portuguese (and the Spaniards) interacted with Muslims and sub-Saharan African people before the voyages of overseas expansion. As a result they adapted more easily to a tropical environment and the concept of mixed-race societies, while representatives from other European colonial powers were characterized by their refusal to mix with native people. In the 1930s, the young scholar Gilberto Freyre fostered the pride of mixed-race people, playing a crucial role in overcoming the ideology of white supremacy and reshaping Brazilian national identity. In the 1950s, however, Freyre became a willing instrument of propaganda by Salazar's regime, extending the idea of successful mixed-race societies to all Portuguese colonies.¹² Freyre's books were heralded as proof of Portuguese exceptionalism against the decolonizing process.

Freyre's "lusotropicalism" was challenged by the anthropologist Marvin Harris,¹³ who worked both in Brazil and Mozambique, and the historian Charles Boxer,¹⁴ who wrote extensively on the Portuguese empire. Freyre's ideology has been studied both in Brazil and Portugal in the past twenty years.¹⁵ The main critiques are as follows: The Portuguese did not treat the slaves better than did the other European powers (the only disputable point concerns the much higher rate of manumission in Brazil). Native people (and even mixed-race people) were excluded (with some exceptions) from schools, universities, religious orders (until the Pombal government reversed that policy), military top jobs, and most part of the municipal councils until the nineteenth century. Brazil was an almost unique case of a mixed-race society in the Portuguese colonial world. But Brazil presented itself as a clear historical case of structured forms of discrimination based on racism.

From my point of view, it is necessary to explore the comparative dimension pointed out by Freyre, although using more rigorous methods. Religious dimension also should be reassessed, since Catholicism was, in the Portuguese (and Spanish) case, one of the main criteria in the definition of subjects and political allegiance. In this perspective, the access enslaved people had to confraternities created a certain pressure against bad treatment and in favor of manumission. The traditional idea of Portuguese "humanitarian" behavior toward native people—underlined by Hegel in 1830¹⁶—should be seriously questioned and investigated. But I would further argue that there was no "essentially" Portuguese behavior, because it varied according to the different circumstances of colonization, local social configurations, and cultural resistance. The predisposition to mix induced by medieval experiences was confronted by a variety of ethnic prejudices and exclusions that emerged in the later period.

Moreover, it is not possible to sustain the argument that inter-ethnic behavior was simply transferred from Iberia to America, Africa, and Asia, where local conditions were totally different. Finally, the traditional Brazilian model of inter-ethnic discrimination (while allowing for individual promotion) contrasted with the North American model of segregation—excluding individual promotion, labeling all mixed-race people as “blacks,” but allowing in the long run communitarian promotion based on human rights—although this division cannot be extended to other European colonial experiences in Africa and Asia.

This essay, therefore, will experiment with two different and complementary approaches: first, the social history of race relations, based on the analysis of mixed-race realities in different colonies, constructed in a retrospective way due to available statistics; second, the cultural history of those relations, based on the analysis of visual material that can improve our understanding of the Portuguese position.

MIXED-RACE PEOPLE

The last census for the Portuguese colonies that identified “racial belonging” was carried out in 1950.¹⁷ The mixed-race population was only significant in Cape Verde Islands, where it included 70 percent of all residents. Inter-ethnic breeding was extremely limited in the other colonies: 7 percent in São Tomé and Príncipe, 1 percent in Macao, 0.9 percent in Guinea, 0.7 percent in Angola, 0.5 percent in Timor, 0.4 percent in Mozambique, and 0.03 percent in India. Within a total population of nearly 12 million people, approximately 170,000 people were classified as mixed race (1.4 percent). The number of white people is also interesting: approximately 138,000, no more than 1.2 percent of the total population in the colonies.

Paradoxically, the emigration of white people to Angola and Mozambique increased dramatically in the 1950s and 1960s, while the other European powers were decolonizing. Even though racial differentiation was omitted from the colonial censuses of 1960 and 1970, we know that around 600,000 people came back from the African colonies during or after the process of independence in 1975.¹⁸ It is impossible to estimate how many mulattos and black people were included in this number. In the new independent countries we can observe a process of “reafrikanisation” of mixed-race people, renewing the structural difference between Africa and Brazil that we observed during the Early Modern period.

Before we analyze the history of mixed-race people in each colony, we have to address the criteria of classification in these statistics. As we all know, race does not exist from a biological point of view but in the perceptions of people. In European colonial societies based on white supremacy, racial prejudices were a crucial element in the organization of social hierarchies. The racial criteria for the census of the colonial population in 1950 not only reflected the widely held viewpoint of the white elite but also its historical tradition. This was made explicit in a crucial indicator of the census: the difference between “civilized” and “uncivilized” people. The people of Cape Verde Islands, India, and Macao were all

considered “civilized,” while the percentage of “civilized people” among the natives of São Tomé and Príncipe was 69 percent, falling to 1 percent in both Angola and Timor, and just 0.1 percent in Mozambique. The criteria could not have been education, since illiteracy levels then stood at 79 percent of the population of Cape Verde, and 78 percent of the population of Goa, Daman, and Diu. Thus, racial prejudice was clearly an issue in this classification: nearly all the black people were considered “uncivilized.”

Before the days of steamships, the Cape Verde Islands functioned as a port of call in the maritime trade between Europe and South America and Europe and Asia, not to mention the slave trade between Africa and America. The islands were not populated before the arrival of the Portuguese in the 1460s. The different ethnic origins of the African people transported to the islands; the plantation system the colonizers experimented with for a while; and the openness to the maritime trade—all explain the unique dimension of mixed-race people in that colony.¹⁹ São Tomé and Príncipe were also populated under the Portuguese, but their position was much more isolated. These islands benefited from a connection with Angola, which provided slaves for the plantation system, which in the sixteenth century was based on sugar, in the nineteenth century on coffee and cacao.²⁰ In any case, the fact is that mixed-race identification was much less important in São Tomé and Príncipe than in the Cape Verde Islands, but still significant in 1950.

In Portugal’s other African colonies, mixed-race people represented less than 1 percent of the total population. It can be argued that this percentage was meaningless: small communities of mixed-race people could have become important in the weak framework of Portuguese colonial urbanization. That was the case in Luanda, the Angolan capital, where the social, intellectual, and political importance of mixed-race people increased throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. In 1798 the city counted 562 Europeans, 1,259 mixed race people, and 5,383 Africans.²¹ We know that the borders were not defined and the Portuguese had a limited influence in the hinterland, but it was estimated that mixed-race people in Angola might have numbered 4,500 people, less than 1 percent of the total population. This has led to a surprisingly stable racial composition of the population during the last two centuries.

In this respect, regarding the presence of mixed-race people, Portuguese Africa represented the opposite of Portuguese America. In Brazil, the Portuguese built a plantation system on the coast beginning in the sixteenth century. Fuelled by the trade in slaves from Africa, this plantation system structured a society that was controlled by white people and depended on regular replacement of the slave stock and a social buffer of mixed-race people between those of European, Indian, and African origin. Estimates of pre-statistic societies are always difficult to establish, but racial composition of the colonial society in Brazil at the beginning of the eighteenth century, not including the Indians, would have been close to 25 percent white people, 30 percent mixed-race people, and 45 percent black people. More or less the

Fig. 2
‘Noble Portuguese
in India,’ India?,
16th century. Biblioteca
Casanatense, Rome.

same percentages could be found at the beginning of the nineteenth century, despite an enormous increase of the population—from 300,000 to 3 million. Indians still represented a significant number at the beginning of the nineteenth century (5–7 percent of the colonial population), despite the impact of European assimilation, diseases, and enslavement.²²

In Africa, by contrast, the Portuguese did not establish a plantation system until the nineteenth century, with the aforementioned exception of São Tomé. They never controlled a large territory; their presence was mainly confined to ports. In Angola, the erosion of the Congolese power during the second half of the seventeenth century allowed a certain degree of Portuguese influence in the hinterland.²³ A similar situation occurred in Mozambique with the decline of the Monomotapa confederation in the first half of the seventeenth century: in the Zambezi valley, Afro-Portuguese participated in a hybrid system of land rights that were assigned for three generations.²⁴ The Portuguese population in Africa never represented more than 8,000 people before the end of the eighteenth century, while in Brazil the Portuguese numbered more than 25,000 in 1600, 90,000 in 1700, and 800,000 in 1800. Their weak presence in Africa shows that there was no real colonial society: the Portuguese lived in enclaves, managing the slave trade (on the west coast) and access to land and inter-regional trade (on the east coast). In these enclaves mixed-race people had a certain role, as mediators or potential soldiers in case of attack. While in Brazil mixed-race people functioned as a social buffer—because white people represented less than 30 percent of the population in the society they had shaped—in Africa the destiny of mixed-race people would be to return to their original African society and become black again, with the exception of Cape Verde, São Tomé, Cuanza (a province in Angola), and the Zambezi valley, where mulattos could be considered white with some advantage. Global society and its needs seem to have played a major role in the status of inter-ethnic offspring in the Portuguese empire.

A different environment allows us to develop this issue further. In Asia, the Portuguese governor Afonso Albuquerque implemented a policy of marriage with native people in 1510, after the conquest of Goa, to create an elite of Euro-descendants capable of managing the empire at the local level (fig. 2). This policy was carried out against racial prejudices of the king and some Portuguese *fidalgos*, which meant that there was no central policy favoring “tropical interbreeding.” The practice of inter-ethnic unions and marriages spread all over Portuguese Asia and became rooted as a result of political, economic, and social needs. We can evaluate the dimension of this elite group of mixed-race people through the reports on royal revenues and expenditures in the *Estado da Índia*. For each fort and territory, these reports estimated the number of soldiers, artisans, clerks, officials, and clergymen on the king’s payroll as well as the number of married Christian people (*casados*). Their purpose was to evaluate the sources and the geography of income, the structure of expenditures, the possibilities of office distribution, and the

available manpower. This last aspect was crucial. According to the most comprehensive report, written in 1635 by António Bocarro, general archivist and chronicler in Goa, there were approximately 5,000 “white” *casados* and 39,000 “black” *casados* in fifty different communities all around Asia, although there are no data on “black” *casados* in twenty-two communities.²⁵ The taxonomy was typical of the Portuguese colonial empire: natives in Asia were considered “black,” just as Brazilian Indians were described as *negros da terra* (blacks of the land).²⁶ The numbers involved were quite important: 5,000 “white” *casados* could represent around 50,000 people, including wives, concubines, children, servants, and slaves, while the “black” *casados* could represent much more than 390,000 people. Obviously, these data must be considered as volatile: Christian communities could virtually disappear from one day to the next with changes of power or local policies. What is interesting is that the designation “white” *casados* was given to mixed-race people, while “black” *casados* described native people without European ancestors.

We know that “white” *casados* played a crucial role in Portuguese Asia. They controlled the municipal councils and the main confraternities called *misericórdias*, the two pillars of the Portuguese empire, as Charles Boxer rightly stated.²⁷ They became a status group with endogenous practices, who maintained the fiction of a pure European bloodline until the middle of the twentieth century; the works of Germano Correia are a good example of the interests and ideology of this status group, frozen in time and unprepared for the decolonization to come.²⁸ But the interesting issue here is that the social position of this mixed-race group depended on the political status attributed to it by the Portuguese authorities. The progressive opening of the public administration after the 1820 liberal revolution in Portugal; the representatives of “black” natives from the new colonies (called *canarins*) in the Lisbon parliament beginning in 1822; the suppression of the local army in Goa in 1871; and the free access of non-converted natives to public jobs after the republican revolution of 1910—these factors represented a cycle of setbacks to the “lusso-descendants” in Goa, the capital of the *Estado da Índia*. Their numbers decreased from 6,000 people during the nineteenth century to 2,000 people before the integration of Goa with India in 1961.²⁹

This extreme example of mixed-race people as a status group—which did not exist with the same features outside Portuguese Asia—shows how they depended on political recognition and support from the Portuguese central government. This is exactly what differentiated the mixed-race people of Portuguese descent in Asia from the mixed-race people of Dutch or English descent. Dutchmen and Englishmen did not mix with native people as much as the Portuguese, but we have to step back from the idea of a total segregation, which had been relatively important in America from the earliest settlement but absent in Asia until the end of the eighteenth century. Hundreds of Dutch free-burghers who left the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC or Dutch East India Company) married Eurasian women in Ambon, Sri Lanka, Malabar, and Coromandel Coast after

Holland conquered those Portuguese strongholds. In Batavia (now Jakarta) and Dutch factories of the Far East, numerous mixed families could be found; their offspring married senior VOC officials, including governors-general.³⁰ During the last decades of the eighteenth century, well-known officers of the (British) East India Company—such as Major James Achilles Kirkpatrick, the British resident at the court of Hyderabad, and General William Palmer, resident at Poona—had Indian wives and families and shared in most native rituals, cloths, food, and habits. It is estimated that by that time one-third of the British in India had Indian wives or concubines or were fathers of mixed-race children.³¹

Within the Dutch and British empires, the mixed-race population had no political recognition. In 1644 slaves, colored people, and colored wives were forbidden by the VOC to travel to Europe, a ban that was renewed in 1650 and 1713. In 1672, the authorities of Batavia forbade the employment of Asian office-clerks without special permission; this ban was renewed in 1715 and extended in 1718 to the descendants of Europeans. It was only in 1727 that Eurasians began to be promoted in VOC-administered territories, a date that coincides with the beginning of the decline of the Dutch empire. In times of crisis, Eurasians could be welcomed. In the British case, by contrast, the decision to exclude mixed-race people from public service in 1793 defined a policy of discrimination that set the course of social relations between colonizers and native people for the duration of the nineteenth century. The creation of mixed families decreased significantly after this measure, which represents a good example of the impact of policies on human behavior.

Mixed-race people in the Dutch and British empires suffered discrimination for entirely different reasons. In the case of the Dutch, the VOC feared that the development of the free-burghers, and the resulting increase in autonomous commercial activities, could damage its interest in Asia. Putting pressure on mixed-race communities was a way of limiting the free-burghers' ability to exert economic and social agency. In the British case, the reasons were both political and ideological. The conquest of India required the management of a vast complex of territories with completely different traditions. The need to implement a uniform administration and a centralized political culture in a late imperial process—two and a half centuries after the Portuguese and a century and a half after the Dutch—partly explains the discrimination policy against mixed-race people. The new vigor of race theory in Europe also encouraged the shift from tolerant to intolerant behavior in the 1790s. As usual, ideology served new political interests. But what distinguished the Dutch and British empires was a capacity to recruit manpower and mobilize financial resources that the Portuguese did not have. The Portuguese policy of recognizing and promoting Eurasians was a consequence of their inability to attract European capital and renew the European stock of soldiers, sailors, artisans, merchants, and administrators in faraway territories. Thus the configuration and status of mixed-race communities were totally different in Portuguese colonies in Asia, Africa, and America.

VISUAL CULTURE

Although the Portuguese were the first Europeans to explore the west and east coasts of Africa, they did not contribute decisively to the spread of a new image of black people (with one possible exception, as we will see). African heads were included in the coats of arms of warriors or explorers, such as Fernão Gomes da Mina,³² who was awarded a contract to explore the Guinea Gulf in 1469. This was a late renewal of the European heraldic fashion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries that had been stimulated by the crusades. Works depicting the Adoration of the Magi included the representation of one wise men as black or

Fig. 3
'Adoration of the Magi,' attributed to Vasco Fernandes, Portugal, early 16th century. Museu de Grão Vasco, Viseu.





brown, as in the painting of the convent of Jesus in Setúbal³³ or the altar piece of the convent of Celas in Coimbra.³⁴ Both were painted in the first quarter of the sixteenth century; in the latter example, the wise man is a stereotype of a Muslim from the Middle East, with a turban, globe, and dagger. The illuminated *Book of Hours* of King Manuel (1517–1538) features a black wise man, and the pages of the Magi are depicted as Middle Eastern Muslims and black slaves.³⁵ Artworks also presented stereotyped representations of black people as female servants, as in the *Birth of the Virgin*, a Portuguese painting from the first half of the sixteenth century.³⁶ This tradition of naturalistic representation of black people—which corresponds to similar images in other European countries of the same period (the portraits of black people by Dürer are well known)—is reflected in the retablo of Saint Aute, painted around 1525, where we can see a group of black musicians.³⁷ The cover of the *Auto da Natural Invenção* by António Ribeiro Chiado, printed before 1557, portrays a black musician playing guitar.³⁸

The most striking image is the one drawn on the *Miller Atlas*, created in 1519 by the Portuguese cartographers Lopo Homem and Pedro and Jorge Reinel, as well as the illuminator António de Holanda.³⁹ On the map representing Africa, specifically in the West African region, are two ambiguous dark brown figures, which could be interpreted as half man, half monkey. If this is the case—the figures are slightly different from the type of monkey represented in South America—this represents, to my knowledge, the first depiction of the stereotype of black Africans as monkeys, inaugurating a long lasting European tradition that contributed to race theory more than two centuries later. Even when the stereotype is not so explicit, it is important to note how consistently black slaves were represented among animals. The racist meaning is obvious: black people belong to nature and must be placed in nature. We find the same idea in literary sources: the Flemish humanist Nicholas Cleynaerts, who lived in Portugal from 1533 to 1538, bought three black boys, taught them Latin, and used them as teaching aids, referring to them in his correspondence as “monkeys,”⁴⁰ meaning that they could imitate but were unable to create.

We have to wait until the last decades of the seventeenth century to have images of Angolan people “taken from nature.” Such images were included in the *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* by Cadornega, a manuscript written in 1680–82⁴¹—a striking profusion of images of village life, dances, rituals, male and female portraits, warriors, rulers in their habitat, and labor activities, such as cutting the bark of the *imbondeiro* to make bags and clothing. From the second half of the eighteenth century we have some images of racial types of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, such as the representation of a couple of mulattoes in the Cape Verde Islands, which resemble the drawings of Carlos Julião in Brazil.⁴²

Four crucial images defined the ambiguous and diverse representation of the Brazilian Indians in Portugal, later disseminated throughout Europe, directly and indirectly. The first surviving image, included in the *Adoration of the*

Three Magi, painted between 1501 and 1506, is part of the retablo of the cathedral of Viseu (fig. 3).⁴³ Surprisingly, one of the wise man is represented not as a black man, in keeping with the medieval iconographic tradition, but as a Brazilian Indian, with feathers on his head and around his neck and waist. The artist “dressed” the Indian, perhaps Balthazar, with a shirt and shorts decorated with pearls, which matches the pearls on his ears and the collar on his neck. He also wears an elegant scarf, which gave more movement to the scene. Balthazar’s legs are naked, underlining his connection to nature, and he wears sandals, suggesting an intermediate state of “civilization” (even if the word did not exist at the time) that could be traced back to dignitaries of Ancient Rome.⁴⁴ Curiously enough, he is depicted wearing a long arrow or spear, which might be interpreted as a candid reference to the long stick used by the Indians in the ceremonial killing of their enemies before they cooked and ate them. In any case, this image exemplifies the early depiction of American Indians as innocent beings, who had somehow been separated from a “civilized” environment and could easily receive the word of the Lord.

If the first image looks toward heaven, the second image, painted between 1510 and 1520, in the same initial period of contact with the Tupis, represents hell.⁴⁵ It is an anonymous painting of the Portuguese school with a very interesting composition centered on the concept of the seven capital sins: being cooked in a huge cauldron at the center, probably due to their pride, are several sinners (including two clergymen). On the upper right side an upside-down cauldron cooks several other sinners, probably accused of anger. At the lower right, a devil in the form of an old witch punishes a couple of lusty sinners; at the lower left a demon who looks like a goat forces those guilty of gluttony to eat more and more disgusting food. Next to him, a hermaphrodite monster pierces the tongue of a sinner who was envious; a bestial monster feeds coins into the mouth of a sinner who was mean. At the top left, three graces, probably accused of laziness, have been placed upside down and burned. Even more interesting is the figure of Lucifer at the top center of the composition; he is seated on a throne and dressed like a Brazilian Indian, down to his feathers, and uses a long horn to give instructions (a clear reference to the hunting horn). Here the Brazilian Indian is related to the lawless country where he lives, where the word of the Lord has not been spread and the indigenous are either the devil’s prey or the devil themselves. This representation indicates the break-away from the initial concept of innocence, illustrating the transition to the ambivalent vision of the Native American: both innocent and sinner, open to the Gospel but inclined by nature to persevere in a life without order—*sem fé, sem lei, e sem rei* (without faith, without law, and without king)—and demonized in those terms.

The third example clearly defines the image of the American Indians as naked with feathers. It, too, is part of the *Miller Atlas* produced in 1519 by Lopo Homem, the Reinels, and Holanda.⁴⁶ There was a tradition of representing local people in late medieval atlases, such as in the Catalan atlas of

Fig. 4
'Saint Francis Xavier,'
Portugal, ca. 1600. Santa
Casa da Misericórdia
de Lisboa/Museu
de São Roque, Lisbon.

Fig. 5
'Saint Francis Xavier
Preaching,' André
Reinoso (1610–1641),
Portugal, 1619–22. Santa
Casa da Misericórdia
de Lisboa/Museu
de São Roque, Lisbon.

circa 1375, in which a black king is depicted at the center of Africa (see pp. 224–25). The *Miller Atlas* depicts several Indians in the region of modern Brazil (the legend clearly indicates *Terra Brasilis*) (fig. 1). They are set in a natural environment, among woods, monkeys, parrots, and other animals. They are cutting Brazil wood, a dye wood that was used for bartering with the Europeans. They are represented naked, or with ceremonial feathers on their heads and around the shoulders and waist. It is a “realistic” image, implicitly indicating innocence and unawareness of original sin (recalling the letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha).⁴⁷ As we have seen, the initial concept of innocence was challenged immediately. But here Native Americans were placed in nature, a *topos* also used in the African context. It would be of crucial importance in the future development of racial theories. The Indian with feathers, close to nature, would become the standardized image of America used in the allegorical personification of the four parts of the world (or continents) defined during the second half of the sixteenth century.⁴⁸

The fourth image is of a Brazilian Indian, included in the illuminated copy of the *Chronicle of John I* by Fernão Lopes. It is an excellent work executed around 1530 and attributed to António de Holanda.⁴⁹ Here, the Brazilian is represented as a dark man, covered only by feathers on his head and around the shoulders and waist; only the shoes have been invented by the artist. This image confirms to those in the *Miller Atlas*; after all, they were executed by the same artist. We can only refer to the dates of the surviving images, but it is possible that these representations of Native Americans have circulated in Portugal since the first years of the sixteenth century. The first documented transport of Native Americans to Europe in Portuguese ships is dated 1509, but we know that they were depicted in Viseu as early as 1506. Although the miniature in the *Chronicle of John I* might have escaped the analysis of European artists, the *Miller Atlas* was well known, and Portuguese cartography had an immediate impact on the Dieppe school, so influential in England and Netherlands by the middle of the sixteenth century.

The images of Native Americans drawn from nature were only depicted in the Dutch dominion of Pernambuco and the northern provinces of Brazil during the 1630s and 1640s. The painter Albert Eckhout produced the first naturalistic portraits of Tupis and Tapuyas (see pp. 116, 118, 119). He portrayed social types of “assimilated” and “savage” Indians, either as half-dressed males preparing for the hunt and females caring for their families and engaged in domestic work, or as naked males preparing for war and rude females exhibiting proofs of cannibalism. He also depicted ritual dances of Native Americans, a *topos* also developed by his companions. In his gallery of colonial racial types, Eckhout included black people living in Brazil, the Congolese ambassador at Recife and his servants, mamelukes, and *mestizos* of Portuguese and Indian origin.⁵⁰ The implicit social hierarchy, defined by cloths and weaponry, is also a hierarchy of races, from the Tapuya to the mamelukes.

At the same time (and in a Brazilian context), artists Zacarias Wagener and Frans Post were depicting Native

Americans and African slaves in their colonial habitat (see pp. 106, 110, 111). Again these works depicted rituals, including dance, but it was the labor in sugar mills that was drawn with great care. These painters are known for their precise depiction of landscapes—the farm, the houses, the mill, the proximity of the river or the sea, the crop, the position of the church, the processions and gatherings on holidays—which included the accurate representation of fauna and flora. They contributed to the creation of a tropical genre of painting, representing the main colonial features in a specific rural setting. The Indians and the slaves were placed in the colonial context of their daily lives, at the bottom of the social hierarchy or excluded from civilization, similar to the Tapuyas in Eckhout’s paintings.⁵¹

It is intriguing that black and native Brazilians are so rarely represented by Portuguese artists until the second half of the eighteenth century. Nothing in Brazil resembles the *castas* paintings in Mexico and Peru. It is true that Native Americans were not as present in Brazilian urban colonial society as in Spanish America. But Portugal also did not have a strong tradition of portraiture or social representation in painting.⁵² Not until Carlos Julião, an artist active during the 1760s and 1770s, would there be prominent images of black people, such as the king and queen at the *Festa dos Reis* or the social types he included in his depictions of Salvador da Bahia, Diu, Rio de Janeiro, and the island of Mozambique.⁵³ A male water carrier and the female fruit seller, with her baby on her back, the right hand balancing a tray on her head and the left hand holding a pipe, are great figures of urban slavery that would inspire, forty years later, the extraordinary representation of urban and rural popular figures by Jean-Baptiste Debret⁵⁴ and Johann Moritz Rugendas.⁵⁵ In 1783–92, the representation of Indians in the Amazon River benefited from an exceptional project, the scientific expedition directed by Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira that collected plants, animals, minerals, and artifacts. Rodrigues Ferreira also organized inventories and sketches of many aspects of natural history. The extensive collection of masks, ceramics, baskets, and diverse artifacts of the local Indians is still impressive today, as are the representations of the Indians with their ceremonial dresses, collars and masks, spears, arrows and bows, toys, hair cutting, body painting, scarification, and tattoos.⁵⁶

In Asia, the Portuguese contribution to images of local people was also significant. In the middle of the sixteenth century, a codex by (or commissioned by) a Portuguese presented local people from Mozambique to China, a total of seventy-six images, including the main social types, popular and aristocratic. Known as *Codex Casanatense* (see p. 41), it depicts phenotype features, dresses, arms, weddings, religion, and professions (hunters, fishermen, merchants, sailors, peasants, bankers, washers, sellers, blacksmiths, or jewelers) in great detail. Fauna and flora are included. Collective scenes of work or leisure also are recorded in this extraordinary repertoire.⁵⁷ It is a kind of proto-ethnographic register, in which the Eurocentric look is limited to describing references in the captions to “gentios” (gentiles) or “mouros” (moors).



Fig. 6
'World Map' screen,
Japan, 17th century.
Nanban Bunkakan,
Tokyo.

Other representations of Asian peoples by Portuguese artists are much less precise. They include different images in the illuminated codex of the *Segundo cerco de Diu* by Jerónimo Corte Real (1574)⁵⁸ or in the scenes of the life of Francis Xavier in Asia at the sacristy of the Jesuit church of São Roque in Lisbon (figs. 4–5), depicted much later by André Reinoso.⁵⁹ The latter features an early “Orientalist” blend of Middle East stereotyped figures, half naked with tunics and turbans, which fail in comparison to the aforementioned *Codex Casanatense*. But there is one interesting example of cross-cultural creation of new images of East Africa and Asia: the *Itinerario* by Jan Huygen van Linschoten, published for the first time in 1596 in Amsterdam.⁶⁰ The Dutch author had been a secretary of the archbishop of Goa from 1583 to 1588 and when he returned to the Netherlands he took with him a collection of maps and sketches of daily life in Asia. The engravings van Linschoten included in the book—which he either designed or redesigned, he had a good reputation as cartographer and drawer—depicted Portuguese Asia in a splendid way, but also the main social types of China, Pegu, Cannanore, Ethiopia, and Arabia. The eight maps and thirty-one engravings included in *Itinerario* constitute the only collection to establish a real dialogue with the *Codex Casanatense*. Some of the images—the Brahmin widow throwing herself into the fire where her dead husband burns; the Hindu temple and the mosque—became consecrated representations of Asian rituals and religious buildings in the narratives on the habits of the world published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, namely those organized by Johann Theodor de Bry⁶¹ and Bernard Picard.⁶²

This essay does not discuss the representations of the world depicted by the people the Portuguese encountered and engaged in cultural exchange, but it is interesting to

take note of the Japanese screens with cartographic representation of the four continents and their associated inhabitants, which certainly were based on information passed on by the Portuguese (fig. 6). Created at the beginning of the seventeenth century in Japan, this representation of the world amplified previous European experiences and helped define a cartographic genre that combined geographic and proto-ethnographic information.⁶³ The influence of costume books on this new genre is obvious. Such books likewise sought to identify the diversity of humankind through the depiction of the body, gestures, and clothing and accessories.⁶⁴

In summary, the Portuguese played a decisive role in defining the image of the Brazilian Indian in Europe, which later became the standard stereotype representing America in the personification of continents. The Portuguese also played an important role in the creation and diffusion of images of East African and Asian people, including those in Mozambique, Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, southeast Asia and China. Curiously, the representation of African people in Europe did not depend much on artists from Portugal, because the codex written by Cadornega was not widely disseminated. But the Portuguese did contribute to the prejudiced images of the African in nature—half monkey, half man. They spread European cartography of the world in Asia and linked it to the representation of peoples from different continents. They also created a proto-ethnographic representation of the people they encountered, not only in the sixteenth century but as late as the second half of the eighteenth century. I have suggested that this was integral to the “practical gaze” of the Portuguese. This practical gaze, however, was subject to prejudices, just as the interbreeding with the peoples of the world was marked by discrimination and a constant assertion of white supremacy.



PORTUGUESE – AFRICAN RELATIONS, 1500–1750

JOHN K. THORNTON

The Portuguese first arrived in the African waters in the 1440s, planning to raid the coast as much as to trade. Young knights eager to win their spurs in combat engaged in fits of derring-do, such as capturing unarmed fishermen on the coast of what would become Senegal. The royal chronicler Gomes Eanes de Zurara (circa 1410–1474) dressed up these feats as best he could, in true chivalric style. Thus the young squire Nuno Tristão was knighted for his role in a nighttime attack on a camp of sleeping Africans near the Senegal in 1441.¹

But these early raiders were in for a shock when they returned a few years later to repeat these feats of honor.² Because their ocean-going caravels were hampered by the shallow coastal waters, they had to land on shore in longboats. That was fine as long as the Africans on the coast were caught by surprise, but they soon learned to deal with threats of that nature. Using long, shallow draft canoes, sometimes as many as fifty Africans would attack the Portuguese longboats and slaughter their soldiers and crews. Armor was of little use; in the blazing Senegalese temperature no one could wear a full suit of metal, and in any case even a slight scratch from a poisoned arrow could be fatal. By 1450 several expeditions were limping back to Portugal with heavy losses, and Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), the financier and overseer of Portugal's African enterprise, was forced to rethink the whole project.

In 1456, Henry sent Diogo Gomes, a knight of the royal household, to the Senegalese coast to negotiate a new relationship based on peaceful trade and diplomacy rather than raiding and violence. By the time Gomes completed his second voyage in 1462, Portugal's African policy had been redefined and African nobles were visiting Portugal, studying at its schools, and staying at the monastery of Saint Eloi in Lisbon. Burned in their attempts at direct conquest, the Portuguese had shied away from military action. In all their subsequent explorations of West Africa, they repeated the same tactics—sending unarmed missions ashore with instructions to locate and negotiate with the ruling powers on the coast, promise gifts and good relations, and seek converts to Christianity.³

THE PORTUGUESE IN WEST AFRICA

To develop a permanent presence in West Africa, Portugal's rulers restricted themselves to a series of uninhabited offshore islands where they could create a population base under their control and, if possible, that would be an asset rather than a drain on royal finances. The Cape Verde Islands, settled

after 1462, provided Portugal with a base for operating in the Senegambian region, and then became a moderately successful agricultural colony that had strategic advantages in the larger Atlantic commerce.⁴ Farther along the coast, the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe (settled after 1493) provided a similar base for trade with the Gulf of Guinea and a far more prosperous settlement. By the middle of the sixteenth century São Tomé had become one of the world's leading producers of sugar, a position it held until Brazil eclipsed it at the century's end.⁵ From these island colonies, Portuguese officials could oversee commercial and other activities on the African mainland with stricter control than would be possible in simple factories, as the trading posts were called, and without the difficulties and dangers of staying on the coast.

There were instances, however, where the Portuguese were prepared to establish an on-shore presence. In 1469, for example, they established a small post on Arguin, an island off the western coast of Mauritania, to manage their participation in the Saharan gold trade. This factory (*feitoria* in Portuguese) was needed to protect the gold while it awaited shipment home. The Arguin factory was eventually replaced by the administration on Cape Verde, which then handled the distribution of the gold from Senegal and the other regions of Upper Guinea (approximately the region from Senegal to the Ivory Coast).

In 1482, however, King João II (1455–1495) decided it was essential to construct another trading post, this time at a spot dubbed São Jorge da Mina (modern Elmina) on the coast of what would become Ghana. A royal chronicle by Rui de Pina (1440–1521) gives an account of the building of a "castle" (in actuality, a fort) there, to protect gold awaiting shipment and keep as much of the gold trade as possible in the hands of Portuguese royal officials. There was a long and complex negotiation with local leaders, who initially had some trepidation about having a Portuguese fort on their lands but they eventually acceded.⁶ The castle was placed under the higher administration of São Tomé, following the settlement of that island. It survived because its officers made themselves particularly useful, given the complicated politics of the region, during diplomatic disputes in which the factory could be seen as a neutral party.

The Portuguese established a few more trading posts along the African coast in the sixteenth century, though none of them were fortified or had the status of São Jorge. The most notable perhaps was the post at Ughoton, the Kingdom

Fig. 1
'Plaque of a Portuguese
with Trident,' Benin
Kingdom, Nigeria,
16th century. Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin,
Ethnologisches Museum.



Fig. 2
'World map,' Pero
Fernandes, Portugal, ca.
1545. Austrian National
Library, Vienna.

of Benin's port, which was accessible by Portugal's large ocean-ready ships.

If Portugal could not storm Africa from the sea as the first adventurers had hoped, there was still a chance that it could establish a presence on the mainland by playing politics with local rulers. Thus Portugal became involved in the internal politics of Great Jolof, a kingdom that controlled the mouth of the Sénégal River and had established commercial and diplomatic relations with Portugal in 1456. In 1488, one of the pretenders to Jolof's vacant throne, Bumi Jelen (known to the Portuguese as Bemoim), appealed to Portugal for help in winning the throne. Bemoim was taken to Portugal, feted, and received at court with great pomp. He agreed to be baptized (as Dom João) and (it was hoped) to be a loyal friend to Portugal; in 1489 he was sent back to Jolof with a Portuguese fleet and armed forces. Unfortunately, he got into an altercation with Pero Vaz da Cunha, captain of the fleet, who killed the would-be king in a fit of rage. With that unfortunate death, the Jolof project unraveled and Portugal did not attempt to pursue it further.⁷

Portugal was able, however, to establish commercial and political relationships with other African states. Primarily for fiscal reasons, the crown sought to concentrate all African trade in its own hands, or those of its appointed agents, and to conduct this trade through a limited number of posts on the coast. This strategy, however, was very difficult to carry out, particularly since settlers in the off-shore colonies tried in every way possible to avoid the crown's restrictions and taxation on trade with Africans. In the early years of the sixteenth century, for example, officials complained that Portuguese merchants were visiting the African coast opposite the Cape Verde Islands. These unofficial and illegal (in the eyes of the Portuguese officialdom) traders were variously called *lançados* or *tangosmaus* (sometimes spelled *tangos mãos*), and Portugal sought any means it could to restrain them. This

included establishing a colony even closer to the mainland on the Bissagos Islands (an attempt badly defeated by local resistance in 1529) and toward the end of the century constructing a new factory-settlement on the coast of modern Guinea-Bissau. The expressed purpose of the factory was to concentrate trade in one place and protect Portuguese merchants against damage done by local people. Its main role, however, was to maintain the king's control over the African trade. Although the fort and post remained in operation as Portugal's foothold on the coast, it did little to contain or control the *lançados*, who continued to flourish.

These renegade Portuguese soon were spread out all along the coast. When English and Dutch merchants began visiting the coast in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, they found the *lançados* everywhere—married into local society (many were of mixed race by century's end); willing to trade with all comers; and at times well connected politically. *Lançados* also offered their services as mercenaries, particularly as musketeers in a region that was only beginning to learn about muskets. When the English adventurer John Hawkins provided soldiers for a war in the Sierra Leone region, he was surprised to learn that his opponents included some Portuguese musketeers.⁸

In the early seventeenth century, the Portuguese crown conceived a different approach to its relations with Africa: missionary activity. Although the crown had always favored Christianization, it had done little to press for the conversion of Africans following their first burst of enthusiasm. North of the Gambia River, this was undoubtedly because the population was Muslim and reluctant to change, but south of the river, it was probably due to neglect. Inquisition officials also noted that in the sixteenth century a certain number of Portuguese converted Jews, called "New Christians," traded on the coast; because of social prejudice, it was beneficial for New Christians to transfer their operations

away from Portuguese oversight, particularly that of the Church. The New Christians were not interested in having the Church come to the mainland, though other *lançados* remained Catholic and, law-breakers that they were, welcomed the occasional priest who came to offer sacraments.

By the 1610s the crown's plan to colonize the coast included sending Jesuit priests as an advance party to Sierra Leone.⁹ While nothing came of the colonizing scheme, the Jesuits enjoyed considerable religious success: a number of local rulers decided to be baptized, and the mission flourished as long as the Jesuits remained. However, their numbers dwindled by mid-century, and Portugal's plans to replace them with Capuchin friars did not produce much in the way of long-term continuation. In the absence of a real church organization, the Catholic Church's influence in West Africa lapsed.¹⁰

The Portuguese attempted a similar religious outreach in the Gulf of Guinea. At first, their efforts were directed toward Benin, which they perceived as the most powerful and prestigious state in the region. Initially, the king wanted to send missionaries, but the request was not followed up for some years. A group arrived in 1514 and enjoyed some success, building a church and baptizing some nobles. Despite a second mission in 1538–39, in the long run there was a great deal of resistance to conversion at the Benin court.¹¹ However, the Augustinian friars who arrived at São Tomé in the 1570s found success in a smaller kingdom, Warri, located in the Niger Delta and culturally similar to Benin. Unlike the Benin mission, the one in Warri was long-lasting. People professed themselves to be Christian until the end of the nineteenth century, though they received few priests and practiced a syncretic form of Christianity.¹²

THE PORTUGUESE IN CENTRAL AFRICA

Portugal developed altogether different relations with Central Africa than it did with West Africa, largely because of its remarkable relationship with the Kingdom of Kongo. In this region, initial interactions had far-reaching consequences as Central African powers sought alliances with Portugal. Eventually Portugal would build its only mainland colony on Africa's Atlantic coast. The Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão was sent out to Africa early in 1483 with instructions to seek out Prester John, the mysterious "king of the Indies." At the time, no one at the Portuguese court realized that the African coast turned south after modern Cameroon. They imagined that when they reached Benin, they would be near to the lands of the mythical Christian monarch. Those beliefs were strengthened during the first Portuguese visit to the Benin court when a messenger from an interior city arrived wearing a Maltese cross around his neck.¹³

Diogo Cão soon learned, however, that the African coast did not lead to Prester John, but to other lands further south, such as the Kingdom of Kongo. Portugal and Kongo exchanged hostages, and much to the delight of the Portuguese court, Nzinga a Nkuwu, the king of Kongo, announced in 1488 that he wished to become a Christian and, they assumed, surely a friendly ally of Portugal. A royal mission arrived at the Kongolesse court in 1491, and along with baptism,

the king, now João I Nzinga a Nkuwu, accepted military assistance to fight against rebels. He also received a wide range of technical assistance, ranging from farmers who introduced the plow to women who showed his subjects how to make bread. While Christianity did indeed establish itself in the kingdom, perhaps the most long-lasting gift was literacy. One of the Kongolesse who traveled to Portugal in the 1480s composed in October 1491 the first of many letters that Kongo kings would send to Lisbon, and later established a school at the court.¹⁴

Following this auspicious beginning, another Portuguese royal mission arrived in Kongo in 1509, and a third in 1512. Each included rich gifts and military support. João and his fervently Christian son Afonso I Mvemba a Nzinga (1509–1542) hired several Portuguese as soldiers, masons, and priests, many of whom converted their wages into slaves or copper ingots, which they sold at a profit. The Portuguese mission in Kongo was unlike anything else on the African coast. It was not a factory, in the Portuguese sense of the word, though there were merchant communities at the royal capital of Mbanza Kongo and the port town of Mpinda. Nor was it a colony, for Portugal had no authority in Kongo. The crown had an agreement that granted Afonso a monopoly on trade coming from the Central African coast and another

Fig. 3
'Fragment of a plaque with two Portuguese figures,' 16th century. Benin Kingdom, Nigeria. Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.



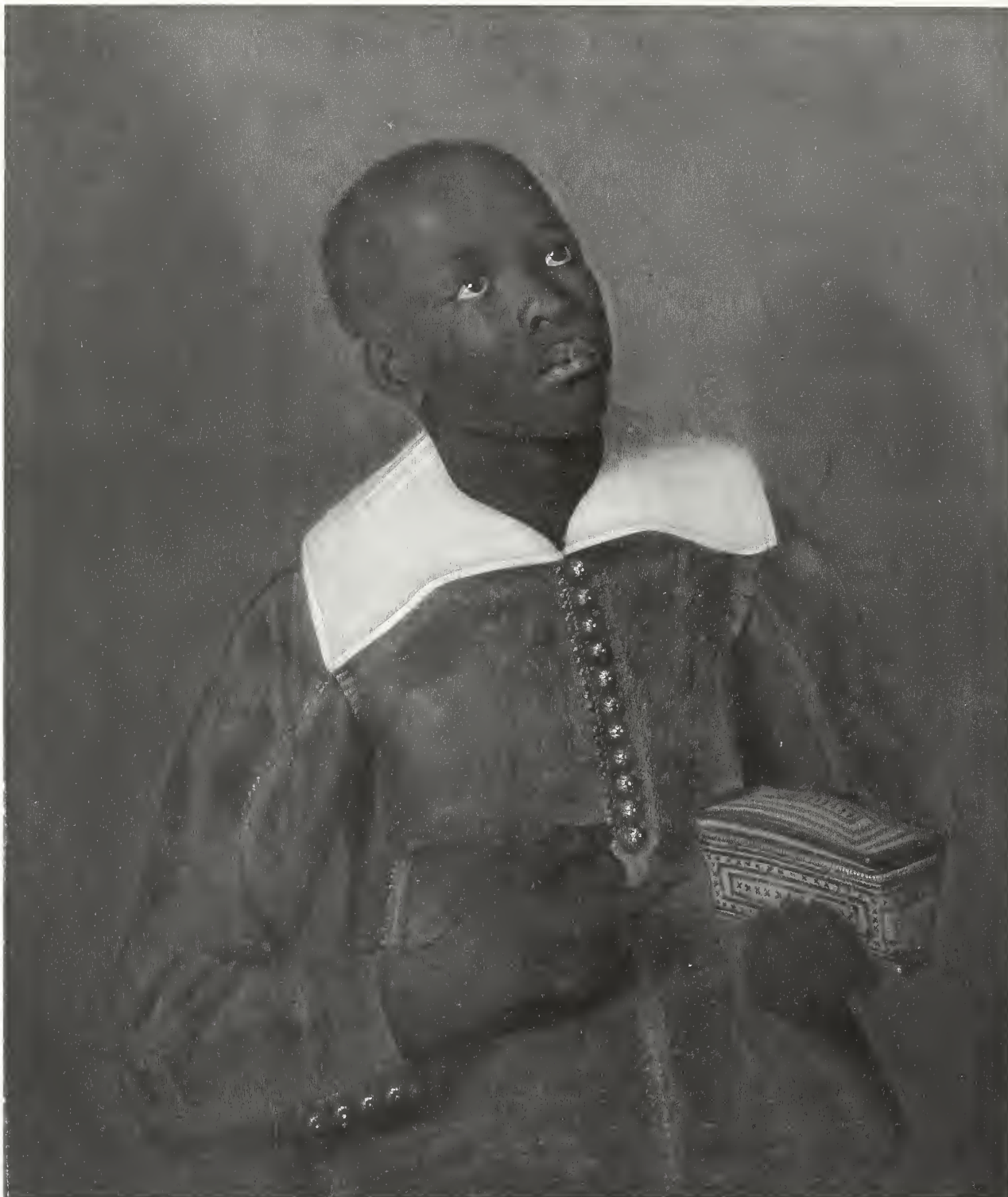


Fig. 4
*'Servant of Don Miguel
 de Castro, holding a
 box,' Jasper Becx,
 The Netherlands, before
 1643. Statens Museum
 for Kunst, Copenhagen.*

agreement granting Alvaro da Caminha, the first colonizer of São Tomé, a monopoly on trade originating in Kongo. (The latter agreement was renewed by the captains who succeeded Caminha in São Tomé.)

These relationships were complicated: São Tomé captains, the Portuguese crown, and the king of Kongo all claimed jurisdiction over Portuguese residents in Kongo. Merchants in São Tomé sought to evade Kongo's monopoly on trade with the coast. Wealthier and more powerful settlers in São Tomé sought to push out or dominate smaller landholders. Ecclesiastical authorities brushed up against secular ones. In addition, there was factional strife within Kongo between various Portuguese settlers, officials, and priests.¹⁵

In the end, however, the powers of the king of Kongo proved too great, and the Portuguese had to submit to his rule. Afonso protested any breach in what he believed was his monopoly of trade on the coast; in 1526, he decided that his own council would determine who was enslaved legally and who was not. More significant, in 1553 Afonso's successor Diogo I (reigned 1545–61) determined that all Portuguese residents in Kongo would be under the control of a captain he appointed. Kings Afonso and Diogo also ensured that they controlled São Tomé's trade with the Kingdom of Ndongo (in modern Angola) along the Kwanza River, which they maintained was within their sphere. They managed to thwart two missions that Ndongo sent in an attempt to establish independent

relations with Portugal, in 1518–26 and again in 1560–64.¹⁶ This does not mean, of course, that Tomistas were completely under their control, far from it; but Kongo was able to exercise some authority, especially in areas it dominated.

Between 1568 and 1574, however, Kongo experienced a serious crisis. According to extant primary sources, it was either an invasion or a rebellion of cannibalistic barbarians called Jagas. Driven by the crisis to an island in the Congo River, King Álvaro I (reigned 1568–87) appealed to Portugal for help in restoring his kingdom. Portugal sent some six hundred soldiers from São Tomé under the command of Francisco de Gouveia Sottomaior. The Portuguese price for that assistance was that Kongo allow Paulo Dias de Novais, leader of an earlier mission to Ndongo in the 1560s, to establish a Portuguese presence at the “Island of Luanda,” a natural harbor at the capital of present-day Angola. Álvaro cooperated with Dias de Novais and allowed his troops to serve as a military unit in the Kingdom of Ndongo’s wars against rebelling provinces. However, in 1579, tensions within the Portuguese community in Ndongo and fears that Dias de Novais was more interested in conquest than assistance—indeed, his charter from Portugal called for conquest—led Ndongo to expel all the Portuguese in a violent manner, which ignited another long war between the two nations.¹⁷

The war lasted intermittently, with both sides winning or losing battles, through the end of the sixteenth and nearly the entire seventeenth century. It ended with Portugal’s defeat of Ndongo and establishment of a colony called Angola. By 1680, the colony included Luanda and its immediate hinterland, and the river valleys of the Bengo until the waterfalls impeded further travel, the Kwanza River to the fort of Cambambe, and the Lukala River to the Portuguese fort at Embaca. It was not a tightly governed territory; in many areas the local rulers, called *sobas*, were in control, and only in the immediate vicinity of Luanda and the forts did Portugal exercise what could be called colonial rule. Between these posts was a group of more or less consistently loyal *sobas* who accepted missionaries, provided soldiers for the army and porters for the merchants, and paid tribute, often in slaves.¹⁸

PORTUGAL’S CULTURAL IMPACT IN AFRICA

The Portuguese had a limited cultural impact in western Africa, as indeed did most of the European powers that followed Portugal to the African coast. There were small, Portuguese-influenced communities from Senegal—where French gradually took over early Portuguese settlements—to Bissau, Cacheu, and their surroundings, the centers of Portuguese interests on the mainland. In 1482 Portugal established a fortified trading post at São Jorge de Mina on the Gold Coast (modern Ghana) and used it to prevent other Europeans from trading there. Driven from the Gold Coast by Dutch forces in 1637, the Portuguese did not reestablish themselves in the region until 1716, when they built another fort at Whydah.¹⁹ Each of these places had communities of people who described themselves as Portuguese and maintained a certain level of the culture, for example, keeping Portuguese names, identifying themselves as Catholics, and

speaking an increasingly creolized form of the language. Politically, these communities were under variable Portuguese control, in Bissau, Cacheu, and at Whydah they were directly controlled by royally appointed officials. Elsewhere, such as in the “Rivers of Guinea” (the region between the Sénégal and Gêba Rivers) the posts were controlled by local Portuguese communities as much as they were under royal control.

The coastal Creoles, as we might call them, developed a distinct Afro-Portuguese culture, including an architectural style that reflected both Portuguese aesthetic norms and practical solutions to the local African environment. By the seventeenth century, a creolized form of Portuguese was being used as a commercial language along the coast, even among Africans outside Portuguese jurisdiction. Initially other Europeans also communicated in this language but eventually, Creole versions of English, Dutch, French, and other European languages came to dominate the areas where those nations held influence, although they incorporated a substantial quantity of Portuguese words. Similarly, styles of dress, especially feminine attire, combined Portuguese and African elements and were reflected in covered heads, patterns of dress, and fabrics that, like the language, spread from the Creole communities near the factories to the surrounding areas.²⁰

Creole style in language, dress, and architecture was manifested most clearly in the island colonies of Cape Verde and São Tomé, where African slaves formed the bulk of the population and the elite included primarily people of mixed race, Europeans and their descendants, and a certain number of African families, usually from Senegambia and Benin. Governors and officials sent from Portugal had to adjust accordingly as mainland Creole became the primary language of the islands.²¹

Although Creoles did not have a literary culture, they did maintain a certain level of literacy and probably increased the reading and writing ability of local African rulers. For example, a number of letters written by the local elite in the Portuguese settlements at Cacheu and Bissau in the late seventeenth century probably were composed by Creoles. More significant, perhaps, is the substantial body of letters generated by kings of Dahomey in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, especially Adandozan. His correspondence is not only extensive but gives a remarkable picture of his kingdom and reign, which was later all but eliminated from Dahomey’s tradition. The letters, all in Portuguese, were written by Creoles from the fort in Whydah who served at Adandozan’s court.²²

In central Africa the situation was quite a bit different; no West African state came close to the cultural amalgamation that developed in the central African kingdom of Kongo. Completely independent of Portugal, Kongo defeated several invasions in 1622, 1657, and, most notably, 1670. But it had committed itself to being a part of “Christendom” since the early sixteenth century and maintained this position in later periods, when Portuguese interests were still fully in the control of the Kongolesse kings.²³ Kongo’s elite were religious and literate; by the seventeenth

century there was a Jesuit college in the capital of São Salvador. Christian Kongo sported many elements of European culture: relics could be found in its churches. In the early seventeenth century, it established a chivalric order (the Order of Christ) and the entire population was baptized. Documents were employed in the administration of the kingdom, which had both archives and libraries.²⁴ In the capital, Portuguese residents and members of the local nobility built houses in a style that combined Portuguese principles and Kongolese canons, including the use of a local system of plastering.²⁵

Perhaps the most significant characteristic of the independent Christianity in Kongo was its gradual naturalization of the Holy Family, beginning as early as 1622 during the Battle of Mbumbi. According to Portuguese chronicler António de Oliveira de Cadornega, as Portuguese and Kongo forces faced each other, the Portuguese troops "called on Santiago, and the Muxicongos [Kongolese] did also, seeing this, the enemies said that if ours was white, theirs was black . . ."²⁶ Other evidence of naturalization includes the story of how King Afonso I defeated his pagan brother in 1509. It became the stuff of local legend as well as the central theme of Kongo's national holiday, Saint James' Day (July 25), replacing the saint's European hagiography or his battles against the Moors.²⁷

In 1704, a young Kongolese noblewoman, Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, claimed that she had been possessed by Saint Anthony and regularly visited heaven. While in heaven, Beatriz said, she learned that Jesus, Mary, Saint Francis, and other religious figures were all Kongolese and that the Nativity story should have been set in Kongo. She chided European priests for failing to teach about black saints. While Beatriz's preaching was wildly popular, she became caught up in the complex politics of a civil war and was burned at the stake as a heretic by Pedro IV (1696–1718), one of Kongo's pretender kings.²⁸ But even if her movement did not have a lasting impact, the larger vision of Kongolese Christianity certainly did. Eighteenth-century religious objects, particularly those of local manufacture, depict Jesus with African features and, more important, in clothing with distinctively Kongolese decorative patterns. Though no text specifically states it, the art makes it clear that by the 1700s the Kongolese believed that Jesus was from Kongo.

The areas under Portuguese domination in Angola developed a somewhat different interaction with European culture. Kongo played a role in this development, for Kongolese missionaries were active in the Mbundu-speaking regions of Angola that Portugal sought to colonize as early as the mid-sixteenth century. The earliest Catholic missions, in Luanda and its vicinity, were in Kongo-ruled territories and used the Kongo church as a starting point. Eventually, however, Christianity and Portuguese culture became identified with exploitation and brutality in Angola. The colonial regime placed the capture of slaves ahead of any other interests and associated itself with the most violent and lawless elements in Mbundu society, such as the anti-social bands of Imbangala whose livelihood was pillage.

Not surprisingly, the Mbundu-speaking areas resisted European culture and religion in a way that didn't develop in Kongo. The difference was noted by an Italian Capuchin missionary, Giuseppe Monari da Modena, who moved from a mission station in Kongo to one in Angola in the early eighteenth century. The Kongolese, he believed, welcomed, embraced, and encouraged the priests, while in Angola they were sullen and reluctant to do so.²⁹ People in Angola were reluctant to convert to Christianity, even in areas closely allied to Portugal, and missionaries found themselves having to resort to forced conversion. In this respect, Angola resembled much of Latin America, where conversion followed conquest and colonization. However, this does not mean that both Portuguese culture and religion did not enter and even flourish in Angola.

The difference between Angola and Kongo is perhaps best illustrated by the naturalization of Christian figures. In Kongo, as we have seen, the Holy Family was considered African by the eighteenth century and perhaps even earlier. People identified as Kongolese not only Saint James, generally regarded in the rest of the Christian world as European, but also Jesus and Mary. In Angola, naturalization did not go as far, as evidenced by the story of Saint Benedict of Palermo, widely regarded in the Lusitanian world as being black. By the late seventeenth century, Angolans, at least in the area of Luanda, were maintaining that the saint was the child of a slave born in Kisama, an unsubdued but often raided province located south of the Kwanza River.³⁰

Christianity also might have served as a proxy for other elements of European culture. Although the religion was not always welcomed by Portugal's enemies, it did make sporadic appearances outside the Portuguese colony of Angola. The most striking examples come from the Dembos region, located between Ndongo, the core of the Angola colony, and Kongo. The first missionaries arrived there in the sixteenth century from Kongo, which claimed the region as part of its territory. But beginning in 1620 Portugal made intermittent though unenforced claims on the area as well. Mbwila and Mbwela, the most powerful of the Dembos, routinely played Kongo against Ndongo and Portugal in claiming their own space. The Battle of Mbwila, one of central Africa's great military engagements, was waged between Portuguese and Kongolese armies, each seeking to reinforce its authority in the region.

The Dembos took up literacy by the late sixteenth century, and Portuguese residents—primarily merchants supervised somewhat weakly by a Portuguese official—formed a friendly community with the rulers. Correspondence dating from the mid-seventeenth century, written by one of the lesser Dembo leaders, Kakulu ka Kahenda, reveals a formal adherence to Christianity and a consciousness of European cultural norms.³¹ Extant archives from the region show the same combination of Portuguese and African cultural elements.³²

Beyond literacy and religion, the rulers of the Dembos were very much aware of the larger world of Portuguese culture. Marcellino d'Atri, an Italian missionary of the late seventeenth century, spent time in the lands of the Dembo ruler Mbwela, where he was served bread and wine at a table, just

as if he were in Europe.³³ Such a level of hospitality was probably not uncommon in the region, though actual eyewitness accounts are few.

The Dembos were partially under Portuguese authority, at least in a formal sense, and they looked both to Kongo and to Angola as their models. That may be the reason they avoided the resistance methods chosen by others. As an independent Creole state, Kongo—the Spanish priest Alonso de Sandoval called it a *ladino* country, that is, acclimated to European ways³⁴—was a model of African-European synthesis. It neither capitulated in the political sphere nor experienced the domination and exploitation associated elsewhere with the Portuguese regime. It is perhaps this Kongo model that inspired an Ndongo queen named Njinga (circa 1583–1663) in her relationship with the Church and with Portugal. Unlike the more accommodating Dembos rulers, Njinga led a sustained anti-Portuguese resistance.

Queen Njinga ruled Ndongo during the period when much of the kingdom was being destroyed by Portuguese armies, aided by the Imbangala. Successful Portuguese campaigns in 1618–20 had forced her brother and predecessor to abandon the capital and seek refuge on islands in the Kwanza River. Njinga was sent to Luanda to negotiate a peace, and in 1622 she agreed to become a Portuguese vassal and to be baptized. However, at that point she was barely a Christian and not inclined to adopt much of Portuguese culture. Some years later she told a missionary called Cavazzi that she abandoned much of the paraphernalia that she received in Luanda as soon as she left the city to return to Ndongo. In the years following her baptism, she took over from her brother and then led a long and difficult war against further Portuguese aggression. She was forced to abandon the refuge on the Kwanza River islands and flee to Matamba to the east, where she rebuilt her kingdom. But during the later phase of the war she became reacquainted with Christianity through a Kongo priest named Calisto Zelotes dos Reis Magros, who was captured by Njinga's armies in 1648. The queen eventually returned to the Church as a condition of peace in 1656–57, when she finally settled affairs with Portugal.³⁵

While other Angolan leaders had accepted baptism and religious instruction with some reluctance, in her later years Njinga became a fervent Christian and encouraged her people to be baptized and support the Church. Perhaps because of the Kongo model, she was able to see the possibilities of simultaneously embracing Christianity while retaining her independence. Although Matamba was only irregularly visited by priests, for several generations following Njinga's death in 1663, rulers continued to ask the religious authorities in Angola for missionaries. An anecdote about Njinga's successor, Verónica I (1681–1721), reveals the tensions of the situation. In her correspondence with a Capuchin missionary, Bonaventura da Firenze, around 1702, Verónica made it clear that she wanted missionaries in her kingdom so that the children would not die unbaptized. But she did not want any whites to live there, which meant that she would not submit to the regulation of markets and other burdens that Portugal imposed on its subordinates.³⁶ The Kongolese had



Fig. 5
'Portrait of a Black Man,' Jan Mostaert
The Netherlands,
16th century. Rijks-
museum, Amsterdam.

a similar policy, though they made an exception for the Italian Capuchins, as Verónica apparently also was prepared to do.

Nowhere else on the continent did Europeans and Africans engage in such a wide-ranging cultural exchange as they did in central Africa. There was a coastal Creole culture in West Africa by 1600, one that would grow and become more influential as time went by. In central Africa, however, whole countries, with a total population in excess of one million people, were fully engaged with the West, and not always in an antagonistic relationship. Elements of that culture, particularly Christianity, became a source of identity and were even naturalized and accepted as a fundamental part of daily life. It is possible that a Kongo peasant living in the mid-eighteenth century might have been unaware that knowledge about some of the beings he worshiped—such as the Virgin Mary, so often invoked in times of danger or emergency—actually originated outside his country.



STONE CARVING AND IVORY SCULPTURE IN SIERRA LEONE

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

For Ezio Bassani

THE STONE FIGURES FROM SIERRA LEONE AND NEIGHBORING AREAS

An American missionary working in the Mende country, George Thompson, first drew attention in modern times to the steatite (soapstone or other impure form of talc) sculptures found in Sierra Leone that are known today as *nomolisias*. On May 21, 1850, he reported finding "a nest of old, broken graven images—the first I have seen in Africa. There were five of them, lying at the foot of a small tree, where a town once stood, which was destroyed by war; and in the confusion of escaping and destroying the town, I suppose these idols were broken. They are made of stone, intended as imitation of something, perhaps of human beings. . . . Four of them are so broken that it can scarcely be decided of what shape they were; the other has a piece broken out from the side of the head, and another from the legs." He goes on to add that they are made of soft soapstone and are of ancient date, also that nobody knows anything about them.¹ In his published account of his African experiences, Thompson reproduced the finest of the figures (fig. 2), a piece probably from south eastern Sierra Leone, and he featured an additional four, including a Janus-type figure, in a later study. Here he underlines that they are not produced any more; the oldest people can give no account of their origin, which makes him think—quite correctly in fact—that they were made by a group of people who inhabited the area previously.²

Elaborate stone sculptures are rare in traditional West African culture and only found in a few areas;³ in addition to those from Sierra Leone and neighboring areas, the main clusters are in the southeast of Nigeria,⁴ as well as on the Lower Congo.⁵ On the Upper Guinea Coast, the stone figures are found in an area extending over more than half (the southeastern half) of Sierra Leone, as well as neighboring areas of Guinea and Liberia. This includes not only the whole of the Mende, Sherbro (Bullom), and Kissi territories but also continuous areas, including those inhabited by the Temne, Kuranko, Limba, Bele, and Toma.⁶ These sculptures, called *nomoli* (pl. *nomolisias*) by the Mende, *ka-mal* (pl. *ta-mal*) by the Temne, and *pomdo* (pl. *pomta*) by the Kissi,⁷ were mostly found by chance during agricultural and mining work and in river beds, which encouraged Thompson in his view that they were ancient. He wrote, "They are used as great greaves, are worshipped, sacrificed to and trusted in for protection, for good luck, for good crops, success in business etc;

hence they are often found in the middle of a farm, in a blacksmith's shop, or near a town; and rice is cooked and placed before them. . . ."⁸

Thomas Joshua Alldridge, district commissioner of the Sherbro area, was one of the first serious students of steatite sculptures of this kind, and items from his collection can be traced today in the British Museum⁹ and the Brighton Museum & Art Gallery;¹⁰ other pieces, sold through the famous dealer William O. Oldman, are now in the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde in Munich¹¹ and the Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum in Cologne.¹² In *The Sherbro and its Hinterland* (1901), Alldridge provides an account of these excavated steatite devils, as he feels impelled to call them. Their origin being unknown—they were not made by any contemporary sculptors or their ancestors—they must be either, he claims, "of great antiquity, or the work of foreign artists." They are also hard to find and considered to be powerful.¹³ Almost ten years later, in *A Transformed Colony* (1910), Alldridge introduced a fundamental study by Major G. D'Arcy Anderson, district commissioner of the Upper Country, including the Konnoh District in the Sierra Leone Protectorate. D'Arcy Anderson reported seeing in the Fulu Wusu country, a place where the sculptures had been manufactured, figures still attached to the rock: "The figures were carved *in situ* in the vein of steatite, and not separated from the mother rock until quite complete. If the slightest flaw was discovered, another was commenced; therefore, when one of these old sculptor's shops is discovered, a large number of abandoned figures are found still attached to the rock. The natives separate them and carry them to their farms or towns." This explains, he says, why the sculptures he obtained are often broken and not quite finished; on the part left incomplete can be seen "a slight flaw in the stone, a small vein or pocket or mica which causes the stone to flake and break away." The "chamber" he saw, about nine feet in diameter, "had apparently been formed by removing the steatite, and only abandoned when the vein became too impregnated with sand and mica to be of use for sculpture."¹⁴ This practice, he concludes, argues against the notion that the figures came from tumuli; according to him the stone pits have just been mistaken for tombs, as probably was indeed the case in most instances.¹⁵ The year before, Thomas Athol Joyce, in an article on *nomolisias* (1909), in fact his second publication on the topic, had already quoted from a longer account by D'Arcy Anderson: here he asserted that he had questioned many chiefs in the Konnoh, Mendi, and Timni provinces, all of whom stated that the *nomolisias* were

Fig. 1
Saltcellar with execution
scene, Sapi-Portuguese,
Sierra Leone, 15th–16th
century. Museo
Preistorico Etnografico
Luigi Pigorini, Rome.

found in caves or recesses in worked-out veins of steatite. He then goes on with much more detail:

I was crossing from the Konnoh country to the Kuniki chiefdom, and, as we were passing a newly-made farm, one of the boys ran back and said the man had found a Nomori ['sic'] pit. I found a gully or ravine in the side of a steep hill, which, on investigation proved to be a long tunnel or chamber with the roof fallen in; as far as I could judge it had been about 9 feet wide tapering to 3 feet, 15 feet long and 8 feet [high] at the entrance, tapering to about 4 feet. The sides were of steatite but badly veined with sand, mica and iron oxide. There were remains of several figures roughly blocked out but abandoned when a vein of sand or mica was encountered. Clearing away 'débris' I found one small incomplete figure still adhering to the side: numbers of fragments were scattered about. The natives told me that when they found figures in the pits, there were always attached to the rock and had to be cut out. I came to the conclusion that the steatite was not first quarried and then sculptured, but that the figure was carved in the rock 'in situ' and not removed until complete and perfect. If a vein or pocket of quartz or mica was encountered, which would spoil the sculpture owing to finer parts breaking or crumbling away, the figure was abandoned and another started. This is borne out by the fact that most of the figures now obtained are imperfect, the hair, fingers, a portion of ornament being unfinished, and always at the blemished spot mica or sand will be found.¹⁶

This would explain why the figures are sometimes left incomplete and why they show the flaws that are so characteristic.¹⁷ It would also explain why the heads and upper parts of the sculptures are the best modeled, while the form of the lower extremities is often hardly indicated, with in some cases not even a suggestion of feet.¹⁸

Nomolisia and *pomta* are found in numerous forms and materials. The former, usually given their Mende name, can be people—standing, sitting, or crouching—but also semi-human, semi-animal creatures as well as animals. The humans often have rounded, smoothly worked features, with globulous eyes and a flat nose (fig. 3); sometimes we find just a head on a pedestal (fig. 4). The *pomta*, with their Kissi denomination, are more vertical and elementary in shape, sometimes obviously reflecting the elongated, cylindrical vein in which they were carved (fig. 5).¹⁹ Both groups include sculptures that are complex in their iconography (the subject for another article); quite a number have holes in the head or the stomach that were probably used for substances thought to have magical power. Various attempts have been made to categorize them: as early as 1913, J. Neel examined pieces from Sherbro Island, the area of Farannah, and the Kissi area, dividing them into seven groups.²⁰ In 1967, Kunz Dittmer grouped the stone figures from Sierra Leone and Guinea into four stylistic types; *nomolisia*, plus three groups more commonly found among the Kissi;²¹ Aldo Tagliaferri and Arno Hammacher, too, divided the sculptures into four groups. But such taxonomies are far too general; the steatite figures are far too varied for these to be of much use.²² Beyond the general distinction between *nomoli* and *pomdo*, any stylistic assessment should take into consideration the identification of stones and should focus on figures with known provenances, especially, of course, archaeological contexts.²³ The stone used for twenty-two *nomoli* figures in the ethnographic collection of the University of Basel was analyzed as early as 1901. There

was quite a diversity of color: some were dark green, others yellowish-brown to almost white, and those of the lightest color were of a form of soapstone that can be easily scratched with a nail. Microscopic investigation showed that twelve of them were made out of talc with varying amounts of ores; four were chlorite rock, another four were talc with chlorite rock, the next being talc chlorite anthophyllite rock quite rich in ores, and the last one was anthophyllite rock, also with ores.²⁴ A later petrographic investigation was carried out by Elisabeth Jérémime, selecting for the purpose some 120 significant items from the 300 sculptures then in the Musée de l'Homme in Paris. Her general conclusion was that something like two-thirds of them were made of talc, ten of chlorite schist, fifteen of amphibolite or talc with amphibole, and fifteen were in hard stones, including granite, dolerite, syenite, sandstone, and even clay,²⁵ all found in the relevant areas. It is hardly surprising that there is such a variety of stone given that the area covers sixty thousand square kilometers.²⁶

Most of the stone involved, especially steatite, can be easily worked with woodcarving tools,²⁷ as is suggested by marks of manufacture found on unfinished pieces that resemble those found on unfinished wooden sculptures. In a meticulous study, John H. Atherton went as far as specifying that the preliminary carving of a sculpture he analyzed had been done with a stone adze and the details with chisels. He commented that "the marks made on the pieces correspond exactly to the size of the working edges of many of the dolomite celts and quartz 'micro-chisels'";²⁸ such stone tools were used until at least the fourteenth century (iron tools are first recorded in the seventh and eighth centuries).²⁹ Some of the Sierra Leone sculptures, however, probably made much later, especially among the Kissi, were of clay. According to Maurice



Fig. 2
*The Stone God, in
'Thompson in Africa,'
New York, 1852.*



Fig. 3
*'Nomoli,' The British
Museum, London.*

Delafosse, they were made with gray clay fired in the manner of ceramics with the traditional “bonfire” technique, then covered with a slip which gives them their patination.³⁰ Neel, in fact, had described four sculptures of this type from the Kissi country. However, they are not similar to the earlier works. The fact that some of these steatite figures are quite recent in manufacture raises the problem of either a residual practice, or a renewal of a tradition.³¹

All authors agree that the ancient stone sculptures were not made by the population presently in the area concerned at the time of writing and, if some authors denied that stone sculptures were still being carved,³² others provided evidence—in some cases indisputable—of what appears to be a very limited practice among the Kissi throughout the twentieth century. As early as 1909, Chevalier had mentioned that “it appears” that steatite sculpture was still done,³³ and Maurice Delafosse, ten years later, confirms this, claiming that the sculptures were carved with an instrument akin to both a hammer and an adze.³⁴ In the mid-1920s, G. Irier surprised locals at work (near Banankoro, in the Guélo county between the Ouao River and the village of Sékonko) who were, they said, sculpting steatite pipes (*kawé*) with their machetes, but he implies these were not their only productions.³⁵ Frederick William Hugh Migeod was more specific when he wrote in 1926, “Owing to the demand of Europeans for steatite images . . . the manufacture of them has begun again. Mr. de Lisle showed me two of recent make, which he said he thought were from Konno country or near it. They are superior to the ancient ones, and a different type of face has been produced.”³⁶

Some steatite figures, as we have seen, were still found in the quarries where they were made.³⁷ Others are said to have been discovered in large groups; there was George Thompson’s “nest of old broken graven images”³⁸ from 1850, while Rüttimeyer, in 1901, independently wrote of clusters of up to fifty sculptures.³⁹ Such discoveries accord with the evidence of records of the Sierra Leone Museum, which mention a total of fifty-one *nomolisias* found in a single location.⁴⁰ It is, of course, difficult to establish whether these discoveries reflect the original use of steatite figures or later re-uses. As early as 1858, Thompson mentioned that the sculptures were found in fields, often accompanied by heavy brass and copper rings, which the people of his day held sacred and swore upon.⁴¹ Similar evidence is provided in the long account by Rev. A. E. Greensmith, a missionary at Bo, Sierra Leone, quoted by Thomas Athol Joyce in 1909. According to him, there are “metallic rings that the natives say are discovered, i.e., dug up, with these farm devils [the *nomolisias*], and which are never separated or rather kept apart once they are found.” The ring he saw was very black and weathered; when scratched with a knife, it appeared to be either brass or bronze. Importantly, he adds that the figure is ordinarily called a *nomoli*, but, when accompanied by one such ring, it is known as *mahai-yafei* (pl. *mahai-yafeisa* or *maha-yafanga*), so called because of being used in the courts of chiefs, for witnesses to swear on. The ringed images were regarded with much fear and were seen as having a much greater value than the more ordinary ones. Greensmith



Fig. 4
Stone head. The British
Museum, London.

then explained the relationship of the figure to its metal ring: this is “sometimes six, seven, and eight inches in diameter, and the *nomoli* is placed in the middle, but the one I secured was only about 2 inches, and fitted so close to the *nomoli* that it served to prop it up in an upright position.”⁴² One year before, Rüttimeyer already quoted information provided by both Rev. Greensmith and a Dr. Volz of Bern and reproduced one of these rings used by the Mende for oaths. Greensmith in fact mentions that in 1906 he was shown one of the sacred places of the Mende where, under a large tree, a large number of such rings, supposedly sprinkled with chicken blood and blackened, were kept together with two *nomoli* figures, used knives and axes, and two polished oval stones. Here, too, the missionary confirmed that these *mahai yafei* were used for swearing on by locals—who held them in awe—in native courts; they were used for powerful oaths.⁴³ Further evidence is provided by W. Addison (1923) who was given two steatite heads in Moyumba district, Sierra Leone, by a Mendi Paramount chief, together with two bracelets, one apparently of iron, the other of brass. Addison, too, was told that such bracelets are generally found together with *nomolisias*.⁴⁴ This continues to be attested in the twentieth century. In the late 1960s Matthew Hill mentioned that he saw in Shan, in the Niawa Lenga Chieftdom, a collection of *Myafei* (also called *Nyafei*, *Mahai Yafei*) used for oaths. Although it was only the remnant of a larger collection from which many items had been stolen, it was a well-known group sometimes carried to other towns for such oaths. It still included stone and iron rings, an iron hoe



blade, and a cast brass bracelet from the Mokaŋji hills as well as fragments of *nomolisia*.⁴⁵

The dating of the stone sculptures is not easy, as very few indeed have been excavated by professional archaeologists. If we discount the rare revivals (as distinct from survivals) in the twentieth century (partly in response to demand from collectors), it would seem that they were produced over a period of a few centuries. Even their provenance covers a very large area. One of the rare finds from an archaeological context may be a steatite head excavated with associated pottery at Jimmi Bagbo in the southern province of Sierra Leone; already in 1969, however, it was no longer possible to locate the ceramic remains.⁴⁶ The only early datable wooden sculpture—a male figure uncovered in mining operations in Yafe Sewafe village (Sefadu District, Sierra Leone) and proved by accelerator mass spectrometry to date from 1258–1379 to 1190–1394—is interesting enough, but not really close to the stone examples;⁴⁷ more analogous is another wood figure sculpture that recalls the stone *pomta*, but the range of the radiocarbon dating of the figure (B.P. 575, \pm 320) is so wide that it is almost useless for our argument.⁴⁸

THE WRITTEN SOURCES

Early Practices and Their Resonances, Especially Among the Temne
The early written sources do not help much either, except in creating a context. In a letter of 1447 addressed to Giovanni Mariono at Geneva, the Genoese traveler Antonio Malfante mentions, south of the river Niger, “innumerable great cities and territories, the inhabitants of which are all blacks and idolaters. . . . Some worship the sun, others the moon, the seven planets, fire, or water; others a mirror which reflects their faces, which they take to be the images of gods; others groves of trees, the seats of a spirit to whom they make sacrifice; others again, statues of wood and stone, with which, they say, they commune by incantations.”⁴⁹ Of course this account, suggestive as it is, is far too vague and general to be considered a real piece of evidence about the sculptures.⁵⁰ Other documents are more specific. Referring either to the Baga or Temne, the Portuguese Valentim Fernandes mentioned that “all those from south of the Rio Grande are . . . idolaters and they believe in whatever they wish and make idols of wood and stone.”⁵¹ While the Jesuit Manuel Alvares, circa 1615, attested that in Província da Serra Leoa, he was told by a local Christian of an idol dedicated to a god, described as a very beautiful and nicely shaped stone: “Their intercessors are idols too, for instance the images and portraits of their parents, children, wives, brothers, and so on. There is such a collection of these images that they have to be seen to be appreciated. Some are hewn out of blocks of wood with skill, and show the face and other features; others are only hacked out of similar blocks in a single blow. Some are sculptured on small stones or on rocks.”⁵² Another probable reference to *nomolisia*, in this case specifically to the large, carved heads, occurs in the early eighteenth-century account by Jean Barbot. He mentions that he encountered in Sierra Leone a sculpture “representing, as well as they are able to make it with clay, a man’s head set upon a pedestal, of the same clay, under a small

hut, to cover it from the weather. They have many of these idols, as I was told, upon the roads about the countries of Boulm and Timna, and near their houses, to preserve and honour the memory of their deceased relations and friends.”⁵³ This testimony, taken in conjunction with Alvares’s account, suggests that the sculpture could have been a pedestal head as a specific kind of *nomoli*; the drawing found in Barbor’s manuscript (fig. 6), although naïve, is also consistent with such a figure.⁵⁴ The same perhaps also applies to the “marmouzets fort hideux” mentioned by General Augustin Beaulieu in 1619 while visiting the Temne. He asserts: “Nearby [the village] can be seen little figurines grotesquely shaped [the marmouzets mentioned above], made to look like devils, to which they make offerings, giving them the fruits and drinks, which are their form of wealth . . . the people are idolaters worshipping, as already stated, little figurines of unpleasant appearance, and also little mounds of black soil shaped like sugar loaves (which I have heard are the nests of ants) to which they make sacrifices in different ways.” Even the association with termite hills as we will see below, seems to recall the use of such steatite figures among the Mende.⁵⁵ We will never grasp exactly what Alvares meant by his “very nicely-shaped stone,” but the sources certainly provide clear evidence for litholatr— a practice still observed in Sierra Leone in the twentieth century.⁵⁶ In 1664 André de Faro reported seeing among the northern Temne at the great Scarcies River “. . . little huts lined with one or two mats, with a small altar inside on the mat, on the altar a row of pebbles the size of a hand; and each member of the family has a stone there.”⁵⁷ This sort of ancestral ritual survived into the early twentieth century, when Migeod observed “collections of stones on the little platforms outside the houses,” each deposited there for a person who had died.⁵⁸ The practice was analyzed in great detail by Frederick John Lamp, in his study of “houses of stone” (*bora masar*): platforms covered by a mat on top of which the small stones are deposited. He also mentions small mushroom-shaped anthills beside the platforms. The stones, he tells us, are placed at the death of a chief or an important person as a remembrance. In Temne beliefs, “While the stones refer to the regeneration of the powers of the dead and the bringing down of ancestral truth and guidance, the anthill refers to the aged, death, the entering of the earth by the deceased, and the medium through which the dead are approached.”⁵⁹

Other examples of litholatr have been noticed there south of the town Bendu in the Southeastern Province of Sierra Leone; two large rocks, one about twenty feet high, the other about fifteen feet, were found in a grove, with, scattered around, large and small boulders of the same material, which appeared to be granite. Below the large rocks were buried three large pots.⁶⁰ In a destroyed village called Nbudubu, near Bendu, in a grove called Lambo, villagers who had broken an interdict are said to have been turned to stone.⁶¹ Such beliefs have survived to the present day. Two carvings decorated with necklaces and preserved in Kankan, a village thirty-five kilometers from Monrovia (and therefore outside our zone of interest), are said to be people chased by a hunter and turned into stone, and now called “people” as if they were living beings.

The story mentions that a Bassa hunter called Sonnega fed four persons and explained that after they had eaten, “the hunter carried them to the kitchen and at that time two of the ‘people’ ran away. The other two said instead that the village people had been good to them and therefore they did not want to go away,” and so stayed there forever.⁶² In the Kagboro Chiefdom, in the Southwestern Province, a large laterite stone, seemingly never worked, standing eight feet high in a swamp, was described as being in the shape of a woman holding a child, although the head of the woman was now broken off.⁶³ From the stone remains, G. D. Massie Taylor, who records the story, concluded that a protuberance may have broken off from the main shaft. This could have been the child of local tradition, in the same way as a lump of stone standing out from the mass of Mount Kparavanga, a mountain near the village of Nbudubu, locally is called Ngiyeloi, “the baby of the mountain.”⁶⁴ If stones were sometimes given human characteristics, Thomas Winterbottom, in *An Account of the Native*

Fig. 5 (opposite)
‘Pombo.’ The British
Museum, London.

Fig. 6 (below)
Sierra Leone scenes,
including a ‘fetish’
under a thatched roof,
in ‘Description des côtes
d’ Affrique depuis le
Cap Bojador jusques à
celui de Lopo Gonzalves.’



Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone (1803), confirmed that stones were also used to symbolize the dead: "When any person in the town dies, with some exceptions, a stone is taken to the king, who deposits it in his house. When the king dies he is buried in this house [adjoining the *burrè* or palaver house] and a larger stone is placed there for him than for the others."⁶⁵ Similar practices were recorded later, but of special interest perhaps are Valentim Fernandes's "idols . . . of stone" and Manuel Alvares's ancestors in wood and in stone, which probably refer to the steatite figures.⁶⁶

OTHER BELIEFS OF THE MENDE AND PEOPLE OF NEIGHBORING AREAS

Any account of the sources concerning the steatite figure has to take into consideration, if possible, the little that is known of the original function of these figures, and the evidence of their later reuse among the various ethnic groups on whose territory they are found today.⁶⁷ George Thompson was the first to discuss the beliefs associated with the sculptures when he wrote that rice offerings are made to them and that they are associated to the fertility of the land: "We have argued, with smart heathen, chiefs and others, who truly believe that they go into another's field and bring rice into theirs!—that they *eat*—that God made them so—that they can *walk* and do great things!" Similarly, Thomas Joshua Alldridge, tells us (1901) that if not treated with the greatest respect and liberal offerings of palm wine, rice, and fowls, the *nomolisia* will certainly bring trouble.⁶⁸ "It is believed that if one of these images is secreted, say in a rice field, its presence will secure a crop double in quantity to the ordinary yield." He also indicated that the image is very carefully placed in some secret spot, in a field, set upon a small bamboo stool under a little palm-leaf temple purposely erected for it, and zealously guarded.⁶⁹ This form of display, incidentally, recalls Jean Barbot's drawing (see fig. 6) and the engraving illustrating his published writings (1732).⁷⁰ Especially powerful are figures that have been secured by theft, as the new owner, who has taken great risks in obtaining his prize, must be rewarded; if the thief is reported and the sculpture brought into the *barri* or native court, both sides will be fined for not recording the sculpture (the "big man") as being in their possession and the chief will get both the *nomoli* and the fines.⁷¹ Others have discussed further rituals when a *nomoli* is set up in a field. Joyce, in 1905, published information from various colonial sources. According to W. J. Bruce of the Railway Survey of Sierra Leone, "The image was placed on a pedestal of earth, usually an old ant-hill, in the field, and the farmer and his household walk around it chanting an appeal for a good crop, each in turn striking it with a whip." According to a Mr G. Hart, "they put them in the shelters in the rice-fields, partly as protection, and partly in their capacity of 'rice-masters.' For they believe that, if severely flogged, at night these stone images will go out and steal plenty of rice from other farms and plant it in that of their owner."⁷² Specifically, the function of these sculptures seems to have been to look after the farm and ward off witches coming to spoil the harvest.⁷³ Others described the *nomoli* as being bush sprites made by Ndewo, the supreme god, or by Ndogyusi, a native spirit who roams the bush by night.⁷⁴ Various

practices are also analyzed, such as the sacrifice of a white chicken, cooked and offered to the *nomoli* together with rice when a new plot of land is cleared for farming; this supposedly allows the sculpture to assume human form at night to protect the field, especially from witches.⁷⁵ And, of course, as we have seen, the sculptures were used by the Mende along with the bracelets with which they are often found (*mahai-yafei*) in the courts for securing oaths.⁷⁶ Other functions have been recorded in modern times among the Kono where the steatite figures are kept in special bags and used in the case of crime or transgressions, such as incest, as a means of purification. During the ceremony (*ugbasi*) of which not much is known, they are taken out of their bags and placed in a circle, usually below a tree or near a big stone. Once the officiate (*sumuis*) has spoken to the *nomoli* the culprit is forgiven.⁷⁷

FURTHER BELIEFS AMONG THE KISSI AND IN NEIGHBORING AREAS

In 1905, Thomas Arthol Joyce could report that the Kissi still worshipped the steatite figures, as a number of them were spattered with chicken's blood and with egg,⁷⁸ while H. Néel, in 1913, clearly stated that all the *pomta* (incidentally from *pom*, death) he had acquired had been taken from the tombs of chiefs whose names are unrecorded. He also relates that when an officiate of the secret society of the *Comon* dies, a steatite figure emerges slowly, over a number of days, from the earth.⁷⁹ Then it is brought with great pomp to the tomb of the person it is meant to represent. Offerings are then made to the *pomdo*: the blood of white chicken and of black goats is poured over it, white kola nuts are rubbed over its nose, to appease the dead who has now become a kind of protective figure but also an intermediary, as the soul of the dead can be contacted through him. When this happens, the *pomdo* is attached to a wooden support held on their heads by the officiates of the *Comon* society and a helper, who is generally a blacksmith, standing in front of each other. Questions are then asked of the *pomdo*: if it stays still, the answer is negative; if it slightly moves, one is near the truth; if it becomes agitated the answer is clearly positive.⁸⁰ A scene of divination that reflects the ceremony of corpse interrogation, to discover the cause of death, was, Néel tells us, painted on a Kissi house,⁸¹ while the ceremony itself has been photographed by Denise Paulme in the early 1950s,⁸² and it is recorded on a statuette in the Musée du Quai Branly in Paris (fig. 7).⁸³ More recently a *pomdo* on a stretcher, sold in Paris a few years ago, shows a "bier" made of wood and strips of textile but with a wooden sculpture adorned with beads and a piece of ivory.⁸⁴ The scene recalls the ceremony following a death, to establish if it was the result of witchcraft, when the body is carried on the head of two men. In this case, too, there is an interrogation ritual; the body either stays still or rocks from right to left, or rushes forward, depending on the answer it gives.⁸⁵ As early as 1606, Father Baltasar Barreira, the first Christian missionary in Sierra Leone, described the ritual in his *Dos escravos que saem de Capo verde* (On Capo Verde slaves).⁸⁶

More thorough accounts of the divinatory function of *pomta* were published by Bohumil Holas in 1952 and by



Denise Paulme two years later. Holas confirms the belief among the Kissi that *pomta* are of supernatural origin, not made by human hand⁸⁷ and that a newly discovered sculpture is linked to a deceased person no more than three generations back. The veneration they receive is proportional to the rank of the figures they represent. A *pomdo* said to have emerged from the soil in 1913 was linked to a local ruler who had died three years before, aged forty-five. The pattern was traditional: in a dream, the father of the deceased unearthed the *pomdo* near the tomb of his son, while the official confirmed the link with the deceased. Offerings, especially of kola nuts, were made to the sculpture, which was dressed in the cloth of the deceased and adorned with the ornament and the amulets he had worn. His bracelets and his rings were attached to the head of the *pomdo*, while the upper part of its body was covered with a bright red textile and two ornaments of porcupine quills. Two guardians were attached to the *pomdo* which became the medium of oracles, as the "guardian of the *pomdo*" automatically becomes a diviner. The sculpture is consulted in his house, placed on a stretcher made of bamboo, and attached with the nervure of a palm tree (*palmier-ban*). The nature of the relationship between deceased and sculpture is difficult to assess, but the latter is basically commemorative, embodying the values of the group more than the individual identity of the person deceased.⁸⁸ The details and the nature of the divination is analyzed in great length by Holas; here, too, the *pomdo* on its stretcher is described as being held by

two assistants: a move towards the right implies a positive, and a move towards the left, a negative answer.⁸⁹

In 1954 Denise Paulme's work on the *pomta* found on the domestic altars (*mandu*) of the Kissi confirmed that they do not all have the same meaning and value. Some are generic, while others are more important; each "true" sculpture has a name and is seen as the portrait of a specific, individual ancestor who acts through it. She produced further evidence that these sculptures, when they "appeared," were linked to a deceased person and put on a stretcher and dressed in an elaborate way with pieces of cotton quickly covered by the blood of sacrifices. Among her photographs of the ritual, one shows the sculpture placed inside a bowl and then richly adorned with amulets.⁹⁰ The sculpture is officially "installed" in a ceremony that includes the *pomdo* of the deceased from the whole neighborhood. A feast is given and an animal, preferably an ox, is sacrificed; a small piece of liver and kola juice are presented to the statue while the official welcomes the presence of the deceased and asks for his protection. After that the sculpture can be consulted on a wide range of issues, to protect against illnesses or sorcerers, or punish the wicked.⁹¹

FROM THE STONE SCULPTURES TO THE IVORY CARVINGS

This study has shown that there is consistency as well as variety in beliefs concerning the stone sculptures. If the Mende see them mainly as agrarian protectors, flogging them if necessary to "wake them up," the Temne and the Kissi see them as ancestors—thus treating them with greater respect—something already attested by the early sources. In terms of iconography, the fact that divination with a corpse is shown on steatite figures and that the *pomta* are similarly employed clearly indicates some continuity in tradition. Apart from the matter of modern survivals (or revivals), all the testimonies of foreign observers about the area in question agree that the "genuine" stone sculptures are ancient, having been produced by a group of earlier inhabitants. In the sixteenth-century Portuguese sources, these are named Sapi, being composed of various subgroups, the Kissi, Bullom, Temne, Baga, Landuman, and other coastal groups.⁹² For the Sapi, who were not submerged into, but rather infiltrated, the culture of the Mani invaders (essentially the Kono and Mende) in the mid-sixteenth century, the steatite figures were probably seen as ancestors and kept in shrines, a circumstance that would explain the discovery of groups of up to fifty in later periods. Survivals of such traditions, after all, occur among non-contingent ethnic groups, even if the Mende and the Kono see the figures as agrarian protectors, and this would support the idea that the sculptures were produced by ancestors of the present Kissi and Bullom people at a time before the arrival of Mande-speaking people split them apart.⁹³ All of which helps to establish that the sculptures were largely produced before the mid-sixteenth century. Another telling factor is that there is no evident European influence, either in the dress or the armament of the figures.⁹⁴ The fact that some of these sculptures appear to have still been made with stone tools would indicate an early dating for these; iron was

Fig. 7
'Pombo' showing
two people supporting
a reclining figure
on a bier. Musée du
Quai Branly, Paris.

introduced in the seventh or eighth centuries, although stone tools were evidently used, at least in some excavated sites, until at least the fourteenth century.⁹⁵ Of course the fact that others were rediscovered together with metal rings (brass or bronze) is relevant to the question of dating.⁹⁶ It is within these parameters that we should situate the production of the stone carvings of the Sapi, to give them their old name.

THE SIERRA LEONE IVORY SCULPTURES

That stone carving was still practiced in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is indicated by the stylistic similarities between certain *nomoli* and a group of ivories—the so-called Sapi-Portuguese ivories—datable to that period.⁹⁷ Around 1506–8 the Portuguese traveler Duarte Pacheco Pereira observed that in a village near the Kolente river of Sierra Leone, “They make some very beautiful mats of palm and also ivory spoons.” So, too, he said, did the inhabitants of the Freetown region: “In this country they make ivory spoons of better design and workmanship than in any other part, and they also make mats of palm which are very fine and beautiful.”⁹⁸ This is confirmed by Valentim Fernandes (1506–10), according to whom the Sapi carve “delicate works in ivory such as spoons,

salt-cellars, and bracelets.” He adds, “In Sierra Leone, the people are very skilful and very talented; all the objects we ask them to carve, they make truly marvellous works in ivory; some make spoons, others salt-cellars, others dagger hilts and other fine works.” He reiterates this point in another telling passage: “. . . the people of this land are blacks very skilled in manual work, they produce salt-cellars in ivory and spoons and whatever task one sketches for them, they carve it in ivory.”⁹⁹ Damião de Gois, in his *Hispania* (1542), confirms that “ivory also comes from the land of the Blacks (vases and images that are made with a certain art).”¹⁰⁰ Writing around 1615, the Jesuit Alvares still found “spoons made of ivory, beautifully finished, with decorative features on their finials, like the heads of animals, birds, and their own *corofis* [spirits] of such perfection as leaves nothing more to see.”¹⁰¹ In the 1660s Lemos Coelho confirms that in Logos [Port Loko] there is available “a large quantity of cola and many curiosities which the blacks make out of ivory and straw, those being better than those from any other part of Sierra Leone.” Elsewhere, he mentions people worshipping “a piece of wood or ivory which they have carved with a knife into human shape.”¹⁰² Evidence for the trade with Portugal exists in some documents that were among the few to survive the Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Most prominent is the only extant record of the Casa de Guiné where duties were levied on goods imported on ships from overseas; concerning the financial year of (September) 1504–5, it lists ivory spoons—106 of them—and saltcellars presumably imported from Sierra Leone.¹⁰³ A receipt dated September 12, 1517, also mentions five ivory spoons and three saltcellars, presumably African, found among the properties of the bishop of Guarda.¹⁰⁴ More documentary evidence has been discovered¹⁰⁵ including the surprising fact that the German artist Albrecht Dürer was able to buy in Antwerp in 1521 “two ivory saltcellars from Calicut for 3 florins”; these could have been from Sierra Leone, the term Calicut being generic, at this time, for all newly discovered countries, including the Americas.¹⁰⁶ Until very recently, richly carved trumpets were found among the Mende where they were blown to accompany paramount chiefs.¹⁰⁷ In the early seventeenth century, André Donelha had already testified that the Lirigos’ armies “practice war-cries so as to keep together and in order, and they have many instruments after their own fashion: horns of ivory; *bombalos* [large drums]. . . .”¹⁰⁸ And snuff-horns and snuffboxes, knife handles, and combs were still being carved in the twentieth century.¹⁰⁹ Although this latter production has nothing of the quality of the Sapi-Portuguese works, it attests to the continuation of an ivory-carving tradition.

The link between works in ivory and *nomolisia* has been made convincingly by others.¹¹⁰ Closest to the steatite figures is perhaps the lid of a saltcellar in the British Museum illustrating a quadruped with Janus heads on its back (fig. 8). This can be compared to a *nomoli* in the Meneghini collection;¹¹¹ the stylization of the beard and the rendering of the ears, too, are found on a number of stone sculptures.¹¹² The form of the disproportionately large, projecting heads, with exaggerated facial characteristics often sharply defined are

Fig. 8
Cover of a Sapi-
Portuguese saltcellar
with Janus-faced
quadruped. The British
Museum, London.



also found on a number of steatite figures, such as the seated figure in the Pellizzi collection.¹¹³ The Sierra Leone ivories form a homogenous group both in terms of type, date, and even decoration.¹¹⁴ Altogether thirty-seven ivory horns have been recorded, as well as sixty-two saltcellars (fig. 1), either complete or fragmentary, three pyxes, three daggers or handles of daggers, eight spoons, and three forks.¹¹⁵ A number of the ivories have coats of arms, including those of the House of Aviz, which ruled Portugal from 1385 to 1580. Some involve an armillary sphere, the cross of Beja, even the device of Manuel I, king of Portugal from 1495 to 1521,¹¹⁶ most splendidly on the saltcellar forming an armillary sphere with the motto “Espera in Deo” (My hope is in God). “Spes mea in Deo meo” (My hope is in my God), the motto of his son and successor João III (1521–1557) is found on an oliphant in the Hermitage,¹¹⁷ while another oliphant, also in St. Petersburg, bears the name of his brother, Luis of Avis, duke of Beja (1506–1555), the second son of King Manuel (IMFANTE DOM LUIS).¹¹⁸ The antiquity of the group of Sierra Leone ivories cannot be doubted, as a number of the surviving works are recorded in sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century inventories of a wide range of collections, those of the Medici being probably the most prominent.¹¹⁹

When in 1988 he studied the models for the Sapi-European ivories, Ezio Bassani concluded that there are “many possible sources for the themes carved on the [pyxes] which are episodes from the life of the Virgin, and the passion of Christ. . . . The models for scenes on the [pyxes], however, seem to be taken from book illustrations, above all from Books of Hours.”¹²⁰ Bassani had noticed some clear similarities between various scenes of, for example, hunters and the decoration of some *Horae beatae Mariae Virginis* printed in Paris by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre.¹²¹ Although these prints were subsequently found in quite a number of Book of Hours, the exact source has not been identified by him. More interesting was the relationship he observed between the unicorns holding the arms of the House of Avis on the famous Afro-Portuguese oliphant in the Armeria Reale in Turin¹²² and the mark of the Parisian printer Thielman Kerver, whose shop was “At the Sign of the Unicorn.”¹²³ Other links proposed by Bassani with the Hours of 1498 were less convincing as the scenes found on the pyxides are clearly different from those he presented as a possible model.¹²⁴ The series of the Life of the Virgin and the Passion of Christ found on the Sierra Leone pyxes, in fact, are all based on one single source, a Book of Hours published by Thielman Kerver sometime between 1509 and 1511.¹²⁵ Kerver published Books of Hours from 1497 to his death in 1522, and the subsequent editions—extremely rare, as are most printed *Horae*—show a gradual transition in their illustrations from the original Gothic woodcuts to more classical compositions.¹²⁶ Of those I have consulted, only his Books of Hours published between 1509 and 1511 conform to the iconography of the two pyxes he particularly mentioned, respectively in the Museu de Grão Vasco in Viseu¹²⁷ and in a private collection in Lisbon (fig. 9);¹²⁸ the first has eight scenes, the second only the first six. The scenes represent the Tree of Jesse, the Annunciation (fig. 10), the Visitation (fig. 11),

the Nativity, the Adoration of the Shepherds, that of the Magi, the Presentation of Christ in the Temple, and the Flight to Egypt (the last two only shown on the Viseu pyx).¹²⁹ The carved Annunciation, to study one of the scenes, shows the Virgin in Prayer, with the Angel, its wings clearly shown over her head, holding a scepter in his left hand while pointing to her. Although simplified, the scene of the ivory box is clearly based on the woodcut that shows the dove of the Holy Ghost descending from heaven (see fig. 9), as does the beam of light, if one may call it this way, on the ivory. The two figures behind the Virgin recall two of the figures behind the angel in the print, except that the hand of the figure in front is now shown pointing, rather than being hidden by the architecture. The dependence is confined by the other composition, although it quickly becomes clear that the carver did not seem to have had much knowledge of the iconography. The next scene of the pyx, the Visitation, confirms the dependence—see, for example, the specific hand gestures of the Virgin and her mother—even if the carver gave too much prominence to the plant in the foreground. Of course, the ivory carver moved elements from the compositions—the attendants in their architectural framework for example—and his attitude to folds does not reflect early sixteenth-century Parisian fashion, but the link, scene after scene, becomes undeniable, even when he did not even manage to convey, as for the Presentation in the Temple, the basic narrative. The link between the printed sources and the decoration of the pyx is further supported by the fact that the seven scenes on another pyx—in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 13)¹³⁰—respectively the Arrest of Christ (fig. 12), the Crowning of Thorns, the Carrying of the Cross, the Nailing to the Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Lamentation—are all based, directly or indirectly, on woodcuts from the same Book of Hours.¹³¹ Ezio Bassani, again, had linked the Arrest of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane to an illustration of a Book of Hours printed by Philippe Pigouchet for Simon Vostre of 1498, but that composition cannot be the model: the figure of Malchus, to take just the detail, has fallen towards the left side of the composition. The illustrator of the Kerver Hours is much closer—for that scene, see the position of the arms of both Christ and Judas, but also the fallen Malchus and his lantern. Such parallels, not found in any other Book of Hours but those of Kerver, can be followed scene after scene—the exact position of Jesse under his Tree, for example, is only found in Kerver’s Books of Hours; the Nailing to the Cross may now show the cross vertically, but all the hammering figures are directly modeled on the corresponding book illustration. Specific to the ivory carver, however, are the numerous idiosyncrasies, his misunderstanding of the architectural settings, his flat, pearled folds, and his *horror vacuum*.

The date of these Kerver Book of Hours is a further indication of the early production of the ivories in the last years of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century (probably culminating in the first three decades) and testifies to the fruitful complexity of the interaction between Portuguese and African traditions, at a time that saw the first instance of the globalization of the major world economies.



Fig. 9
Pyx (detail), Sapi-
Portuguese style,
Sierra Leone, first half
of 16th century. Private
collection, Lisbon.

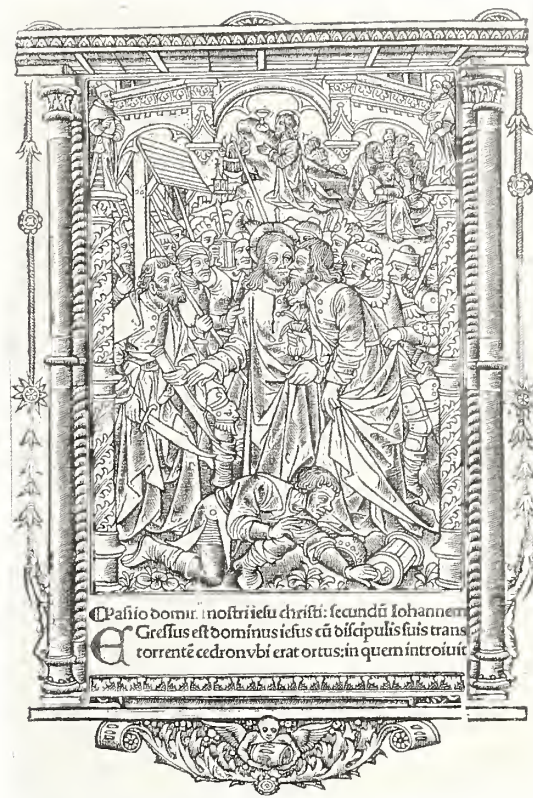


Fig. 10 (top left)
Annunciation, in 'Hore
dive virginis Marie,'
Thielman Kerver, Paris.

Fig. 11 (top center)
Visitation, in 'Hore
dive virginis Marie,'
Thielman Kerver, Paris.

Fig. 12 (top right)
Arrest of Christ,
in 'Hore dive virginis
Marie,' Thielman
Kerver, Paris.

Fig. 13 (left)
Pyx, Sapi-Portuguese
style, Sierra Leone,
1490-1550. The Walters
Art Museum, Baltimore.





PORTUGAL IN WEST AFRICA

The Afro-Portuguese Ivories

PETER MARK

AFRICANS, PORTUGUESE, AND LUSO-AFRICANS ON THE COAST OF GUINEA

Portuguese traders and missionaries first settled on the West African coast in the late fifteenth century. The earliest artworks that resulted from European-African cultural interaction are the carved ivory horns, spoons, and containers called saltcellars that were exported to Europe beginning about 1500 and continuing into the seventeenth century. Luso-African merchants were established along the coast from present-day Senegal to Sierra Leone by that time. These "Portuguese," as they called themselves, served as intermediaries between European and West African culture. The Portuguese and their Luso-African offspring included a substantial number of New Christians, descendants of forcibly converted Portuguese Jews. By 1608 they had been joined by two communities of practicing Jews who settled on Senegal's Petite Côte as traders.

Seventeenth-century Portuguese travel narratives and recently discovered archival documents of the Inquisition necessitate a reassessment of the history of these ivories. These early records cast serious doubt on some art historians' claims that ivories were carved by the "Sapi" peoples of Sierra Leone until about 1550, after which time carving shifted to the kingdom of Benin in Nigeria. Rather than constituting an early Sapi style and a later Benin style, the ivories are, I believe, almost all from Sierra Leone. Stylistic variations reflect not different cultural and geographical origins, but rather stylistic evolution within Sierra Leone over a period of 150 years.

Portuguese commerce and settlement on the West African coast developed rapidly in the decades following Portugal's first sea-borne exploration of the Senegalese littoral in the mid-1440s. By the early 1460s Portuguese commerce extended from Senegal southeast to the region they called Serra Leoa. From the early sixteenth century two concepts of "Serra Leoa" existed. The narrowly defined area comprised the present-day Sierra Leone peninsula and its mountainous hinterland. The wider "Serra Leoa," however, in the sense used by Almada (1594), extended along the coast from the site of Conakry (Guinea) or even Cape Verga, 124 miles south to Sherbro Island.¹ In the sixteenth century, this part of the West African coast was known as Guiné do Cabo Verde, or Guinea of Cape Verde. The area was administered from the Cape Verde Islands, located in the Atlantic about 200 miles off the coast. Portuguese commercial hegemony in this region was not effectively challenged—by the French and the Dutch—until the turn of the seventeenth century.

In addition to European-born Portuguese and their descendants based in the Cape Verde Islands at that time, perhaps as many as two thousand Portuguese settled on the African mainland as traders and commercial middlemen. Known as *tangos mãos* or *lançados* (because they had "thrown themselves" among local African populations),² these men assimilated culturally into local communities. Many of them married African women, the daughters of local rulers with kinship ties and social connections. Through their husbands, the women gained access to European trading networks, and several became wealthy and respected traders in their own right. The frightfully high mortality of Europeans on the coast quickly turned many wives into widows, some of whom inherited their husbands' material goods. Their children and grandchildren, the Luso-African descendants of the *lançados*, continued to refer to themselves, and were known by neighboring Africans, as "Portuguese." Consistent with African models of identity, these Luso-Africans were considered "white," regardless of the complexion of their skin.

Intermediaries between African and European culture, these Euro-Africans spoke Portuguese or Portuguese Crioulo (Creole). They regarded themselves as Christians, though many also practiced African rituals and some were of Jewish heritage. Professionally, they were traders and could be identified by their "Portuguese-style" houses, which were painted white and had verandas. It is significant, too, that following local African models, their identities were flexible: one could be both African and "Portuguese," or first one and then the other.

From a European perspective, this situation appears inherently contradictory. On the Guinea Coast, however, having multiple and changing religious, linguistic, or even ethnic identities was common and quite possibly the norm among traveling merchants. Furthermore, identity tended to be contextually determined. Indeed, the Western model of a single, fixed identity, based on a sense of opposition to an "other," was largely foreign to the coastal peoples of the Senegal-Serra Leoa region.

If the Euro-African descendants of the Portuguese settlers successfully bridged European and African cultures, so, did some African rulers and a few wealthy African traders. In a narrative written in 1625 but based on trading experiences at the end of the sixteenth century, André Donelha describes meeting a Mandinka named Gaspar Vaz, a wealthy Muslim merchant in the Gambia.³ Some time earlier, the two men had been neighbors in the Cape Verde Islands, but there

Fig. 1
Saltcellar, Bini-
Portuguese, Benin,
1525–1600. National
Museum of Denmark,
Copenhagen.

Donelha knew Vaz as a Portuguese-speaking Christian. Apparently Vaz and men like him moved back and forth between the cultural spaces of Portuguese and West African society with ease.

African merchants and local rulers showed an astonishing capacity to assimilate elements of European culture. Some of them spoke European languages and lived in Portuguese-style houses. A few converted to Christianity; one even constructed a chapel for visiting Portuguese traders. The wealthiest among them filled their houses with furniture, rugs, clothing, and table settings worthy of European nobility. The most extraordinary example was the king of Bussis, ruler of a small state in present-day Guinea-Bissau, located south of the seventeenth-century Portuguese trading settlement of Cacheu. The Jesuit missionary Manuel Alvares, writing in about 1615, described the king's unparalleled wealth:

Within his house he keeps many trunks and boxes full of different articles of clothing, such as very elaborate smocks, doublets and breeches, sheets, coverlets and canopies made in silk,⁴ and items in gold and silver ... these items he has bought and continues to buy from the Portuguese who come there with their ships to obtain slaves. ...

He keeps his table with silver tableware and a silver water jug additionally gilded. The table linen [is] very rich and varied like the rest of the table set ... he possesses tapestries, decorations in leather, carpets, a fine wardrobe. As for weapons, apart from the cannon given him by his admirer, he has muskets, swords, and daggers.... The king has his own house, in which he sleeps, and this is a very large one, like the best-situated ones in Cacheu....⁵

Since the king of Bussis was also an important ivory trader; he may have collected ivory carvings along with his other luxury goods. He was not the only wealthy African to amass cultural artifacts from a global empire. Toward the

end of the century, the French merchant Michel Jajolet de la Courbe traveled south through the Gambia. At a trading community called Geregia he met the local ruler (whose daughter was a Christian and married to a European):

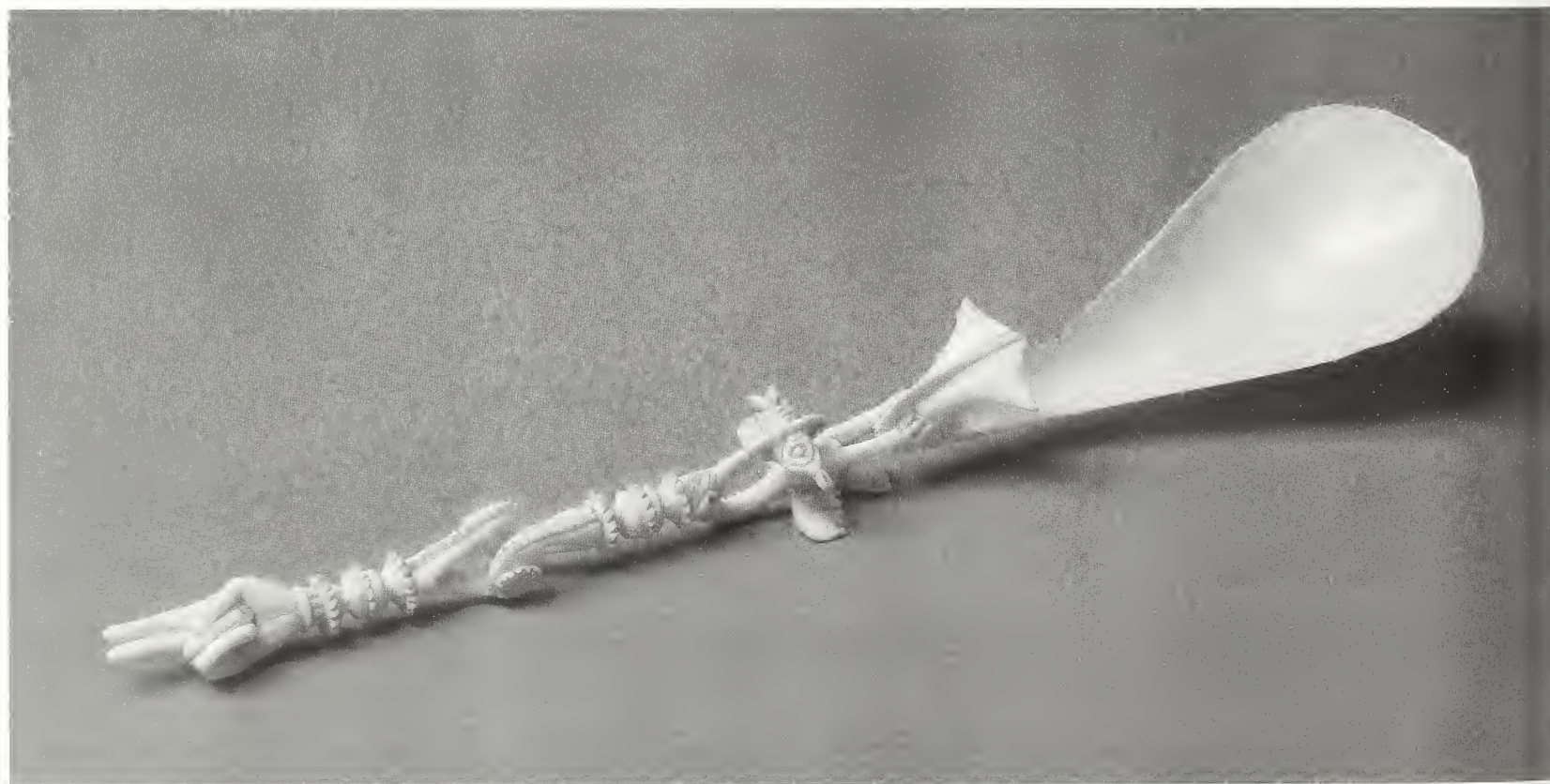
The king of Geregia ... had on a Portuguese cap and an African robe; in his hand he carried a Spanish style sword upon which he leaned. After greeting us, he bid us enter his house ... his house is built in the Portuguese style; we found lunch waiting ... he joined us to eat, as did his wife, which showed me that, in this place, they have begun to take on English manners.⁶

From European manners to Portuguese-style houses to material possessions accumulated from throughout the Portuguese commercial empire, African and Luso-African merchants and African rulers assimilated elements of a global material culture. Some of them certainly owned ivory horns;⁷ others may have owned carved spoons or ivory vessels. This would be consistent with Ezio Bassani's astute hypothesis: "It is reasonable to suppose that in the Sierra Leone workshops at the end of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, well-trained and versatile artists used to carve ivory artefacts for local patrons as well as for Portuguese visitors."⁸

THE CARVED IVORIES

The first Luso-African ivories arrived in Europe toward the end of the fifteenth century. (The term Luso-African more accurately describes these African carvings than does "Afro-Portuguese," in view of the fact that these works were carved by Africans, in Africa, and in a style that derived from local artistic traditions.) Iconographic elements in the works themselves and indisputable documentary evidence firmly establish this date. The Luso-African ivories include a range

Fig. 2
Spoon, 1525–1600.
Museum für
Völkerkunde,
Kunsthistorisches
Museum, Vienna.



of objects, from intricately carved spoons and boxes, to hunting horns and saltcellars. Clearly made by African craftsmen, some of the carvings were inspired by images or decorated objects brought from Europe or elsewhere in the Portuguese global commercial empire. Many of the pieces—or at least those that have survived—eventually were acquired by the Habsburgs and other members of European royalty from wealthy merchants, such as the Fugger family of Augsburg. Thus, four groups were involved in the production and distribution of Luso-African ivories: African artists, coastal “Portuguese” middlemen, European merchants, and wealthy European collectors.

Some modern scholars insist on a dichotomized model of European merchants ordering art from African artisans. That model, however, does not account for the role of the Luso-Africans who were the actual cultural brokers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Guinea and Serra Leoa or for the role of their likely clients within Guinea, such as the king of Bussis. The men and women who served as intermediaries in the coastal trade between Africans and Europeans were themselves members of a mixed Luso-African culture.⁹ These “Portuguese” traders, as they were known, developed a culture that resulted in an amalgam of Guinean and European languages, religions, and material culture.

All of the sixteenth-century ivories that survive today were exported to Europe. There is, however, evidence that ivories were also produced for Portuguese and Luso-Africans living on the West African coast.¹⁰ Production for local consumption was probably relatively common. After all, Euro-Africans and wealthy Africans in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Guiné do Cabo Verde lived in houses furnished with both African- and European-made goods, including ivories.¹¹

The Luso-African ivories can best be understood in a double context. The subject matter of some carvings, especially the hunting horns, reflects their European patronage, as Kathy Curnow, Ezio Bassani, and other scholars have observed. The symbolism derives, however, not only from these foreign clients but also from the specific culture of the Sapi artists who made the horns.¹² (“Sapi”—*Sapes* in Portuguese—is a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century term that refers to several related peoples, including the Baga and Temne, whose descendants inhabit Guinea and Sierra Leone.) While the African iconography will never be completely understood, it can be partially deciphered through an examination of its historical context. Missionary accounts, Portuguese archival sources, and travel narratives—notably the work of André Alvares de Almada¹³ and André Donelha,¹⁴ members of the Afro-Portuguese trading community in the Cape Verde Islands—provide insight into the symbolic meaning that these images held for those who created them. Together, these documents supply a wealth of information about West African societies and material culture. Historical ethnography offers further insight into the symbolic meaning of the ivories.

The lid of a saltcellar preserved in the Museo Pigorini in Rome, for example, depicts a kneeling figure wearing a wide-brimmed hat and holding a shield (see p. 64). At his feet are

several severed heads; beside him cowers his next victim. As art historian Ezio Bassani has observed, the executioner represents an African.¹⁵ His European hat, an emblem of authority, resembles those given to local chiefs by the Portuguese. This figure is also carved on a larger scale than are his victims, another indication of higher status. Bassani, referring to Almada, interprets this image as “a symbolic representation of the great chief endowed with the power of life and death.”¹⁶

We can be more specific. Since no large states existed along the Upper Guinea Coast, from Senegal’s Petite Côte to Sierra Leone, political authority rarely extended beyond groups of neighboring villages.¹⁷ In the absence of a centralized political authority, local African rulers played an important role in trade with the Portuguese, controlling commerce by maintaining periodic markets. Traders at these markets were beholden to the local ruler, whose judicial authority extended over everyone in the area.

Royal judicial authority was expressed through the metaphor (or often, the reality) of capital punishment. Geographer Valentim Fernandes, writing when the earliest Luso-African ivories were being produced, described how the ruler of San Domingos (northern Guinea-Bissau) would mete out justice to those who broke his laws.

*The king of this land is called Jagara and he is very much feared because he carries out strong justice and if anyone should do that which he ought not, the king orders that they cut off his head and place it on a stake in the road where they travel.*¹⁸

Fernandes reported practically the same method of royal punishment in Lower Gambia. There, however, the Mandinka ruler himself cut off the victim’s head and then confiscated the man’s possessions and those of his family.¹⁹

Portuguese traders who resided on the African coast were also subject to the power local rulers held over life and death. This is indicated by an episode in 1608 that involved a community of Portuguese Jews living on Senegal’s Petite Côte, north of the Gambia River. A group of Portuguese Catholics from Cacheu, approximately 100 miles farther south, tried to convince the local ruler to expel the Jews. As a contemporary chronicler reported:

*The Portuguese seeking to kill them and expel them from that place ran a serious risk. Because the King took the side of the former and he told the latter that his land was a market where all kinds of people had a right to live. And that no one would cause disorder in his land; or he would have their heads cut off. If they wanted to make war they ought to make it on the sea not on his land which, as he had already said, was a market.*²⁰

For coastal communities, long-distance commerce was a major source of wealth, much of which accrued to the local rulers who controlled the markets. Such control was directly associated with the authority to impose capital punishment. The image on the lid of the saltcellar in Rome is a dramatic representation of political authority in general and, specifically, of the power to regulate markets. These twin prerogatives of local rulers applied not only to their African subjects but also to European and Luso-African merchants.

The image of the executioner also recalls the myth, found even today in Guinea-Bissau, of the *sapa kabesa*, wandering spirits who are said to cut off people's heads and sell them.²¹ As Wilson Trajano argues, the "rumor" of the *sapa kabesa* is a phenomenon closely associated with and applied to Creole individuals in West Africa. Among the earliest Creoles in Guinea-Bissau were African Christians called the *grumetes*. Many of them worked as pilots or crew on the small vessels that plied the rivers and coast of Guiné do Cabo Verde. As early as the fifteenth century, they served as intermediaries between European and African merchants. The image of the executioner, who may be understood as a variant of the *sapa kabesa*, thus has dual references: to the local chief who controlled markets, and to the Creole traders who negotiated between the Africans and the Portuguese. Interestingly, this iconographic meaning, which may be imputed to the Sapi artist who made the saltcellar, is strikingly similar to the work's subsequent meaning in Europe, where it became a symbol of wealth and power.²² In both its initial African context and its later European setting, the ivory alluded to long-distance commerce, wealth, and authority. The closely related iconographic incarnations suggest that an intercultural dialogue took place at the moment of the work's conception.

These ivory carvings passed from Sapi artists through Luso-African middlemen to Portuguese traders and, ultimately, to European noble families. The Luso-African intermediaries were culturally closer to the artists, to whom they may even have been related by marriage. Is it not possible that the imagery of a work such as the Pigorini saltcellar was specified by these middlemen, who would have considered the scene to be appropriate subject matter for an object belonging to a wealthy ruler? That indeed is what the artist created. Parenthetically, because the saltcellar's iconography is African, it is a perfect candidate for an item initially intended for an African ruler with a taste for European manners. Of course, the person for whom this piece was originally conceived is unknown, but that individual could have been either African or European.

IVORY CARVINGS IN SERRA LEOA

Portuguese sources from the beginning of the sixteenth century firmly document the production and export of ivory carvings from Serra Leoa. Customs records, dating from circa 1504 and preserved in the National Archives in Lisbon, document how the Casa da Guiné e Mina, the government establishment that managed Portuguese trade in Atlantic Africa, imported dozens of ivory spoons and at least three *saleiros* (saltcellars) on ships that had sailed from the Portuguese trading fortress at Elmina on the Gold Coast. As the historians Ryder and Teixeira da Mota have pointed out, however, the vessels also transported rice, which suggests they stopped in the rice-producing area that includes Serra Leoa.²³

In 1505 Duarte Pacheco Pereira, former *capitão-maior* (captain major) at Elmina, wrote a book titled *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, which incorporates a description of the Bullom peoples of Sierra Leone: "The largest group of inhabitants of this land are called Boulões, a warlike people who are rarely at

peace. . . . In this land they make very clever spoons of ivory, the best finished works that there are in any of these parts."²⁴ Pacheco Pereira's contemporary, the German-born geographer Valentim Fernandes, lived in Portugal and never visited West Africa, but he did write about it, basing his account on information provided by traders familiar with Guinea of Cape Verde.

*In Sierra Leone the men are extremely subtle and ingenious; they fashion works of ivory that are very wonderful to see, of all things that they are asked to make[;] some make spoons ['colheyras'], others make saltcellars and others make handles for daggers and any other subtlety.*²⁵

The non-standardized spellings of "spoon"—*colhares*, *colares*, *colheyras*, *collares*, or even *coheres*—used in early sixteenth-century sources have led to confusion.²⁶ The first modern translation of Fernandes (into French) translates *colhares* (itself a mistranscription in the eighteenth-century copy used by the French translators) as "colliers" or "necklaces."²⁷ No ivory necklaces dating from the sixteenth century, however, are known today. In addition, it is clear that the literally dozens of references to *colhares de marfy* in the Casa da Guiné records refer to "spoons of ivory." The spelling in Fernandes's manuscript, which closely approximates the orthography and pronunciation in the customs records and Pacheco Pereira's writings from the same decade, almost certainly refers to spoons, not necklaces.²⁸

Most art historians date the works in ivory from Sierra Leone to the period 1490 to 1530 or 1490 to 1550.²⁹ They also propose that those ivory carvings that continued to reach Europe after the middle of the sixteenth century were produced not in Sierra Leone, but in Benin (southwestern Nigeria). They believe that Sapi society was destroyed and ivory production in coastal Sierra Leone ended in the mid-sixteenth century, when a people called the Manes invaded the area. Recently, however, historians conducting research on pre-colonial Sierra Leone have discredited the idea of such a cataclysmic event. Adam Jones casts doubt on the theory of a devastating invasion, suggesting instead that the Mandespeaking "Manes," who were actually Vai, made a gradual—and perhaps, far less disruptive—migration toward the coast. Jones observes that oral traditions often recast gradual historical processes as sudden cataclysmic events.³⁰ Early seventeenth-century Portuguese narratives do refer to an invasion, but a critical reading of these sources shows them to be highly exaggerated and misleading. Father Alvares, for example, offers a nightmarish account of the alleged invasion. He then contradicts himself by likening the Manes to the Mandinka peoples of the Gambia, Muslims who actually lived in peace with the Soninke (Sonequei),³¹ the non-Muslim neighbors they had supposedly conquered. The arrival of the Mandinka in the Gambia, like that of the Manes in Sierra Leone, was actually a gradual process of migration and cultural assimilation that is remembered in oral tradition as an invasion.³²

Historical sources prove that, in Sierra Leone, the Sapi and their neighbors continued to carve ivory well into the seventeenth century.³³ Manuel Alvares, the Jesuit missionary

Fig. 3 (opposite, left)
Spoon with an ibex,
Bini-Portuguese style,
Nigeria, 16th century.
Museum für Völker-
kunde Dresden/(SES).

Fig. 4 (opposite, right)
Spoon with a monkey,
Bini-Portuguese style,
Nigeria, 16th century.
Museum für Völker-
kunde Dresden/(SES).

who lived there from 1607 to 1616, describes the creation of these works in his *Etiópia Menor*. His comments about ivory production are crucial because they firmly document that ivory carving survived sixty-five years after the so-called Mane invasion.³⁴ Alvares describes the peoples, including the Temnes and Sapi, who lived in the vicinity of the Portuguese trading center of Mitombo.³⁵

*Because of their ability and intelligence some of them have the gift of artistic imagination. . . . The variety of their handicrafts is due to their artistry. [They make] 'tagarras,' which are large dishes of wood, most unusual and beautiful, and that here are used at table, of which some are rather small, others larger; spoons made of ivory, beautifully finished, the handles carved in entertaining shapes, such as the heads of animals, birds or their 'corofis' (idols), all done with such perfection that it has to be seen to be believed; 'betes' or 'rachons' which are round and are used as low seats, and are made in curious shapes to resemble lizards and other small creatures. In sum, they are, in their own way, skilled at handicrafts.*³⁶

Father Alvares is absolutely clear: the Sapi were still highly skilled artists in the seventeenth century. They continued to carve ivory spoons with great skill, long after the so-called invasion—probably migration—of the preceding century. Furthermore, the description of the decorated handles matches spoons that survive today. Ivory spoons clearly were produced, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, both in Sierra Leone and, as Bassani and others have indicated, in Benin.³⁷

Alvares's description of the large wooden bowls is similar to the saltcellars, though he does state that the vessels he discusses are not made of ivory. Nevertheless, an artist would have required the same talent and technical skill to work in both ivory and wood. While Alvares's passage proves that the Sapi had not lost their ivory-carving skills, it also raises a new question: were they now making bowls of wood instead of ivory? Alvares may simply have overlooked ivory tableware, but this passage is detailed and precise; he is clearly familiar with the objects. He lived on the coast for ten years, and he may well have owned some of the pieces he discusses. Had he seen ivory dishes, he likely would have mentioned them. Alvares's description, then, seems to imply that ivory *saleiros* were rare, or perhaps no longer made, in the early seventeenth century. If this was the case, why were ivory spoons still common and *saleiros* were not? Certainly the answer is not the Mane invasion. Two other possible explanations arise.

By the early seventeenth century, the ivory trade throughout Guinea of Cape Verde had grown to sizeable proportions. During the second decade of the century, ivory ranked with wax and animal hides as the primary goods acquired by the predominantly Jewish merchants at the trading centers of Joal and Porto de Ali (Portodale) on Senegal's Petite Côte.³⁸ In 1611, for example, one merchant on the Petite Côte held two thousand pounds of ivory as surety for a loan.³⁹ The magnitude of this trade, maintained over a period of years, would have had two results.

First, it is likely that the value of ivory, and certainly its rarity, declined on the European market. This would have had little impact on the sale of relatively low-value items such as spoons.



The ivory spoon trade had been carried on in small quantities and often by individual sailors, as is indicated by the 1505 customs records from the Casa da Guiné. Spoons were exported into the seventeenth century, not only from Sierra Leone but also from Benin.⁴⁰ Within Europe, however, the demand for ivory as a rare material appropriate for saltcellars and other highly valued objects, may have declined as ivory became increasingly common. Furthermore, European interest in African saltcellars and similar objects may have been affected by the development of the Baroque sculptural style. Characterized by a dramatic and more dynamic treatment of the human form, the Baroque style is evident in the work of early



seventeenth-century European ivory carvers.⁴¹ As a result of the diminished rarity of ivory and changing style preferences, the European market for West African saltcellars may well have disappeared by Father Alvares's time. The demand for spoons clearly continued, and production was not limited to Sierra Leone.

Second, the increased hunting of elephants in the Senegal-Sierra Leone region affected the physical size of the herds. Since the animals were hunted for their tusks, those killed off most rapidly would have been, in all likelihood, the largest elephants. Although the Portuguese observer Francisco de Lemos Coelho suggests that elephants remained

plentiful in Sierra Leone even in the second half of the seventeenth century, animals with tusks large enough to be turned into *saleiros* may have been wiped out well before that time.

It is possible that the Sapi were no longer carving saltcellars by the early 1600s. If any surviving vessels date from that time, they may have been produced elsewhere in West Africa. Conceivably, some seventeenth-century works were carved in Benin; however, no known historical sources document the seventeenth-century production—let alone the provenance—of ivory saltcellars in Benin. In addition, one document shows that ivory carving, of items other than

saltcellars, continued in mid-seventeenth-century Sierra Leone. The narrator was a Portuguese merchant who had extensive familiarity with the coast. In 1669 Francisco de Lemos Coelho, a Portuguese Cape Verdean trader who frequented the area in the middle decades of the century, wrote an account of Guinea, which he revised and expanded in 1684.⁴² He observed that in Sierra Leone “the Blacks make many curious things in ivory,” and he added, “They [worship] a piece of wood or ivory which they have carved with a knife into a human shape.”⁴³ This terse note, however, does not specify whether Portuguese merchants were still purchasing the sculptures.⁴⁴

REEXAMINING BENIN

Careful study of Portuguese historical sources strongly suggests that the prevailing viewpoint attributing post-1550 ivory carvings to Benin must be reexamined. Portuguese documents clearly show that ivory carving continued in Sierra Leone until the mid-seventeenth century. Since the Sapi of Sierra Leone did not cease their carving in 1550, it is not necessary to posit another geographical origin, i.e., Benin, for the ivories that arrived in Europe after that time.

The theory of two distinct groups of ivories—an earlier set from Sierra Leone and a post-1550 set from Nigeria—is the product of impressively detailed studies, based primarily on stylistic analyses, undertaken by Curnow and by Bassani. Scholars, however, now question the historical event on which Curnow bases the hypothesis for the end of ivory production in Sierra Leone, that is, the “Mane invasion.” Furthermore, Portuguese sources demonstrate the survival of ivory carving in Sierra Leone well into the seventeenth century. Additional detailed stylistic analysis, focusing on individual objects, is clearly needed. Such study could be along the lines of Curnow and Bassani’s analyses, but it should take into account these crucial historical sources. It may be that stylistic differences among the ivories do point to two subgroups, with the first group representing earlier and the second group later production, but all from Sierra Leone. The stylistic variation in the ivories may also reflect provenance from the different groups inhabiting greater “Serra Leoa,” stretching from present-day Guinea to the Sierra Leone peninsula.

Additional historical problems arise with the argument that Benin became the source for ivory saltcellars after 1530 or 1550. First, the earliest written reference to ivory carvings from Benin dates to 1588.⁴⁵ Second, as historian Alan Ryder observes in his study of Europeans in Benin, an early sixteenth-century ivory trade between Portugal and Benin had virtually disappeared in the seventy years preceding the 1588 reference.⁴⁶ This includes precisely the period when art historians claim Benin exported ivory carvings. Third, Portuguese trading visits to Benin, which lay inland and was not accessible to sea-borne vessels, apparently ceased or became quite rare after 1535.⁴⁷ It is difficult to see how the Portuguese could have obtained ivory spoons and saltcellars from Benin at a time when their visits to the kingdom were rare or non-existent.

The iconography of some of the ivory saltcellars may afford further insight into their geographical origins. Recently discovered documents from the Lisbon Inquisition cast light on the ivory and weapons trades in early seventeenth-century Guinea. Much of this trade was in the hands of New Christian and Sephardic Jewish merchants who had settled in Joal and Porto de Ali, two villages on Senegal’s Petite Côte, by 1608.⁴⁸ These traders were the descendants of Portuguese Jews who had been forcibly converted to Christianity, but they had returned to their ancestral Jewish faith after migrating to Amsterdam to escape the Inquisition. From there, they traveled to West Africa. In Senegal, they lived publicly as Jews while they maintained close religious and commercial ties to Amsterdam.⁴⁹ In 1612 they obtained a rabbi, Jacob Peregrino, a Portuguese-born Jew formerly known as Jerónimo Rodrigues Freire. By 1618 the Jews of the Petite Côte had established commercial relations with São Tomé, Angola, and Brazil.⁵⁰ In Senegal, the merchants were protected by local African rulers who were, without exception, Muslim by that time.

These Jewish merchants traded for ivory, which they obtained from New Christian traders, presumably *lançados*, living in Senegambia.⁵¹ (“New Christians,” or *cristãos novos*, was the Portuguese term for Jews and Moors who converted to Christianity, as well as for their baptized descendants.) The *lançados* established contact with the Dutch Jews as soon as the latter settled in Senegal, which strongly suggests preexisting contact, perhaps based on family ties between New Christians and Jews (*os da nação*). The New Christian *lançados* may also have been involved in a more specialized coastal trade in carved ivory. If so, might the sculptures themselves give some iconographic evidence of their role? The answer lies in the Afro-Portuguese weapons trade of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.

Jewish merchants in Senegal were active in the weapons trade. From Europe they imported small curved or straight swords and daggers, called *espadas* or *terçados*, which were three or four palms (approximately 66–88 cm) in length.⁵² Production of the weapons was subcontracted to artisans living in Antwerp and northern Italy, while the actual work of assembling them was heavily dominated by New Christians in Lisbon.⁵³ This trade was officially illegal, since Christians were not permitted to provide weapons to infidels. Nevertheless, it constituted an important export from Portugal to Guiné do Cabo Verde and to Angola. Inquisition witnesses estimated that five hundred or six hundred of the weapons were traded annually, primarily for slaves, at the height of the commerce in the first and second decades of the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ To date, however, no references connecting the dagger trade to Benin have been found.

The origin of this specialized weapons trade in Guinea remains obscure, but an important New Christian role in the sixteenth century is probable. Since at least the end of the fifteenth century, as Labelle Prussin has demonstrated, weapons production in Morocco and the Western Sahara had been in the hands of Sephardic Jewish artisans.⁵⁵ The New Christian metal workers who produced swords and

Fig. 5 (opposite, left)
Spoon with animals,
Bini-Portuguese style,
Nigeria, 16th century.
Private collection.

Fig. 6 (opposite, center)
Spoon with a goat,
Bini-Portuguese style,
Nigeria, 16th century.
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/(SES).

Fig. 7 (opposite, right)
Spoon with a fox,
Bini-Portuguese style,
Nigeria, 16th century.
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/(SES).

daggers for West Africa at the beginning of the seventeenth century were heirs to this long-standing tradition.

Some ivory saltcellars visually document the weapons trade. The rigid, frontal, standing soldiers on several saltcellars, including a vessel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, clearly show Portuguese figures who could have been depicted from life. On the other hand, several works portray cavalymen. Cavalry, on the northern Upper Guinea Coast, consisted of African soldiers. Even though the cavalymen on the saltcellar have European physiognomies, they depict a fighting force that consisted of Africans, not Europeans. The images are to be understood as a generic depiction of military might, directly inspired by the presence of African cavalymen and their weapons.

One saltcellar attributed to Benin, currently in the Museu de Arte Antiga in Lisbon, depicts mounted cavalymen carrying daggers—clearly the weapons that even today in Guinea-Bissau are known as *terçados*. The Lisbon saltcellar thus illustrates a weapons trade documented by historical sources for the Upper Guinea Coast and Angola but not, to the best of our knowledge, for Benin. Its subject matter casts doubt on the Nigerian attribution. Stylistically, the Lisbon piece is consistent with Sierra Leone ivories. See, for example, the treatment of the nose, with flanged nostrils coming to a point, of the cavalryman who holds a broken sword.⁵⁶ At the same time, the sculpture's medium attests to the trade in ivory. It is also significant that Sapi artists, at least in the sixteenth century, were renowned for their ivory dagger handles, a few of which have entered European collections.⁵⁷

Another saltcellar, usually attributed to Benin, which portrays Portuguese soldiers armed with short swords, is in the collection of the British Museum. The depiction of short swords does not rule out Nigerian origins for this famous work. Evidence from the historical documentation, including the survival of Sierra Leone artistry into the seventeenth century and the absence of Portuguese ivory trade with Benin during the period 1520 to 1588, render the possibility of a Benin school of late sixteenth-century saltcellars unlikely. In this context, the iconography further suggests that the place of origin of the British Museum saltcellar has to be reconsidered.

The argument for a major production center outside Sierra Leone was also based on the assumption that the Sierra Leone ivories were carved by relatively few artists working over a period of less than fifty years (1490–1530).⁵⁸ Yet, as scholars now know, more than 90 percent of the pieces brought to Europe in the sixteenth century have disappeared.⁵⁹ Many more Sapi artists must have been active than previously thought. Furthermore, the Portuguese documents cited above convincingly demonstrate that the Sapis continued to carve ivory well into the seventeenth century. Hence, a relatively large number of artists were working over an extended time period.

In light of this new information, the significance of stylistic variation among the saltcellars needs to be reassessed. Artists from Sierra Leone—who, according to Valentim Fernandes, specialized in the production of particular objects

as early as 1505—probably developed more than one style for their work. Conceivably, individual Sapi artists worked in more than one style. Furthermore, it would be hard to imagine that carving styles remained rigidly set for nearly two centuries. Hence, unless convincing new historical documentation of ivory trade with sixteenth-century Nigeria is discovered in the Portuguese archives, stylistic variation cannot in itself be assumed to indicate Nigerian geographical and cultural origins for the ivories. It is highly unlikely that Benin was a major center for the production of ivory saltcellars.

CONCLUSION

Portugal's late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century establishment of a global commercial empire led to the creation of a distinctive Luso-African community in West Africa. These Luso-African merchants were considered "Portuguese," and their culture blended elements of European and African religion, language, and architecture. Similar to local rulers and other members of the West African elite, they lived in distinctive houses that they furnished with goods from throughout the Portuguese empire. Among the few surviving elements of this distinctive material culture, blending forms and subject matter from Europe, Africa, and even Asia, are the Luso-African ivories that were produced both for the elite African market and for export to Europe. Unfortunately, none of those made for the African market have survived.

A reassessment of Portuguese primary sources demonstrates conclusively that artists from Sierra Leone (Sapi, Temne, and other closely related groups) carved ivory spoons, hunting horns, and other objects over a period of nearly two centuries, from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. Previous theories that Sapi artistic production was destroyed about 1550 by a Mane invasion are mistaken. This historical reevaluation necessitates a reappraisal of the hypothesis that, following the presumed Mane invasion, Benin sculptors replaced Sapi artists as the major ivory carvers for the European market. Some ivory spoons and perhaps other objects were produced in Benin circa 1600, but historical documentation strongly suggests that most of the ivory carvings continued to come from Sierra Leone.

In addition, newly discovered documents describing an important New Christian and Jewish trading presence in early seventeenth-century Guiné do Cabo Verde offer insight into the iconography and likely provenance of some of the ivory saltcellars that entered European collections in the late sixteenth or seventeenth century. This information, too, suggests Sierra Leone as the geographical origin for many of the ivories that have previously been attributed to Benin.

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Fig. 7
Saltcellar with boat,
Bini-Portuguese
style, Nigeria, 16th
century. The British
Museum, London.





CROSSES AND HUNTING CHARMS

Polysemy in Bakongo Religion

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

When William Holman Bentley of the Baptist Mission arrived in São Salvador on the Lower Congo in 1879, he observed that both the king and his people were given to fetishism and used Christian crosses in this way: "A flat wooden cross, about 2 feet long, 4 inches broad, is the common fetish which confers skill in hunting. It is called *Santu* (*santa cruz*, "holy cross"), and whenever the possessor of a *santu* kills an animal its blood is daubed on the *santu*. It is said that a *santu* loses its power if the possessor is guilty of any immorality; in such case a fine has to be paid and a ceremony gone through before its power can be restored by a doctor of *santu*." For Bentley, "This association of the necessity of a pure life with the effective possession of a cross is an interesting relic of old [Christian] teaching."¹

Among the various hunting charms used on the Lower Congo is the "fetish cross" made of two pieces of wood, its lower branch sharpened to pierce the ground; some examples, curiously, have arms that terminate, although not exactly, in Maltese crosses (fig. 2).² The ceremonial use was described by John Henry Weeks, of the Royal Anthropological Institute, in his studies of the Bakongo (1908 and 1914) (fig. 3). After a party of hunters killed an antelope, its blood was caught in the animal's bladder and taken to the *kimpovela*, who brought the cross out of his house, stuck it in the ground, and inserted the fatal bullet into a hole at the center of the cross, before pouring the blood over it as an oblation to the famous hunter on whose grave the ceremony was performed, in thanks for his having listened to them and granted success. The hunters next repeated the following words: "We thank you for sending us such a fine animal, and hope you will repeat the favour." Then some blood was rubbed on the cross and the tail of the animal was stuck over the doorway of the house of the successful hunter. A number of such wooden crosses have been preserved;³ the label of one, donated by the missionary G. N. Nykvist to the Riksmuseets Etnografiska Avdelning (now Folkens Museum Etnografiska) in Stockholm in 1907, indicates that the hole is also considered the "heart" of the cross.⁴

The combination of cross and blood sacrifice, of course, as well as the name of the charm as *santu*, are late testimonies to continuing Portuguese influence among the Bakongo. On a photograph taken in 1915 by a Swedish missionary, J. Hammar, in a village south of the Congo River, somewhere between Thysville and Ngombe Lutete, a couple of crosses hung on the outside wall of a house, covered, we are told, with chicken's blood.⁵ There may be an allusion here to a

different ceremony, described by M. Maquet, in which hunters meet in the cemetery before a hunt, spread palm wine on the tombs, sacrifice a chicken and pour its blood over a cross (here called *kulunsi*). During this ritual, white crosses are drawn on the rifles of the hunters; after a successful hunt, the blood of the animals, kept in a receptacle, is poured over the cross, on which hangs a bag filled with animal bones and horns, since this cross is the fetish of the hunt (*mavungu*).⁶ That crosses were traced on rifles seems to be confirmed by a Lieutenant Lemaire, who was traveling in Congo in 1896; he comments that magic incantations in which the cross was used were specific to guns and were not used for bows. Lemaire's informer also made a cross on a shell of a snail that was hanging in his house among his fetishes when he came home armed with this gun. The lieutenant saw the belief in the "sânton" as a last remnant of the teaching of Portuguese missionaries.⁷

The Lower Congo hunting crosses (*santu*) evidently relate to the Kikongo notion of *nkisi* (pl. *minkisi*), "a personalised force from the invisible land of the dead" submitted "to some degree of human control effected through ritual performances."⁸ The missionary and ethnologist Karl Edward Laman of the Swedish Covenant Church contributed much to our understanding of Bakongo culture (a selection of his manuscript notes were published posthumously in four volumes). Laman, who collected more than 100 *minkisi* in the second decade of the twentieth century, certainly thought that such hunting charms (*kaku kia santu*) belonged within this category, although he added that the concept of the cross was of European origin.⁹ In one of Hammar's photographs, a bag with magical materials is hanging from one of the crosses, thus connecting it formally to the *nkisi*. In his anti-catholic diatribe, *Narrative of an Expedition to explore the River Zaire in 1816*, Captain James Kingstone Tuckey had already commented scathingly on the association of such bags and crosses, when he wrote that some men from Soyo, "Christians after the Portuguese fashion . . . were loaded with crucifixes, and satchels containing the pretend relics of saints, certainly of equal efficacy with the monkey's bones of their pagan brethren."¹⁰ Richard Burton undoubtedly used Tuckey's narrative but, in his *Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo* (1876), he added that in Soyo such a crucifix is called *cousa de branco*, "white man's thing," clearly acknowledging its European origin.¹¹ In 1920, the Jesuit missionary Joseph Van Wing, famous among other things for his three volumes of *Etudes Bakongo*, mentioned that in

Fig. 1
Lower Congo crucifix
(*'Nkangi kiditu'*),
18th century (?). Bareiss
Family Collection.



Mpangu province, they still had crucifixes set in the traditional magical bundles of herbs, earth, feathers, and much more, which serve as protection against enemies and sorcerers. They also had small crosses in palm laths or palm leaves, which they stuck to the walls of the buildings, and which he supposed had the same use as traditional reeds, filled with earth and gunpowder, to protect against ghosts.¹² Indeed he remarks on how readily European artifacts were integrated in magical bundles; and Captain Tuckey, a century before, had described “an infallible charm against poison” that included “an European padlock, in the iron of which they have contrived to bury a cowry shell and various other matters. . . .”¹³ Van Wing also mentioned the great wooden crosses, called *Ngubu-Santu*, which he characterized as well-known hunting fetishes; according to a fellow Jesuit, Ivon Struyf, part of the heart and the heads of defeated enemies were sometimes left near the crosses.¹⁴

Crosses might present themselves in eccentric forms. While traveling to São Salvador in the 1850s, the great ethnologist Adolf Bastian, who noticed the frequent use of the cross as a fetish, mentioned that sometime after leaving the village of Mikiliama, he saw a cross, the upper arm of which ended in the head of a friar (*Padre-Gesicht*).¹⁵ A still more extraordinary variation, the hunting charm for a necklace collected by another Swedish missionary, W. Walldén, and now in the Etnografiska Museet in Göteborg, has a bare-breasted woman at its top.¹⁶ Hardly surprising therefore is Joachim John Monteiro’s comment, in *Angola and the River Congo* (1875), that the locals “do not even know the history of the crucifixes now-existing amongst them as ‘fetishes’ . . . and when I have explained to them that they formerly belonged to the missionaries they were astonished . . .,”¹⁷ an account, incidentally, confirmed by others.

Christianity came to the Lower Congo through the Portuguese. In 1483, Diogo Cão arrived at the mouth of the Congo River,¹⁸ which he explored two years later, as far as the Yellala Falls, some 140 kilometers upstream.¹⁹ In Bakongo territory he contacted the local king, Nzinga Nkuwu, who was baptized on May 3, 1491, and took the name of João I. The story of the Christianization of the Lower Congo is a checkered one; over the following 350 years, there were, from Luanda to the Lower Congo, discontinuous and unsystematic initiatives, with missionaries being sent to the cities to present new beliefs mainly, but not exclusively, to the ruling elite, as an accompaniment to a real access to power and prestige within the Atlantic trade.²⁰ In religious terms, the level of Christianization must have varied enormously; Christian teaching certainly did not often supplant or even dominate the beliefs of the *kitome* priestly chiefs, or traditional beliefs of the people in general. The diversity of Lower Congolese belief is indicated in a report by Bernardo da Gallo, a Capuchin monk, written December 12, 1710; according to him, the people of central Congo, especially those from São Salvador, were true Christians, but that this was not the case in the provinces, although more and more peasants were baptized but remained ignorant of the true Faith: “Some carry the rosaries and medals they may have. At the same time, they

openly keep superstitious objects, while idols and fetishistic objects are sometimes sold in the markets." Inquisition documents of 1596–98 confirm the illegal sale of religious objects including crucifixes, which is simony, as well as their link to magical practices. A New Christian, Aires Fernandes, a peddler in Angola and on the Lower Congo, had broken the arms of crucifixes in small pieces, and one of these was described as "white and made of hippopotamus tooth and I held it in my hand and recognised in it a fragment of an arm of the cross." The pieces clearly were sold as relics (*falsas reliquias*) and amulets, as we know from other contemporary documents as well.²¹ In her study of the Bakongo religion, Anne Hilton has commented, "the graves of the chiefs . . . and the manipulation of *nkisi*-fetishes (now crosses and medallions) were sources of power with spiritual dimensions which were concerned with the public cult of the royal ancestors and predecessors on the one hand, and charms which acted in the individual interest and for material gain on the other."²² Nineteenth-century reports, too, concur with both earlier and twentieth-century ethnographic studies in showing how Christian symbols were integrated in traditional beliefs, as well as how these beliefs were reflected in Catholic practices.²³ This first process is reflected in a new terminology. Christ was seen as a powerful chief (*mfumu*), being called *Kristu mfumu* and *ngusi mfumu ami* (lord, chief Jesus),²⁴ while the Christian missionaries were seen as *nganga*, the term for the local priests, who used magical bundles (*nkisi*), the name also given to Christian objects; Capuchin monks were called *nganga capuccini*, the Eucharist, *nriwa a nkisi*.²⁵

Crosses and other religious paraphernalia were introduced on the Lower Congo at an early stage. When Diogo Cão arrived on the mouth of the Congo river, he placed a *padrão*, a stone marker in the form of a column testifying that King João had ordered this land to be discovered; this was a new and more permanent version of the traditional wooden crosses to charter newly discovered lands.²⁶ On his return to the Congo, Cão had an inscription incised into a rock face at Yellala, up the river Congo, close to its navigable limit. Next to the royal arms and a large cross, his inscription still testifies today that "Here arrived the ships of the illustrious King João the Second of Portugal"; this is followed by the names of Diogo Cão, Pêro Anes, and Pêro da Costa.²⁷ Many large wooden crosses were raised in the Lower Congo region during the next three and a half centuries, of which only one, in Mbata Makela, has survived, although the date at which it was raised is not known.²⁸ Others are mentioned in documents, such as that in Mbanza Kongo (São Salvador), which Afonso I erected in 1508, after his victory over Mpanzu Kitima.²⁹ Multiple crosses were set up by diligent individuals, such as Francesco da Troyna, a Capuchin friar, who stayed in Soyo and São Salvador from 1705 onwards; in a letter to Pope Clement XI, he claims to have baptized "19,724 people, officiated at 2,055 weddings, built 14 churches and raised 22 crosses."³⁰ Once erected, such crosses could serve as more than the focus of prayer: another Capuchin, Antonio Zucchelli da Gradisca, in his *Relazioni del viaggio e missione di Congo* (1712), noted that he had a local fetisher (*nganga*) arrested, attached to the Masongo

cross, and flogged; then he had him exposed there for eight consecutive mornings, using the cross as a pillory.³¹ Sometimes people were buried near the large crosses for, in traditional Kongolesé belief, the dead remained, in spiritual form, close to the place where they had been buried, thus being able to act either positively or negatively on their descendants. Antonio Barroso, in 1885, noticed a group of some twelve tombs, with plates and jugs hanging from the trees above, near the wooden cross at Kiloango (Mbanza Mbata a Dimbu kia Kulusu);³² there were also two rows of tombs topped with stones some 25 meters from the cross of Mbata Makela mentioned before.³³

The symbolism and the power given to such monumental crosses were evidently strong from the beginning. In 1630, Bonaventura, the interpreter of the Capuchin monk José de Pernambuco, died at the foot of the Kiloango cross, after having been beaten by *kimpasi* followers; he just had time to write on the foot of the cross: "Here died master D. Bonaventura, killed while defending the true Holy Faith."³⁴ In a similar way, in 1714, Antonio II Barreto da Silva, count of Soyo, who had been injured by his enemies, crawled to a cross and declared, "It is here I want to die," before repeating the first words of the Creed (*Creo em Deus, Padre todo poderoso*).³⁵ Even in the second half of the twentieth century, old wooden crosses had not lost their power, as pieces from the Mbata Makela cross were used to make amulets.³⁶ Large crosses sometimes supported traditional beliefs. In Norchi (Noki) on the Congo River, in 1688, the Franciscan Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento commented on a church of good size, with a cross in front of it: inside however, "instead of the altar there was a great heap of sand [probably a tomb] wherein was stuck a straight horn about five spans long."³⁷ Merolla was told that the church was now dedicated to Kadiabemba and that the

Fig. 2 (opposite)
Lower Congo hunting
fetish (*Santu*), 19th
century. Hood Museum
of Art, Dartmouth
College, Hanover.

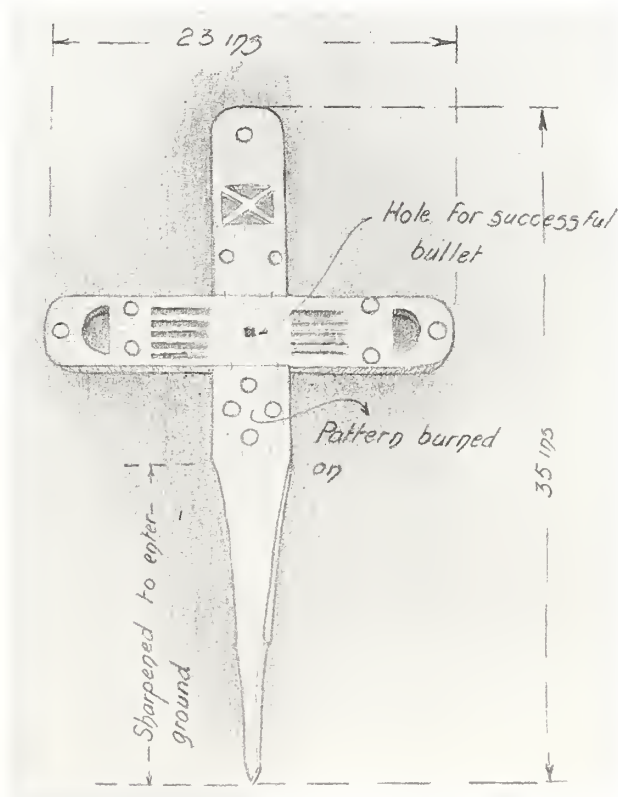


Fig. 3
F. Longland, Sketch of
hunting fetish, in J. H.
Weeks, 'Notes on some
customs of the Lower
Congo People,' 1908.

Christian cross strengthened his power. And in 1711, Lorenzo da Lucca, reporting on the missions in southern Africa, wrote that one of the princes of Soyo, who had received as a gift from the governor of Chiova some severed heads, placed them at the foot of the large cross in front of the church.³⁸

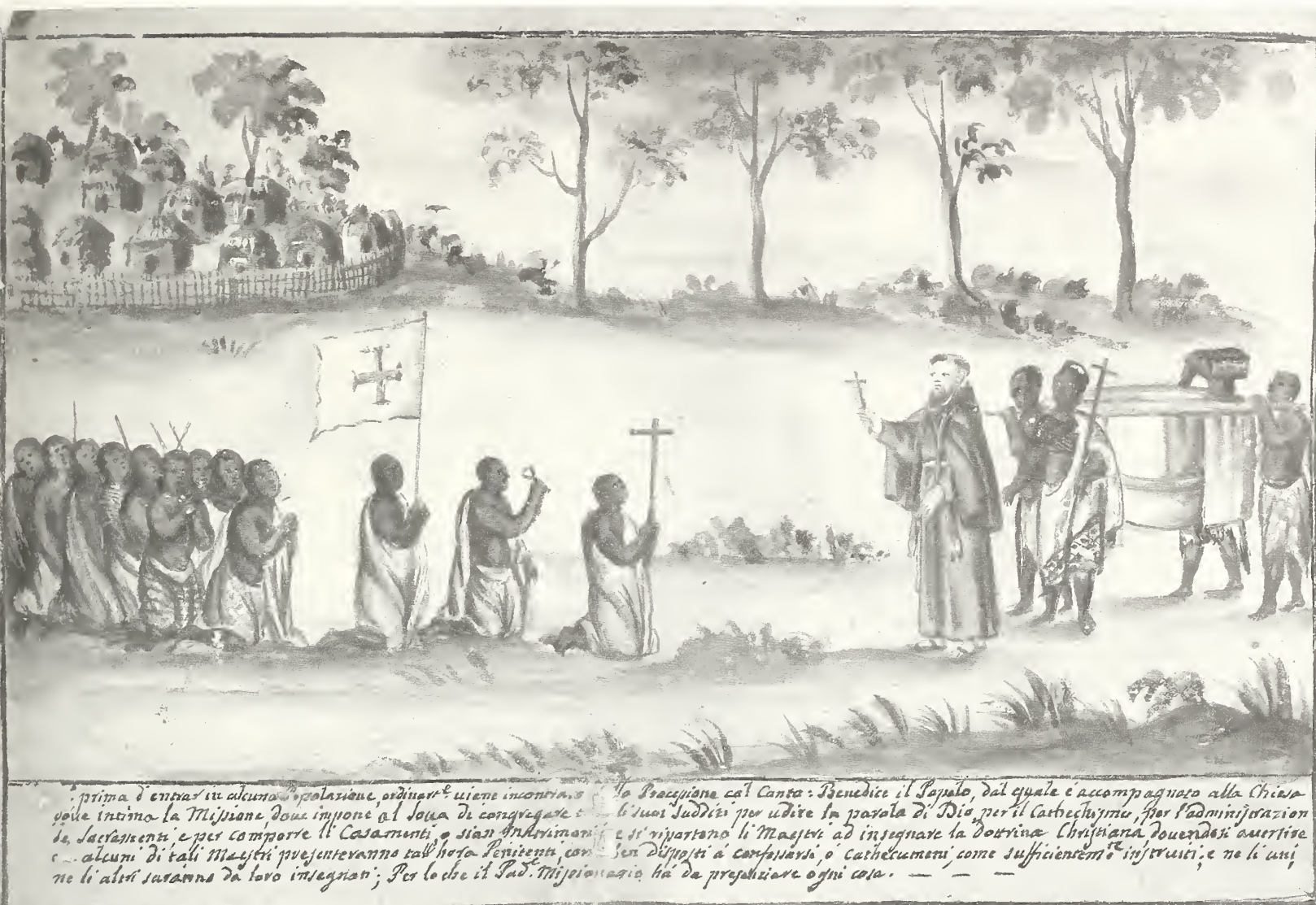
In Africa as elsewhere, the Cross is of course the most common and recognizable of Christian symbols. Monumental crosses were raised; others were put, as symbols, on religious objects. By the sixteenth century, crosses were required on altars as well as on tombs. And crosses were regularly worn around the neck, as a sign of devotion, and at times with apotropaic implications. Crosses were also used in liturgical celebrations, in processions for example, or at the time of a bishop's visit. The Kikongo catechism published in 1624 gives a long account of the cross, the sign of the cross, and the crucifixion, but this official account could have easily led to misunderstandings, as notions like the world, the devil, and the flesh, the three enemies of the true Christian, do not only have Christian implications.³⁹ The Order of Christ, a military order established by Pope John XXII at the request of King Dinis of Portugal in 1319, had the cross as its symbol. Henry the Navigator reformed it in the fifteenth century, and it was accorded spiritual jurisdiction over the Atlantic islands and the African regions explored by the Portuguese.⁴⁰ When the Capuchin Father Lorenzo da Lucca came to see Prince Quibenga (1706), a convert to Catholicism, the latter was wearing the habit of the Knights of Christ and holding a cross in his hand; he was surrounded by his symbols of power, including a pistol and a sword, but there was also a painting of the Virgin and, on a little seat covered with white cloth, a rosary with a very beautiful cross as well as a book.⁴¹

Crosses appeared in Kongo with the first Portuguese. In the effort of conversion, João II of Portugal "sent priests, ornaments for the churches, crosses, images, and everything else necessary."⁴² The prince of Soyo, the first to be won over to Christianity (1491), "began to build a church . . . in which were reared three altars, in honour of the Most Holy Trinity."⁴³ The king of Kongo was converted the same year, taking the name João I. He received a banner with a cross before leaving to fight the Bateke.⁴⁴ When his successor Afonso I assembled all his governors, he ordered all idols to be collected and had them burned. Then, according to Filippo Pigafetta's *Relatione* (1591), "he assembled all these people together, and in place of their idols gave them crosses and images of the saints, which he had received from the Portuguese. . . . After this he announced to them and to the people that he had sent ambassadors to Portugal . . . to bring images of God, of the Virgin Mary, and of the saints."⁴⁵ From then onwards, there is continuous demand for both crosses and medals. The objects requested from Rome by the king in 1512, for example, included beautiful painted crucifixes, to go round the neck.⁴⁶ With the arrival of the Capuchins in 1645, virtually thousands of medals were distributed in Kongo to be worn by the Christians. In 1710, Pedro da Gallo reported that, during his fight with Beatriz Kimpa Vita (who claimed to have been possessed by Saint Anthony) and her Antonian movement, King Pedro IV came to the church with his retinue, all wearing a

little crucifix in metal or wood on their foreheads, to show they were good Christians.⁴⁷ Bernardo da Gallo also mentions that good Christians, especially those from São Salvador, "in addition to necklaces, scapulars and the cords of St. Francis are proud to wear many medals, crucifixes, rosaries and the chaplets of the camaldules."⁴⁸ Eight years later, another Capuchin monk, Giuseppe da Torano complained that Estevão Bottello, chaplain to Pedro IV, was not only involved in the slave market but, what he found worse, that he was selling boxes of medals, small crucifixes and rosaries, wrongly claiming that indulgences were attached to them.⁴⁹

Facing the competition with the objects used by the local *nganga*, crosses and medals quickly accompanied the believers in death. Although not many historical tombs have been studied, the excavation of an early eighteenth-century cemetery in Banza Bata Kia Madiadia has yielded not only four gravestones decorated with the cross of the Order of Christ but also fifteen crucifixes of five different types, ten medals, and six swords that had been buried with the bodies.⁵⁰ The medals, of Italian origin, can be linked to the Capuchins established in Ngongo-Mbata not far away. The *Missione in pratica de Padri Cappucini ne Regni di Congo, Angola, et adiacenti*, by Bernardino Ignazio d' Asti (fig. 4), a manuscript dated 1747, advised friars to leave Europe armed with devotional objects, by which he meant medals, rosaries, and well-known painted images.⁵¹

A large number of the crucifixes collected on the Lower Congo by missionaries and travelers in the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, however, were made locally (fig. 1). These attracted much interest when they were shown at the exhibition of Congolese art organized by the Office Colonial in Brussels in 1936, and the same year in Leopoldville (Kinshasa), where a group featured in the *Exposition d'Art religieux* at the Délégation Apostolique, organized by Msgr. Giovanni Battista Dellepiane, who himself possessed a large collection.⁵² Shortly after, an *Exposition d'objets de collections* held at the Musée de Léopoldville in 1938 included no less than twenty-two crucifixes, as well as a hunting charm in the form of a cross. In the introduction to the catalogue, M. Maquet claimed that until recently the Musée du Congo Belge in Tervuren did not have a single example.⁵³ When they first came to attention in this way, these crucifixes were seen by some as testimonies to the earliest Portuguese evangelization, perhaps going back as far as the last years of the fifteenth century. Today, however, they are dated rather to the seventeenth century—some crosses were found in excavations of sites of that period or later—although it is not impossible that some could be from the sixteenth century. Interest was maintained after the Second World War. The twenty-seven crucifixes collected by Charles Ralet around Kisantu were shown in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels and later in Leuven; they were later lent to the Musée de Tervuren and studied stylistically in 1949 by Joseph de Borchgrave d'Altena, who looked for Netherlandish prototypes.⁵⁴ Others were included in missionary exhibitions, such as the *Mostra d'arte missionaria* at the Vatican in 1950,⁵⁵ with a strong section on



the arts of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi with its own catalogue, including an article by Robert L. Wannyn on the ancient insignia from the Lower Congo.⁵⁶ Wannyn had made archaeological excavations and gathered artifacts on the Lower Congo between 1931 and 1940; he wrote a number of articles as well as a book (1961) on metalwork from that area, studying crosses and other religious objects, with a catalogue focused on material held in the Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale in Tervuren.⁵⁷ His publications—most of them quite short—reflect historical and sometimes anthropological interests mainly centered on missionary history and the early Christianization of Congo.⁵⁸

Not much, however, is known about these crucifixes. The crosses have never been technically analyzed, even if there is no doubt that they were done on the Lower Congo, where they were all collected. The figures of Christ have affinities with European prototypes and vary in technique, type, and iconography. Some are still nailed to their wooden crosses, while others have lost their supports.⁵⁹ A whole group has the crucified Christ cast together with his cross. Most interesting perhaps are those with additional figures, for example, praying against, or on top of, the cross (fig. 6).⁶⁰ Their casting technique has not been clearly identified; sometimes it is

stated to be lost-wax, a method introduced from Europe,⁶¹ but it has also been suggested that hot metal was poured into an open mold, which would explain why the backs of some crosses appear to have been in contact with air during the process of casting.⁶² There are large copper deposits north of the mouth of the Congo, of which the Portuguese were well aware, since Afonso I sent 500 manillas to King Manuel I of Portugal,⁶³ but the metal of the crucifixes is brass—a mixture of copper and zinc—of European origin, which we know to have been sent to Africa in large quantities.⁶⁴ In any case, the brass sheets and brass wire on some of the later crosses are certainly European, as there were no rolling- or wire-mills on the Lower Congo.⁶⁵ The crosses vary from examples based on classical and baroque models to works more clearly African;⁶⁶ the rendering is often more simplified and the iconography not always fully understood, as is evident from the variations in nimbus, perizonium, or cartellino, with the letters INRI, on top of the crosses.⁶⁷ The body is often simplified and given African features and characteristics, including protruding navels. In their iconography and style, the brass crucifixes in which Christ is cast together with his cross, are the most interesting. Some have praying figures added, as does a fine example, 49 centimeters high,

Fig. 4
Capuchin monks arriving
in a Lower Congo village,
in Bernardino Ignazio
d'Asti, 'Missione in
prattica de Padri
Cappuccini ne Regni di
Congo, Angola and
adiacenti.' Biblioteca
Civica, Torino.



formerly in Charles Raler's collection in Brussels (fig. 5).⁶⁸ Here Christ hangs, stiff and immobile. Ribs, breasts, and his navel are clearly indicated, but there are no nails fixing him to the cross. Two praying figures sit on the arms of the cross, with two more respectively above and under Christ. The cross itself is decorated with a geometrical pattern of lines dividing it into different fields; a small cross is below Christ's feet. A number of crucifixes show cut heads on top of the arms of the cross, recalling the heads of defeated enemies sometimes left, as we have seen, near the great wooden crosses of the Lower Congo (fig. 6).⁶⁹ Praying with joined hands, must have recalled, among the Bakongo, the traditional gesture of submission, with eyes lifted and the palms of the hands raised upwards towards a superior.⁷⁰ Another cross, of good size, in the Africa-Museum in Tervuren, has the brass cross attached to a wooden support (see Mello e Souza p. 98, fig. 1).⁷¹ There, too, two praying figures sit on the arms of the cross, but the figure above, with feet crossed (in an echo of those of Christ), has the right hand covering the lower body and the left hand on his chest, while the figure below has the same crossed feet but hands joined in prayer. The meaning of the details of these crosses is difficult to decide, nor would there perhaps have been a homogenous understanding given the very general or even minimal knowledge of Christianity among so many Congolese. It seems telling that when Fra Luca da Caltanissetta was in the kingdom of Nzonzo in 1699, he observed that people did not even know what the cross represented. One person, he tells us, claimed that Christ was a man killed by Kilao, the enemy of the ruling family of Nzonzo, and that the wound in his side came from the long arrow with which he had been killed, adding that Fra Luca had him stuffed.⁷²

Nineteenth-century visitors seem to underline the lack of understanding of the meaning of cross and crucifix, although there are a few testimonies to residual memories. When William Holman Bentley, of the Baptist Missionary Society on the Kongo and the author of a *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language* (1887), reached São Salvador in 1879, he noticed that "some old people about the country called themselves *munkwikizi*, 'believers,' in some of whom there seem to have lingered some faint glimmerings of such light as had been brought in the old times. At the funeral of a *munkwikizi* there were always some special ceremonies, marks of crosses on the shroud, sprinkling of water &c., which only a *munkwikizi* could perform." And after having mentioned that an old uncle of his interpreter prayed every day, and indeed on his deathbed, in front of a small brass crucifix, his Christo, he confirms that there still was some memory of the early attempts at Christianization: "Later on, when we were holding our services at São Salvador, on two occasions after the sermon, have people, visitors to the town, risen to urge the people to listen to the teaching, and to receive it; for old relatives had told them long before of a Saviour who died for us, and now the same story was brought to them again by us."⁷³ Still, it is significant that Robert Wannyn, during his fieldwork in the 1930s, received a cacophony of answers to his questions on the subject. The praying figures traditionally found on crosses

were identified by most as apostles, but occasionally Saint Joseph, the two thieves with whom Christ was crucified, souls in purgatory waiting for salvation, and even God the Father and the Holy Spirit assisting Christ through his death, quite sensible ideas for Christians. The praying figures below Christ, with a long dress, were said to be—and indeed sometimes represent—the Virgin, although some Congolese saw them as Holy Women. The nude figures sometimes found on the bottom of the crosses, with one hand on their chest and the other covering their nudity—although some of them seem to have a calabash or a mug, according to Wannyn—would stand for Adam after the Fall, or a sinner with an object symbolizing his vice. Other figures below Christ, with a short loincloth and joined hands, are said to represent man saved by Redemption. The iconography of the crosses and the information available are hardly homogenous.⁷⁴ More information comes from François Jodogne, C.Ss.R., in the 1920s, who received from a chief from the Makuta area a crucifix that had three praying figures: two sitting on the arm of the cross and another above Christ and, below, a little figure with crossed feet and his hand on his belly. According to the chief, the three praying figures stood for the Trinity while the devil is represented below with a stomachache as he has been defeated by Christ.⁷⁵ Similarly, the hairy faces found on some crucifixes were identified either as the Child Jesus or the sun, when the original model was either the head of an angel or Adam's skull.⁷⁶

In the Bakongo language, the ancient crosses are called *nkangi*, *nkangi kitudu*, and *kitudu nkangi*, sometimes also *klistu*, or *kilistu* (Christ).⁷⁷ They are said to go back to the *Mafulamengo* (a word that seems to be the plural of *flamengo*, or Flemish), supposedly the first to have used iron for knives. Who they are we do not know, but Netherlandish Capuchin missionaries were active in the Lower Congo from 1648 onwards. This connection seems more probable than a link with the Dutch who occupied Loanda from 1642 to 1648.⁷⁸ It is impossible, at this moment, to date with any precision the oldest casts, which may be earlier anyway. As the fundamental Christian symbol, they might figure for example on staffs used by missionaries and also, as we know from Bernardino Ignazio d' Asti's *Missione in pratica de Padri Cappuccini ne Regni di Congo, Angola, et adiacenti* of 1747, by interpreters who helped the priests during confessions; these intermediaries traditionally carried a staff, with a cross on its top.⁷⁹

When Adolf Bastian arrived in Soyo in 1874, he noted that the chiefs used rosaries, often with crucifixes, as ornaments, that they still made a kind of sign of the cross before sitting down and standing up, and that they prayed with joined hands, although they were still venerating their traditional fetishes.⁸⁰ What is clear is that the crosses had become the attributes of chiefs. Already at the 1622 investiture of Pedro II, the royal throne was next to an altar with, among other things, a crucifix; later such ceremonies were held in the cathedral of São Salvador in a specifically Christian context.⁸¹ In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the investiture of a Bakongo chief was a ceremony focusing on the fetish of the region (*nkisi tsi*), which ended with the ritual painting

of the chief's body; only then would he be given the objects symbolizing his power, which, in some areas, included a cross.⁸² In Soyo, chiefs sometimes also received staffs with a cross on top (*Mvuala ki a fumu*), as well as rosaries (*nzailu*), medals (*i vanza*), and crucifixes (*nsundi*, plural *minsundi*), all reflections of early evangelization.⁸³ Similar practices are found elsewhere, for example in 1920, in the south of the region of Mbanza-Nsundi. There a chief was given, by the oldest of his slaves, an arm ring, a headdress covered with leopard claws, a scepter with a cross, and, finally, a crucifix, the symbol, we are told, of his judiciary power. Raising the cross above him, the chief was then carried around, to the sound of drums and women's chant.⁸⁴ Crucifixes, in fact, were found among chiefs' regalia from Cabinda to Angola.⁸⁵ So, too, were ceremonial swords, important symbols of office and authority also handed over during investiture. Copied from European sixteenth-century models, some of them were decorated, or rather perforated, with crosses.⁸⁶ Swords and crucifixes are the two items of European origin best integrated into the chiefs' regalia. At the death of their owner, they either passed to his successor, or were left in, or on, his tomb, the context from which many of the surviving examples have come.⁸⁷ Crucifixes were carefully handled, sometimes kept wrapped in a cloth in a box; Wannyn noted that in the region of Kimpese they were never touched by the sons of chiefs, who handled them only wrapped in a piece of clean linen.⁸⁸ The sacred character of crosses explains why, when the Franciscan Girolamo Merolla, in the late seventeenth century, kissed a Congolese chief's crucifix, "in ivory a span and a half long, on an ebony cross of proportional length," the chief did the same with Merolla's, neither man presumably quite aware what exactly the other's European cross meant to him.⁸⁹ More than 225 years later, the Baptist missionary Robert Haldane Carson Graham wrote that the crucifix was now used to make peace between erstwhile enemies who must kiss it, without them being aware, he remarks, that it was Christ who "made peace through the blood of His cross"; this was also the function, according to Thomas Lewis (1902), of the huge wooden cross at Kibokolo, in the Zombo country, which was erected to commemorate a treaty of peace made by three different clans.⁹⁰ Crosses were also invoked before setting out on a journey; the would-be traveler went to his chief to honor him by clapping his hands three times; the chief then raised his cross three times, muttering prayers,⁹¹ wishing him success, old age, and a rich progeny. On the Lower Congo, as in Soyo, we have many reports of the native crucifixes being used by the chiefs to bless the population, a simulacrum of Christian behavior.⁹² They were also proudly held aloft in battle, as indeed they were in Europe, as we know from quite a number of early eighteenth-century sources.⁹³ In addition, they were powerful symbols in customary justice (at the *Mbazi ankanu*). Wannyn records that the chief faced the accused holding a cross in their right hand, admonishing him to tell what he knows and that the cross will throw him down if he lies (*Plata kalombua, nkangi ankueno kabukikua*).⁹⁴ A twentieth-century testimony confirms this practice, but here the judge is more direct: "Tell

Fig. 5
Lower Congo brass
crucifix, 17th century (?).
Private collection,
Brussels.

the truth, the truth before God or you will be punished" (*Vova kieleka, kieleka kia Nzambi, ovo ke wau ko, ntumbu ubaka*).⁹⁵ In some areas the cross was used in meetings, for example, in taking an oath; there the oath taker held the cross in both hands, invoked the all-mighty God and swore that he will not lie (*Nzambi a mpungu dezo*).⁹⁶ An exceptional meeting, witnessed in 1925, had the cross carried into the middle of the assembly; and all the protagonists, even the chief, had to sit on the earth, without a mat, out of respect to the image of Christ crucified.⁹⁷

The power of the *nkangi* was also invoked against illnesses. In the regions of Cuimba, Kimpangu, Banza Manteka, and near the coast, the *nkangi* were rubbed against the parts of the body affected by illnesses, and put over the womb of pregnant women to speed up delivery.⁹⁸ In other cases the ceremony was more traditional; when somebody was seriously ill the *nkangi kiditu* was placed in his arms, with a prayer to the Son of God to cure the patient or to let him die in peace (*Muana Dezo, unsasuka muna mpasi, vo ke wau ko, k'afwila lufwa lua mbote*). Then the patient kissed the cross, an action that corresponds, more or less, to the Last Rite.⁹⁹ Most detailed is a manuscript account of a Swedish missionary, C. N. B  rri  sson, referring to the area of Kinkenge. He claimed that some wooden crosses are linked to two specific wooden fetishes, *Kimpanzu-mpanzu* and *Knondialubanzi*, which cause and cure shooting pains in the chest. Crosses, he says, are specifically made for the purpose, which does not require the actual presence of the statues. The priest holds the cross at the feet of the patient, circles with the cross the parts of the body affected by the illness, then repeatedly presses it onto the painful areas and, with each push, spits three times and declares, *Kimpanzu-mpanzu buka, kimpanzu-mpanzu buka*, asking the deity to cure the patient. Once employed this way, the cross in question is hung on the wall or the ceiling of a hut. If it falls down, the patient may have a setback; in any case, if it falls, nobody should pick it up, it should just be brushed away with a broom.¹⁰⁰ Others made more conventional claims: that the cross was used to chase the devil from somebody's deathbed, and that it also shortened the pangs of death. In such cases the chief stood at the head of the bed holding the cross until death came.¹⁰¹

Crosses were also left, as we have seen, in the *manene*, the old cemeteries, on the tombs of chiefs. Here they were in the company of African and European pots, as well as ornaments and signs of authority, including even a bronze canon and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century swords. Stone—and presumably wooden—sculptures were also left there in the region of Noqui, as guardians (*mintadi*) of the burial places; a few of these—not many, though—have clear Christian symbolism, with a cross either sculpted or painted hanging on their neck,¹⁰² an interesting point that recalls Giovanni Antonio Carazzi's account (1687) that the sign of the cross was sometimes painted on the traditional Bakongo fetishes; this practice could still be found in the nineteenth century, as evidenced, for example, by the crosses traced on so-called nail fetishes (*nkisi nkondi*) in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne and the Afrika Museum in Berg and Dal, for example.¹⁰³ When

somebody was buried with his crucifix on the Lower Congo, it was placed above the head, on the inner side of the tomb; or it was left on top of the tomb, the latter always being the practice in the region of S  o Salvador, as there the crucifix was the property of the chief rather than, as sometimes elsewhere, the clan.¹⁰⁴ When a father had lost a child, there was also a ceremony, two days after the burial, that involved the *nkangi*; the chief and the child's father kissed the hands, the forehead, and the feet of a crucifix; crosses were also traced on the ground. Then palm wine was drunk and the crucifix was given back to the chief.¹⁰⁵ Palm wine appears in another ritual: when the tombs were given their annual cleansing, a *nkangi kiditu* was shown to all, then washed with palm wine, the ceremony ending with a big meal.¹⁰⁶

Congolese religious practices led Robert Haldane Carson Graham to conclude that from "all this it appears that the Roman Catholic worship, which earnest missionaries gave to the Congo in the fifteenth century, had been swallowed up in fetishism and demonology; and their sacred symbols had become heathen mascots and 'good luck' charms, having entirely lost their original significance. Like ordinary native fetishes, they have no true spiritual or religious meaning, and worldly good is the only advantage for which they are sought."¹⁰⁷ This quote from the Baptist missionary, who might have said something similar about certain Catholic beliefs, serves as a reminder that the firsthand evidence presented here must be considered carefully and in the light of the particular ideology of the writer. At the same time, the surviving testimonies provide a rare, but quite homogenous body of information on religious practices spanning a period of centuries and a wide geographical area, even if the sources show variants, misunderstandings, and imprecision.¹⁰⁸ They certainly confirm that many missionaries showed a great interest, and sometimes a real respect, for the Bakongo, their language, their beliefs, and their culture, while the polysemic nature of the Bakongo religion meant that external influences were easily integrated within traditional beliefs.¹⁰⁹

A full account of the brass crucifixes would require more research on their technique, typology, and iconography; but in researching their meaning more importance should perhaps be given to Congolese rituals and practices, which may have had an impact on the imagery.¹¹⁰ A corpus would also be important to chart the exact geographic dissemination of these objects on the Lower Congo. The iconoclastic tendencies, especially of some Protestant missionaries, would have to be considered,¹¹¹ as well as the impact of the Antonian movement (1684–1706), when Beatriz Kimpa Vita claimed to be Saint Anthony;¹¹² under her influence, Christian devotional objects, like crosses and religious medals, were destroyed as *nkisi*,¹¹³ but she also claimed that Christ and his family were black and born in Congo,¹¹⁴ something that surely had an impact on the representation on Lower Congo crucifixes. She also spread the cult of Saint Anthony of Lisbon (as he is called in Portugal) and his image through little figures carried by her disciples.¹¹⁵ The analysis and dating of these statues, too, one day may help scholars arrive at a convincing chronology of the intriguing Congo brass crosses.

Fig. 6
Crucifix with heads
(*Nkangi kiditu*),
Democratic Republic
of the Congo or Angola,
17th century. Royal
Museum for Central
Africa, Tervuren.





CENTRAL - AFRICAN CRUCIFIXES

A Study of Symbolic Translations

MARINA DE MELLO E SOUZA

Not long after the first Portuguese encounters with the peoples of the Lower Congo River, Catholicism became a point of contact and communication between the two groups. The crucifix was a central factor in Kongolesse assimilation of Catholic elements.

The chronicler Rui de Pina tells of the baptism of the Kongo *mani* and some of his closest advisors. The day after this event, the missionaries and the captain of the Portuguese expedition heard one of the tribal chiefs, perhaps the *mani* Vunda himself (who was the high priest of the kingdom), tell the following story: Upon leaving the house in the morning, after a night of dreams filled with allegories, he found "a holy object of stone" that he had never seen before, "just like the one the friars had when we became Christians, which they called a cross."² According to the chronicle, the *mani* (referred to as "the king"), asked to see it. "And it was a stone cross with two well-crafted hands and round arms smooth and straight enough to have been wrought with great skill, and its color was black, unlike any of the local rocks."³ The king seized the cross, and then asked the Christians what it looked like to them. Their eyes full of tears and their hands raised to the sky, the Christians said that the dreams and the appearance of the rock in the form of a cross were signs of grace and salvation sent by God to the *mani* and his kingdoms. Everyone began to rejoice, and then they took "the cross in a solemn procession to the church, where it rests as a great relic and notable miracle, in honor of which the King held public feasts."⁴

The Kongolesse associated this dark stone with natural spirits of the *mbumba* dimension, which linked a group with its territory and to which local peoples prayed for fertility. These spirits were believed to appear before humans through unusual objects in the natural world, such as foreign rocks or bizarre pieces of wood, called *minkisi* ("fetishes" by the Portuguese). Anne Hilton suggests that the discovery of the black stone in the shape of a cross was directly linked to the *mbumba*, which authenticated the Christian ritual of baptism within the Kongolesse cult of water and land spirits.⁵

The friars as well as the natives considered the cross to be a divine signal or miracle. Kimbwandande Kia Busenki Fu-Kiau, who has studied the way that Kongo peoples understood natural and supernatural phenomena, and Wyatt MacGaffey, an American anthropologist who worked among the present-day Bakongo people, have suggested that the cross is an important indicator of the worldview of these people.⁶ According to these scholars, the cross's design represents the life cycle, based on the four main positions of the

sun: birth, which corresponds to dawn; maturity, high noon; death, dusk; and the afterlife, when the sun illuminates the "invisible" world before recommencing its circular trajectory.

Fu-Kiau, a modern Bakongo writer, translates his native ways of thinking into a Western language that resembles the interpretations of the earliest foreign observers, especially Catholic missionaries. These records suggest that, from the first Portuguese contacts in the late fifteenth century to the modern day, the Bakongo have divided the world between the living and the dead, the former above the horizon and the latter below; these hemispheres are separated by water. The living have black skin; the dead, who share the "invisible" space with the many spirits of the natural world, are white. The shape of the cross expresses this worldview. While the horizontal axis links birth (dawn) to death (dusk), the vertical pole connects the world of the living (noon) to the underworld (the invisible zenith). The center node is a visible intersection of the two plains of existence. This intermediate space—the source of the rules of conduct and the solutions to terrestrial problems such as illness and drought—is manifest in rituals that call upon spirits and ancestors to intervene in human affairs.

In Bakongo thought, the cross represents the possibility of connecting the two worlds. According to Fu-Kiau, the easiest and most basic ritual for a would-be messenger to the underworld (i.e., a leader of one's people or clan) is an oration in front of a cross drawn on the ground. This act transmits all of the powers that would enable a chief to bridge the world of the living and that of the ancestors and spirits. This capability is a prerequisite for governance.

It is always difficult to explain ideas from earlier periods; still, Fu-Kiau's systematization of Bakongo thought has enabled us to better understand how easily the Catholic cross was adopted and how it came to occupy an important place among sacred objects and amulets. Since stones and cruciform objects were already important symbols for central Africans, this cross of dark stone would have captured the attention of whoever encountered it. Yet the native eye was trained to interpret its features according to the local culture, which saw the cross as a symbol of the life cycle and the possibility of communication with the world of the dead. Certain stones were conduits of specific spirits, abstract entities that watched over corresponding aspects of nature and through which one hoped to achieve certain objectives, such as fertility or harmony. For the Portuguese, the cross-shaped stone was evidence of a miracle: the conversion of the natives to

Fig. 1
Crucifix with praying
figures (Nkangi kiditu),
Democratic Republic
of the Congo or Angola,
17th century. Royal
Museum for Central
Africa, Tervuren.

Christianity.⁷ Unfortunately, there is no complete record of how the Kongoleses regarded the cross—only fragments that we are trying to reconstruct. All we know with certainty is that the cross was very significant to them. According to the anonymous chronicle *História do reino do Congo* (1625), the cross was carried in a procession to a church named after Jesus Christ, “where it remained for many years as a relic.”⁸ During the *jaga* invasion of Mbanza Congo (São Salvador) in 1568, when all of the Catholic churches were destroyed, Álvaro I (1568–87), the Christian name of the *mani* Nimi Lukeni, rescued this “holy” item along with other “sacred objects.” Father Francisco de Gouveia, who lived in the Congo between 1571 and 1577, claimed to have seen this object in Pemba, a neighboring province. After the expulsion of the *jaga* invaders in 1573 (with the help of Portuguese soldiers sent by Sebastião I), the “city of Congo” was repopulated, the Church of São Salvador rebuilt, and the famous stone

became its cross again. I have seen it many times. It stands next to the main altar, on the side of the Epístola, without the decency and respect that it deserves. Such neglect is the fault of us, the priests, not the Moxicongo. It lacks the perfection it once had, some pieces having fallen off, and the dereliction is such that the present canons of the Cathedral have no idea that this is the cross that was miraculously discovered.⁹

The cruciform stone was maintained by the *moxicongo*, the name given to the group that governed the capital city Mbanza Congo and some of the main provinces of the kingdom. The care displayed by the Kongoleses chiefs illustrates the importance that Catholicism had acquired in their community by the early sixteenth century under Afonso I, son of the first baptized *mani*, João I. The cause of the almost-immediate conversion of the ruling group of the Kingdom of Kongo has been the subject of much discussion; the best explanations are those that consider a link to local religious practices, which were frequently reformed by leaders who promulgated changes in the existing structures.¹⁰ According to Wyatt MacGaffey, the foremost proponent of this interpretation, the Kongoleses saw the white Portuguese as emissaries from the world of the dead who arrived in the ocean (the water that separated one world from the other) in vessels never before seen.¹¹ The Kongoleses accepted Catholicism, not in its pure form, but rather as a more powerful version of their traditional religion; only some Catholic rituals and objects completely replaced local ones.

To MacGaffey, the pattern of religious movements in central Africa, which combined pre-existing rites, beliefs, and symbols with new ones, reflects this process of adaptation. Religious movements reinvigorated the social life of African groups, infusing the daily routine with new elements. They began in theatrical spectacles during which large numbers of people sung, dance, discarded old amulets, chose new leaders, and attacked “witches” accused of betraying the community. These events were mainly intended to increase fertility, wealth, and invulnerability in the face of misfortune and evil. Magical-religious amulets were central to any movement; as protectors of the community, they were placed on altars as the recipients of prayers and offerings.



Fig. 2
Saint Anthony,
Democratic Republic of
the Congo or Angola,
17th century. Staatliche
Museen zu Berlin,
Ethnologisches Museum.

These religious movements were very similar to Rui de Pina’s account of the first baptism, which was celebrated by a large gathering of people with dances, songs, and processions along the streets of Mbanza Soyo and Mbanza Congo. The friars noted that the *mani* Soyo prohibited the further worship of local “idols.” “Offering good and Catholic reasons that he believed, [the chief] ordered that all idols be taken from the altars and niches and brought before him. When this was done, the friars had them burned with great rigor and vituperation.”¹²

The destruction of ancient magical-religious objects accompanied the introduction of new ones: images of saints, rosaries, and crucifixes. An inquisition targeting recent converts who operated *resgates* (slave raids) in the Kongo and Ndongo regions between 1596 and 1598 revealed that these sacred objects were traded in the interior by New Christians and their slaves.¹³ For selling these items to pagans without proper indoctrination, these New Christians, who had a doubtful grasp of Catholic orthodoxy to begin with, were severely punished. These sources suggest that religious objects reached remote locations far beyond the limits of missionary

activity and the practice of the new faith. Friars and Kongolese converts carried Christian rites and teachings from village to village, burning traditional devotional objects—the *minkisi*—as they went.

After the first baptism, Afonso built a church at the local gravesite, cutting down the trees that identified the area as a location of royal tombs. According to Anne Hilton, this act extended his control over the sphere of the dead and diminished the power of the chiefs of the ancient *kandas*, the kin groups that traditionally formed the basis of social organization. This episode was different from the discovery of the cruciform rock, which connected the new religion to the *mbumba*, the dimension of spirits tied to land and water. In the age of Afonso I, power had to be legitimized in three spheres: that of the natural spirits (the *bisimbi* that inhabited bodies of water and the *nkita* that hid in the earth), which safeguarded the land and its fertility and acted through the *kitomi*, its priests; that of the ancestors, the first settlers and founders of clans who had attained mythical status and had to be revered and pacified by means of rituals performed at their tombs; and that of the spirits that lived in the air, in the dimension of *nkandi mpemba*, associated with the social world. If invoked by the chief, their powers of destruction and healing could help the community; if used by individuals in self-interest, they could cause great harm. Specialists known in the Congo as *nganga* harnessed these invisible forces through the *minkisi*, which could yield divinations, cures, judgments, protection spells, and other effects. According to Hilton, this sphere was associated with Portuguese commerce, which brought untold economic and political benefits to the chiefs.

By erecting a church on top of a cemetery (*mbila*) and burning the *minkisi*, Afonso I linked himself to the *nkandi mpemba*.¹⁴ The traditional religion associated power with wealth; naturally, commercial relations with the Portuguese consolidated the position of the leaders. Adopted by the chiefs as a buttress of their authority, Kongolese Catholicism developed by integrating itself into local traditions of legitimizing power, the privileges of certain clans, and the important rituals that connected society to the other spheres of existence.

In summary, the initial conversion legitimized Christian rites in the *mbumba* dimension of natural spirits. Afonso then linked the new religion to the sphere of the ancestors and the dimension of *nkandi mpemba*. Thus Christianity was legitimized in all three aspects of the invisible world, which was intimately connected to daily life and the power structures of Kongolese society. Catholicism equipped the Kongo *mani* to adapt to new situations that resulted from the Portuguese arrival while strengthening his position relative to rival political factions. The new religion supplemented pre-existing spiritual forces.

In addition to commercializing religious objects (revealed by the above-mentioned inquisitorial documents), New Christians produced their own saints and crucifixes. Researchers and museums have collected images of Saint Anthony (*Toni Malau*), the Virgin (*Sundi Malau*), and Christ crucified (*Nkangi kiditu*) made by Kongolese artisans out of wood and metal. The word *malau* is similar to our idea of an

amulet, an object that brings luck and protection. *Toni* is a contraction of “Santo Antonio,” very popular in the Congo, and *Sundi* refers to a girl who has not yet slept with a man. *Kiditu* is a local pronunciation of “Christ,” while *nkangi* refers to something angry.¹⁵

Since the introduction of Catholicism to the twentieth century, the cross has been used frequently in many situations and for different purposes; still, it was always associated with the interconnected spheres of the living and the dead, as well as the power of local chiefs and priests. Fu-Kiau Lumanisa’s conclusion that the cross symbolized the life cycle further explains the dissemination of this symbol in the Kongo region. The cross itself—*kuluzu*—and the attached Christ-figure—the *nkangi kiditu*—were integrated into a vast network of objects used in rituals of healing, justice, and political power.

The most interesting objects are the metal crucifixes called *nkangi kiditu*. A study conducted by Robert L. Wannyn in the region of São Salvador, the heart of the old Kingdom of Kongo (Mpemba, Nsundi, Mpangu e Mbata), between 1931 and 1941 revealed several of these items. Interestingly, a large portion of African metal objects were identified by their



Fig. 3
Saint Anthony,
Democratic Republic
of the Congo or Angola,
17th century. Royal
Museum for Central
Africa, Tervuren.

owners as *mafulamengo*—that is, from the period of Dutch (Flemish or *flamengo*) control between roughly 1640 and 1700, when English and French merchants began to challenge them for control of the mouth of the Congo River. Accordingly, Wannyn dates their production to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although he encountered pieces from as late as the nineteenth century, the period of Protestant evangelization. In addition, his sources noted that the crucifixes were from the period of the *nkangi*, closely associated with that of the *mafulamengo* and the slave trade. The author noticed that only items of Christian inspiration were made of metal; some even came from Portugal.¹⁶

Wannyn learned of the crucifixes from local chiefs, who showed him the ones in their possession and even offered some as gifts. He concluded that these items legitimized their power and had a connection to the spirit world. In addition, he witnessed rituals in which special *nkangi* were used as symbols of investiture; these crucifixes were the inalienable property of the clans and were used when councils deliberated under the chief. The author noted that the chiefs hung small *nkangi* from their necks whenever they wanted to display their authority. During the investiture ceremony, the chief received the *nkangi*, a scepter, and a sword of honor. These items, along with ancestor relics, were only a few of many royal insignia. The *nkangi* were also used to cure the sick and to bless the people. Some of the chiefs' crucifixes had been extracted from royal tombs along with the swords of honor. Seen as magical-religious objects, not unlike ancestor relics and *minkisi*, these items were safeguarded among the most precious items of each clan and often interred with the chiefs who possessed them.

Some of the locally crafted *nkangi kidityu* add unique regional elements to European models. Made using wax or a double mold, these small metal sculptures have distinctively African traits, such as their facial features and hairstyles. Still, the most characteristic feature is the presence of two or more figures seated or kneeling on the arms of the cross. Wannyn's Bakongo sources identified these figures as apostles, Joseph, the souls of purgatory, the two thieves, God the Father, and the Holy Spirit assisting Jesus at the hour of death.¹⁷ These explanations are no longer convincing. Either traditional Bantu interpretations have not survived or Wannyn's sources did not wish to reveal them. Although we cannot accurately decipher the significance of these figures to those who used them, we know that these Christian crosses had a unique Bantu meaning.

Regarded as the incarnation of *bisimbi* spirits (plural of *simbi*) and *bankita* (plural of *nkita*), entities of the *mbumba* dimension, twins were an important symbol in these cultures.¹⁸ This might explain the common appearance of two figures on each side of the crucified Christ, a symbol of protection.

According to Wyatt MacGaffey, the cult of twins was restricted to females and the domestic sphere; as a result, it was not well documented by missionaries, who had little contact with women. For the same reason, the cult of twins was relatively untouched by syncretism (mixture with Christianity); even today, it is very similar to ancestral beliefs.¹⁹ Certain symbols and practices of Kongolese Catholicism did manage to infiltrate this cult, however, without being noted by foreign observers. To the Bakongo, twins could be a source of affliction as well as comfort; the right form of devotion was necessary to ward off misfortune. The *bisimbi* were also believed to give amulets to their powers, enabling them for human use. The figures seated on the arms of the cross were probably *bisimbi*. The cross functioned as an amulet, a conveyor of good fortune and a cure of illnesses, powers attributed to the natural spirits of the *mbumba*.

At the same time, the cross symbolizes the power of the chiefs and the possibility of communicating with the world of the dead; thus it also belongs to the dimension of *nkadi mpemba*. By burning the *minkisi*, symbols that linked the *mani* to past rulers and the principal lineages of the realm, and substituting them with Catholic symbols, especially the cross, Afonso strengthened his power over rival chiefs. With two figures resembling the *bisimbi* on the arms of the crosses, the crucifixes are a unique synthesis of the *nkadi mpemba* and *mbumba* dimensions. Manufactured in abundant quantities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the *nkisi* of Kongolese Catholicism conjured powerful forces from both spheres.

Preaching here and there, with varying degrees of success, the Capuchin missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries further disseminated Catholic objects, including the crucifix, among a population that used them in various ways. Natives abhorred the practice of burning traditional objects; still, the significant amount of saint images and crucifixes suggests that local peoples made use of these Christian symbols. As amulets of protection, symbols of power, sources of cures, and propitiators of a successful hunt, crucifixes were frequently used and manufactured with the markings of local tastes and symbolism.

The semiotic meaning of the cross in central African culture explains the importance of the crucifix to Kongolese peoples and the large quantity of such objects found in their possession. As much as the missionaries wished to see their catechismal exertions bear fruit and the crucifix substitute the *minkisi*, the natives merely incorporated this new symbol into their own pre-existing cultural code, considering it an improved and more powerful version of ancient magical-religious objects.

Translated by Nicholas E. Bomba

Fig. 4
Staff finial,
Democratic Republic
of the Congo or Angola,
17th century. Royal
Museum for Central
Africa, Tervuren.





ALBERT ECKHOUT AND FRANS POST

Imagery of Afro-Americans in 17th-Century Brazil

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

The first hundred years of Portuguese presence in the Americas produced very little in the way of visual records, but the situation was altogether different in the seventeenth-century with the Dutch involvement in Brazil, under the influence of Johan Maurits van Nassau. The significant expansion of Dutch trade in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the lure of spices led to the founding on March 20, 1622, of the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company (abbreviated in Dutch to VOC); it was accorded the monopoly of developing activities east of the Cape of Good Hope and west of the Straits of Magellan. The West India Company (WIC) had already been created on June 3, 1621, and given the monopoly of trade with West Africa and the Americas, its aim, as in the east, was to counter the Iberian colonial world. The autonomy of the WIC was great and included, in addition to commercial monopolies, the right to make war and peace with the local powers, to develop forts and colonies and to administer them. The company was composed of five regional chambers with a governing body of nineteen directors, the *Heeren XIX*.¹ The moving figure behind the WIC was Willem Usselinx, who envisaged the creation of agricultural colonies in the New World that would supply raw material to the Netherlands and, at the same time, create an export market for the mother country. Brazil, he argued, would provide sugar, cotton, Brazil wood, and many more products.² A fervent Calvinist, Usselinx's certainly also aimed to promote the "true Christian Religion" in the Americas, and counter Portuguese power and Catholic beliefs.

Many pamphlets promoted the aims of the WIC, one of them illustrated with a schematic view of Pernambuco and its potential (fig. 2). The *Reys-boeck van het rijke Brasiliën, Rio de la Plata ende Magallanes* (1624) shows the towns of Recife and Olinda within a rich and well-protected environment.³ The character of the "captaincy" of Pernambuco was captured in the testimony of Friar Manoel Calado, writing in 1648:

*That commonwealth, before the arrival of the Hollanders, was the most delightful, prosperous, fertile and I do not think I exaggerate much when I say the richest, of all the overseas possessions. . . . of Portugal. Both gold and silver were beyond count, and almost disregarded. There was so much sugar that there were not sufficient ships to load it all, though great fleets of carracks, ships and caravels entered and left the port daily . . . The luxury and display in the houses was excessive, for anybody whose table-service was not of solid silver was regarded as poor and wretched . . . Everything was delightful, and this region resembled nothing so much as the portrait of an earthly paradise.*⁴

Various agricultural products, including (labeled) potatoes and pineapples, are shown in the Dutch engraving, but most emphasis is given to the production of manioc and sugar, with Brazil wood being floated on the Rio Capibaribe. The abundant production of the land is attested by the evidence of trade and substantial moorings, while the quality of life of the ruling classes is indicated in the sun-shaded Portuguese figure carried in a litter and the man on horseback. Unlike the sugar workers, the agricultural laborers are not obviously black and it may be worth mentioning here Usselinx's insistence on the superiority of free over enslaved labor. He condemned slavery on economic as much as humanitarian grounds, suggesting that the work force should consist of free, white people who could work at night, to avoid the heat of the tropical sun.⁵ The main problem in the plantations was the insalubriousness of the place and the resulting illnesses which led to enormous human losses, especially of course among the slaves. The Jesuit Fernão Cardim (1584), for example, had written that some people in Pernambuco were deeply in debt owing to the poor survival rate of their Guinean slaves, of whom many died because of the climate.⁶

The promoters of a Dutch settlement in Brazil must have had in mind former failed attempts to create settlements—the French claim on Brazil, for example, a short-lived episode (1555–60) described by André Thevet and Jean de Léry, or the failed Protestant colonies in Virginia and in Florida—all widely publicized in the series of volumes produced by the De Bry brothers between 1590 and 1634 known as the *Grands and Petits Voyages*. But the Dutch were now in a position to counter Spain and Portugal on land and sea. The first Dutch efforts, however, were unsuccessful. Although the fleet commanded by Admiral Jacob Willekens and vice-admiral Piet Heyn took Salvador in 1624, the Dutch garrison manning the town capitulated to a Spanish-Portuguese armada just one year later. In Africa, the Dutch attacks on Elmina and Luanda were not successful either. Success came on the sea, culminating with the capture of the Spanish silver fleet in the harbor of Matanzas in 1628. The booty included 177,000 pounds of gold in addition to a thousand pearls, almost two million hides as well as silk, musk, amber, and much else; their total value was estimated at twelve million guilders. This gave a new impetus to the WIC to attack Pernambuco and establish a Brazilian settlement there. Olinda and Recife were conquered in 1630 and the military pressure of the Dutch

Fig. 1
'African Man,'
Albert Eckhout, 1641.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.

led to the establishment of the colony of New Holland, as it was named.⁷ To consolidate the settlement, the Heeren XIX appointed Johan Maurits van Nassau as governor-general of the Brazilian settlement.⁸ From January 1637 to May 1644, he was in charge of the Dutch colony, which carried on after his departure, but only until 1654. Born a German, Johan Maurits spent most of his life in the Netherlands, where he built his splendid residence, the eponymous Mauritshuis at The Hague. He was certainly a first-class administrator but also a prince with humanistic interests and his patronage of the arts and sciences led to the systematic study of Dutch Brazil. He laid down and carefully plotted the plan of the new city of Mauritsstad and built for himself two country residences, Vrijburg and Boa Vista, on the island of Antonio Vaz. There he also built an astronomical observatory and founded a zoological park and a botanic garden.⁹ To study the South American flora and fauna he employed two gifted scientists, the German Georg Margrave and the Dutch Willem Piso (in Latin, Piso) whose astronomical, geographical, botanical, zoological, and ethnographic notes were combined in their *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* published in Leiden in 1648.¹⁰ Piso dealt mainly with medical and culinary matters, Margrave with botany, zoology, and everything else. In their book the

extensive and quite systematic study of Brazil is lavishly illustrated with 533 woodcuts, of which 292 deal with plants, 229 with animals, three with sugar mills, and seven with the life of native people.

Even more important are the numerous surviving sketches and oil paintings by the various artists employed by Johan Maurits, of which the best known are Albert Eckhout and Frans Post. In a letter dated December 21, 1678, to the Marquis de Pomponne, minister of the French king Louis XIV, Johan Maurits mentions that he has employed six artists to provide a systematic image of Brazil including its people, the native Brazilians, animals, birds, fish, fruits, and plants, but also the country itself, the cities, and the forts; this material, he adds, could be—and in fact was—later used for decorative schemes.¹¹ Various candidates have been suggested for artists, apart from Eckhout and Post, who came to Brazil with Johan Maurits, including Pieter Coninxloo, Gillis Peeters, Abraham Willaerts, and the mapmaker Johannes Vingboons, although their various contributions cannot be clearly identified.¹² Not much is known about Albert Eckhout either, apart from the paintings signed by (and attributed to) him, and a few archival records. He was probably born around 1610, but nothing is known of his pre-Brazilian career. The evidence

Fig. 2
'View of Pernambuco,'
in 'Reys-boeck van
het rijke Brasilien,
Rio de la Plata ende
Magallanes,' 1624.



of his work in Brazil consists of a few laconic notices; he appears, for example, in a list of those entitled to free board, and a statement made by Johan Maurits subsequently (in 1653) confirms that Eckhout was with him in Brazil.¹³ The works, including nine large ethnographic and twelve still-life paintings now in Copenhagen, which constitute his Brazilian output and the later production of related pictures in the Netherlands and in Saxony, are better known than the circumstances of his life. To show the diversity of American cultures, Johan Maurits commissioned large-scale paintings of a Tapuya (or Tarairiu) man and woman, a Tupinambá man and woman, a Mestizo man (i.e., the offspring of a Dutch or Portuguese and a black man) and a Mameluc woman (i.e., the child of a Brazilian Indian woman with a Portuguese or Dutch father) as well as of a black African man and woman.¹⁴ They are all shown facing the viewer and in pairs, a formula which seems to have originated in illustrated costume books and then influenced the iconography of travel accounts. The poses are often conventional, reflecting the limitations of Eckhout's compositional skill and artistic language, but the acuity of his observations is essentially unparalleled in the seventeenth century. The aim of the series was clearly to show the diversity of the population of Brazil. Johan Maurits may have commissioned them for his palaces, either of Vrijburg or Boa Vista, or with the Mauritshuis in mind, although they appear never to have hung in the latter. In any case, the signatures and dates on the paintings clearly refer to Brazil and to the years 1641 and 1643.

The African man's dress allows him to be identified as Akan, a Guinean cultural group which includes the Ashanti and Fanti (fig. 1).¹⁵ He is shown in a traditional contrapposto pose, with his left hand on his hip; the other holds a spear. He is nude, but for a blue-and-white loin cloth wrapped round his waist. His hair, too, seems more conventionally rendered than accurately observed. The weapon on his side can be identified with the Ashanti *afena* sword, with its long and slightly curved iron blade wider on the tip than near the hilt, the latter having bulbous guards and pommels at either end of a circular gilt grip, as well as an orange cow-hair tassel. The sheath, but also the guard and the pommel, are covered by ray skin, the highly praised *etwum*.¹⁶ Attached to the sword is an object of great prestige, a pink oyster shell (*Ostraea rosacea*, called *Adam* by the Ashanti) of West African origin, imported by the Akan people from the Canary Islands. The Ashanti sword matches the few identified examples dating from the seventeenth century; one is in Copenhagen, which may have been the precise model, and another in Ulm, while others are shown in paintings by Jan van Kessel, Cornelis de Man, and Rembrandt.¹⁷ None of these, however, is still decorated with its much-valued pink oyster shell. The dress and the weapons of the Guinean fit with early sources. In his account of the Gold Coast published in 1602, Pieter de Marees already observed that Guineans were more or less nude but for a piece of cloth between their legs: "They take a leather belt around their bodies and put it between their legs with a little piece of Cloth,

about one hand wide, to cover their manhood; for they wear as little clothing on their bodies as possible, so that it will not hinder them in battle." Elsewhere he writes that "When they come to the Ships they take off their clothes and tie a small piece of Linen or Cloth, about one hand wide, around their body and between their legs, covering their private parts," a description even closer to the item shown in Eckhout's paintings. The weapons are also mentioned: "They put a cleaver or Dagger in their Belt, taking furthermore in their left hand their Shield, which is almost as high and broad as they are themselves. In their right hand they take their Assegais, with which they shoot." A few pages later, he mentions that,

They are very clever at making weapons, such as long Poniards, an Ell long, without a cross-bar; they are four fingers broad, double-edged, with a wooden hilt and pommel at the end; they cover the hilt with a gold-leaf or the skin of a kind of Fish which they catch and which is as much esteemed by them as Gold is by us. They make their scabbards of Dog- or Goat-skin, and at the top of the Scabbard, near the opening, they tie a big red Shell, about a hand broad, which is also held in great esteem amongst them. Others, who are unable to buy such a Shell ... adorn this weapon with the head of a Monkey or the head of a Tiger. This weapon they stick in their Belt on one side, going with it daily in the streets. But when they go out, they take their Assegai in their hand. ...

These weapons, we are told, come in different forms and fashions:

*... they are mostly wrought and made of iron which is only a few feet long at the front and back ends; the middle, which they take in their hands, is made of wood. They make them as heavy with iron at the rear as at the front, in order that the Assegai should be balanced in its weight; one end should not be heavier than the other, for otherwise they would not be able to throw or shoot straight.*¹⁸

Marees's description clearly corresponds closely to Eckhout's illustration; he must have seen Guinean artifacts either in Brazil, in Johan Maurits's collection, or perhaps even in Africa, if he traveled there. The man's weapons thus provide a visual record of information otherwise known from literary sources. The figures also reflect the interest of the early collectors for "exotic" arms and armor, which took their place, along with European examples, in princely armories. Johan Maurits had such objects in his museum; Caspar van Baerle's account of the Dutch colony in Brazil reveals that the prince's collection in Brazil included, in addition to botanical and zoological specimens, native utensils, costumes, and weapons from Africa as well as from the East and West Indies. Material culture was seen as providing information on the newly discovered peoples; cult objects, on the other hand, were considered as devilish and abominable figures without any visual interest.¹⁹

Just as carefully rendered in Eckhout's painting are the botanical and zoological elements. The Guinean stands in front of a date palm indigenous to Africa, while the elephant tusk on the ground also refers to that continent. Most of the shells are very identifiable—oysters, mussels, and cowries; they are found on both sides of the Atlantic, except for the pink oyster, which is specifically of West African origin.

The corresponding Guinean woman (fig. 3), also signed and dated 1641, is shown with a child next to her in a more specifically south-American environment.²⁰ She has a blue-and-white skirt, of the same texture and color as the Guinean man's loin cloth, but hers is wrapped with a red sash, in which a Dutch white-clay pipe is tucked. Most surprising is certainly the straw hat, perhaps of East-Indian origin, ornamented with little shells and a brim of peacock feathers.²¹ She has earrings made of pearls tied with red ribbons, necklaces of pearls and beads of red coral, with a gold or brass bracelet of circular section on her left arm and another, of gold or brass beads, around her right. She holds up, as if presenting it to the viewer, a basket of exotic fruits including bananas, citrus fruits, a melon, and orange blossoms. The design of the basket and its wooden base have similarities with seventeenth-century Congo objects, although Eckhout's example is both more complex and vividly colored than the surviving African ones.²² As with the portrait of the Guinean man, the sea is shown in the background. Here, however, Eckhout has shown an artificial harbor with watchtower on the beach and fishermen on the shore, a motif also found on Georg Margrave's map of Brazil.²³ The wax palm on the left is native to Brazil; so are, incidentally, most details, including the maize cob held by the boy; the bird on his left hand, however, is clearly a red-face lovebird (*Agapornis pullaria*) of African origin. An earlier sketch of the woman, recorded in the manuscript volumes of the *Theatrum rerum naturalium Brasiliae*, shows the model used by Eckhout holding a sugar loaf in her right hand, although she lacks the hat, the basket, and the ornaments that Eckhout added later, quite probably using objects collected in different parts of the world.²⁴

Eckhout's paintings, or perhaps earlier studies of his compositions, were also copied by Zacharias Wagener in his *Thierbuch*, a manuscript compilation on Brazil completed before April 1641 and his return to Europe. As one would expect in a manuscript volume, his rendering of the Guinean man (inscribed *Omeme negro*) is more summary, but he now holds a shield probably made of wood or reed covered with a hide; this could mean that Wagener had seen an early sketch or a preliminary study by Eckhout for his large oil painting.²⁵ The importance of shields, as we have seen, was stressed by Pieter de Marees in his description of Guinean weapons. But Wagener's text is perhaps most interesting for its comments on the practice of slavery, something this German was quite unfamiliar with, as he stresses on different occasions. He writes:

These blacks are brought to Brazil from Africa, from the neighbouring and adjacent territories to Guinea, Angola, Capo Verde, the Congo river and others, taken from their home regions. They [the Africans] have great wars between themselves, using swords, shields and long asagai. According to an ancient right of the peoples, those that defeat the others in battle take them and consider them as their slaves and servants. Thus, some blacks come to have thirty, forty, fifty or more captives, which they use repeatedly in the warlike expeditions or for other works. Most, however, are sold to the Portuguese. . . .²⁶

Wagener also copied the black woman (captioned *Molher Negra*), with a branding scar—a crowned M, presumably for Maurits—on her breast, but not directly from the painting:

Our people, like the Portuguese, recently decided it would be a good idea to put certain signs or marks on men, women and children, with a hot iron on the chest or on the neck, in the first place because blacks are numerous and always surrounded by other blacks, and in the second place because when they run away from their masters, which frequently happens, the men charged with finding them, called Field Captains ('*Me-stros del Campas*'), as soon as they lay hands on them recognise them and tie their hands behind their backs, go to hand them over in return for a fixed reward to their original owners, who receive them and welcome them back with many a sound beating.²⁷

The regulations of the WIC were clear; all slaves had to be branded before leaving Africa, so that there was no doubt about ownership and that the company could not be easily cheated:

As you purchase slaves you must mark them at the upper right arm with the silver marker CC N, which is sent along with you for that purpose. Note the following when you do the branding: (1) The area of marking must first be rubbed with candle wax or oil; (2) The marker should be only as hot as when applied to paper, the paper gets red. When these [precautions] are observed, the slaves will not suffer bad effects from the branding"

Once in the Americas they were often branded again, this time by their new owners.²⁸

It has been suggested that Eckhout may have traveled to Africa, but there is no real evidence of this. The paintings he made of a zunu and an *eméme* sheep, and the watercolor of an Angolan sheep, could probably all have been done in Brazil using specimens from Maurits's menagerie in Recife.²⁹ Similarly, the African date palm shown behind the Guinean man was probably already introduced to America by the time the painting was made, especially since Johan Maurits had great expectations to develop the land. It was probably in Brazil, too, that Eckhout drew a young black girl in colored crayons³⁰ and sketched, in oil, a flute-playing albino.³¹ Eckhout showed his pallid, yellowish complexion against a blue-greenish background. The albino is shown completely naked except, perhaps, for some kind of penis-sheath. His body is clearly defined and shaded with brown brushstrokes over a bluish underlayer, while the highlights are in red pigments sparsely added to the yellow base. The face is strongly modeled and highlighted by color and with graphic devices. His eyes look puffy and watery, as if he has problems with light. Albinos must have been rare in Brazil, although their occurrence was mentioned by Willem Pies in the *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* of 1648; his eighteen-year-old youth of African parentage, with white hair, white skin but Negroid characteristics, may even have been the model for Eckhout's sketch.³² Albinos were often revered and feared in Africa. A fascinating account is provided by Issak Vossius (1666), a passage later taken over by Olfert Dapper in his compilation on Africa. There we learn that albinos found in Loango had blond hair, blue eyes, and white complexion, so that one

Fig. 3
'African Woman,'
Albert Eckhout, 1641.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.





Fig. 4
Zacharias Wagener,
'Slave Market,' in
'Thierbuch,' pl. 106.
Staatliche Kunst-
sammlungen Dresden,
Kupferstichkabinett.

could almost take them for Dutch or Germans. Their skin, we are told, was cadaverous, as if affected by leprosy. He adds that Portuguese merchants gave them the name *albino* and brought them to Brazil, to work in the mines, but that they preferred death to enslavement.³³

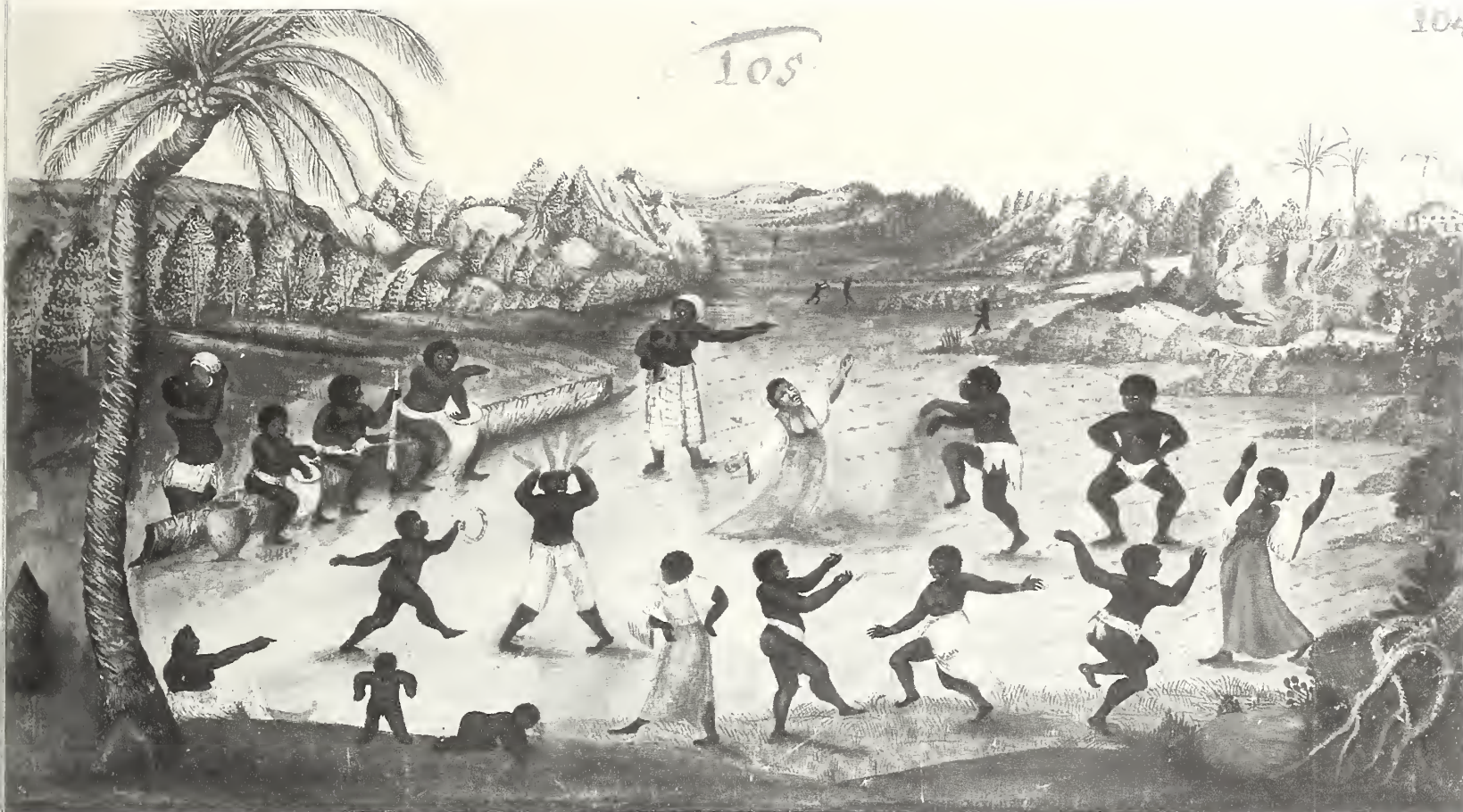
Black Africans in Brazil are also shown in the views of Brazil found in Zacharias Wagener's *Thierbuch*, in Frans Post's paintings, in books, and cartographic illustrations. Wagener, the son of a magistrate of Dresden, left for Amsterdam where he joined the firm of the famous publisher and cartographer Willem Janszoon Blaeu and, in 1634, the West India Company. He left for Brazil as a common soldier, quickly becoming a clerk and later a quartermaster to Johan Maurits. There he must have come across visual documents as he copied some of the drawings found in the four volumes of the *Theatrum rerum naturalium Brasiliae* and in the two volumes of the *Brasilianische Natur Gegenstände* recording the fauna and flora of the Dutch colony. The fact that he returned to Europe in April 1641, incidentally, provides a *terminus ante quem* for the works he copied. Wagener's *Thierbuch* includes images of fish, coral, crustaceans, birds, plants, mammals, amphibians and reptiles, insects, and spiders, but he also copied, as we have seen, the portraits of Amerindians and Afro-Americans based on Eckhout's large compositions.³⁴ He also illustrated various Brazilian scenes, as well as maps and plans, which give a firsthand account of Dutch Brazil. Wagener probably developed his drawing skills in Blaeu's firm; his illustrations include a plan of Mauritsstad (Recife) and detailed views of a sugar mill, of Johan Maurits's residence of Bellavista, and

of another sugar mill and a Brazilian hamlet populated by Indians. Black Brazilians are shown in other drawings, working the machinery of a mill, bathing in a stream, and working in the little town around Johan Maurits's residence.³⁵ They are dark black, with a piece of cloth round their hips.

Most interestingly, one of Wagener's drawings shows a slave market in the central square of a small town (fig. 4). The architecture is clumsily rendered, without much knowledge of linear perspective, while the figures are represented boldly but with stiffness and almost like silhouettes. The subject is virtually unparalleled in the seventeenth-century iconography, illustrating as it does the sale of a large groups of Africans just shipped from Africa to Dutch settlers. These new arrivals from Africa are guarded by black as well as white guards.³⁶ Wagener provides a long description of the scene, referring back to the fact that he has already described the way in which Africans are captured and enslaved before being sold to Dutch merchants, in other words to the text that he inscribed next to his drawing after Eckhout's Guinean man:

[In Africa] most [servants and slaves] however are sold to the Portuguese . . . and then again by these to our people [the Dutch] who immediately bring hundreds of them to Brazil to trade them for a high price with the wealthy sugar factory owners. They are treated very miserably by these, receiving little food and being forced to work without rest in the mills and cane-fields, hardly having time to breathe. . . .

Wagener also mentions the humiliations and the punishments, as well as the Africans' supposed ability to resist pain:



Because of this [their dances] and for other reasons, it is necessary to whip and humiliate these blacks if you want them to work and gain their goodwill.³⁷

The text next to Wagener's drawing of the slave market ("Here, through this modest drawing, I wished to show how they are taken to Brazil and sold again") provides, in the author's rather unsophisticated language, a firsthand account of the logistics of a trade new to him:

When fortunately, a ship from these much mentioned places [the West African coast] reaches Pernambuco in a short time, it usually brings a minimum of 300 blacks, who are immediately unloaded and lodged for a few days (until the day established for the market) in an old row of houses. On the appointed day, these poor people, half dead from hunger and thirst, are taken one by one, as if pigs or sheep leaving the pen, to be counted better; Portuguese and Dutch traders examine them in front and behind, if they are young or old, if they have scurvy, French disease or any other serious illness. When eight, ten or more have been chosen from this crowd and considered perfect, the trader undertakes to pay for each one of them, be he a child of 6 or 7 years or an adult male, over 200 Spanish reales, each of which is worth three cents more than one thaler; yet, if some [traders] join together to purchase a lot of 40, 50 or 100 items, who are then divided among their buyers through casting lots, they get a better deal and make their payment over the period of one year.³⁸

The watercolor shows the boatload slowly broken into groups. One Dutch man has already chosen four, another is discussing the price of a larger group, a third is checking one by one the group he is interested in, while another is leaving with the slaves he has just bought. All the slaves seem to be nude but for a piece of cloth round their hips,

while the Dutch are wearing their native costume—hardly appropriate for the Brazilian climate. In his text, Wagener mixes some sentiment of pity with a clear acceptance and justification of slavery seen by him as necessary for the economy of the sugar production. This vision was widely shared, especially within the West India Company for which the slave trade was one of the main sources of profit. In a report to the *Heeren XIX*, Augustus van Quelen reported in 1640 that "the fruits of the land can never be secured or garnered save through their work; and consequently there is not the smallest doubt that the more slaves are imported, the better will the land be cultivated, and the greater will be the Company's profits, which in these last years would have been twice as great if more slaves had been imported."³⁹

By this time, slavery had increasingly come to be acceptable to the Dutch; it had not been a generation before. When Pieter van der Haagen, a Rotterdam skipper, brought 130 African slaves to Middleburg in 1596, the city council prohibited their sale and declared that they should be released. As is often the case, it is one thing to have them at home and another to have them in a faraway land, invisible to the European public in general. The Dutch involvement in the slave trade began in the early seventeenth century, the first recorded instance of a successful voyage happening in 1606, when Isaac Duverne brought 470 slaves to Trinidad.⁴⁰ Privateers also got involved, selling their human cargoes in the New World. The founding of the WIC gave a new impetus, and the conquest of northern Brazil in 1630 led to a systematic commerce, as the colony needed a

Fig. 5
Zacharias Wagener,
'Dance Scene,' in
'Thierbuch,' pl. 105.
Staatliche Kunst-
sammlungen Dresden,
Kupferstichkabinett.

steady supply of workers. Between 1630 and 1651, at least 26,286 slaves arrived in Brazil, while another 5,247 had perished in transit; in Recife alone, 23,163 were imported from 1636 to 1645 and sold for a total of 6,714,423 florins. A perhaps unreliable account of the profitability of the slave trade compiled shortly after Johan Maurits's departure mentions a profit for the WIC of 840,000 florins a year, at least in this most successful period.⁴¹

In Dutch Brazil, slaves did not have to work on Sundays; in Portuguese Brazil, they also had Catholic feast days off, while those who were owned by Jews could also rest on the Sabbath. Wagener talks of the occasional celebrations held within the black community:

When the slaves have carried out their arduous duties for weeks on end, they are allowed to celebrate on Sunday as they please; in large numbers in certain places and with all manners of leaps, drums and flutes, they dance from morning to night, all in a disorganised way, with men and women, young and old; meanwhile, the others drink a strong spirit made of sugar, which they call "garapa"; they spend all day like that in a continuous dance until they do not recognise each other, so deafened and filthy have they become.

Wagener's corresponding illustration (fig. 5) shows the Africans dancing in a circle, to the tune of a band of two drummers and a zither-player. The gesticulating dancers for the most part wear pieces of cloth around their hips, except for three naked children and three fully dressed women, one of whom is evidently a mulatto.⁴²

The intermingling of Indians, Europeans and Africans led to social heterogeneity within a socio-economic hierarchic society largely defined by race. This is reflected in the words used by Wagener in connection with his copies of Eckhout's eight "ethnographic" paintings; he clearly stressed the difference between Mulattos—the children of black women and Portuguese—from Mamelucs—the children of Indian women and European men. Mulattos, "like the other slaves, are condemned to spend their lives in the worst bondage," unless they happen to be given their freedom by their fathers. "Since they come from Christian blood," adds Wagener, "His Excellency [Johan Maurits] originally intended to give them their freedom once and for all, but he changed his mind because of their bad life (*bösen untreuwen Leben*)."⁴³ Among Mamelucs, Wagener found "attractive

Fig. 6
Frans Post, 'View of
Itamaracá,' 1637. The
Hague, Mauritshuis.





and delicate men and women," although he had scant sympathy for "illicit relations" with such "prostitutes" in accordance with his strict Protestant belief; in Brazil, he wrote, "the Spanish and Portuguese, the Brazilians and Tapuyas, the mulattos and mamelucs almost all live like unclean, lascivious beasts" without care of divine wrath. The expulsion of the Portuguese by the Dutch was, for this Calvinist, a divine warning.⁴⁴

Wagener was a compiler who resorted to visual as well as literary sources, but his own commentary provides a firsthand account of life in Dutch Brazil. A more formal and artistically more sophisticated approach is found in the paintings of Frans Post. This artist, who was born in Haarlem in 1612, was the younger brother of Pieter Post, the architect of Johan Maurits's Hague residence, the Mauritshuis. Not much is known of Frans Post's early life, but he presumably traveled with Johan Maurits to Brazil. He accompanied the governor-general in his military campaigns, sketching Fort Maurits on the São Francisco River, Porto Calvo, and Paraíba as well as the Maranhão. All of his Brazilian production is dated between 1637 and 1640, although his name is still found on a list of people entitled to dining privileges drawn up on April 1, 1643. Between either 1640 and 1643, or on his way back to Europe, he may have traveled to West Africa and drawn views of Elmina, Luanda, and São Tomé.⁴⁵ The seven landscape paintings that can be linked to his residence in Brazil are clearly topographical. As such, some of his compositions were later

used for plates in Caspar van Baerle's book on Brazil;⁴⁶ in any case all the identified paintings from this period are linked to the thirty-four views of Brazil offered by Johan Maurits to the French king Louis XIV in 1679.⁴⁷ The *View of Itamaracá*, signed and dated 1637 (fig. 6), shows, according to an old Dutch description on the reverse, "The island Tamaraca as seen from the south. . . ." The little town of Schoppe appears surrounded by palm trees on top of the hill, with Fort Orange on the right and a road going down to the water. On the opposite side of the São Francisco river—in the foreground of the painting—Post has depicted two Portuguese men, one of these on horseback, the other on foot waving to somebody on the farther shore, while his white horse is held by a black man who, like his companion, is carrying fruit in baskets on top of his head.⁴⁸ Brazilians of African origin are shown in other paintings, too, driving an oxcart and transporting goods, for example in two views respectively of Porto Calvo and of Fort Frederik Hendrik. Post's landscapes from his Brazilian period are generally topographical in character, most of them representing the forts and towns of Dutch Brazil. They present open views often seen from a slightly elevated point. They feature expanses of water and ground recessing into the distance, under extensive, clear skies. Trees, plants, and animals contribute to the exotic character of landscapes, although they are not always fully integrated in the composition. This also can be true of the figures. In addition to paintings, Post produced drawings that were later used for the engravings in

Fig. 7
Frans Post, 'View of
Mauritsstad and Recife,'
1657. Dos Santos
Collection, São Paulo.



Fig. 8
Frans Post, 'Sugar
Mill,' Louvre, Paris.

Caspar van Baerle's book on Brazil (1647), for map vignettes as well as more than 130 surviving post-Brazilian paintings all dated between 1647 and 1669; of the latter, only a dozen do not include the characteristic black figures.⁴⁹ The diversity of Brazilian society is best shown in a later painting with a view of Mauritsstad, signed and dated August 25, 1657 (fig. 7).⁵⁰ The new buildings of Mauritsstad or Mauritania, on the island of Antonio Vaz, are shown in the foreground, with the old fort of Recife on the right. Johan Maurits was directly involved in the delineation of the city: he was "so preoccupied with the construction . . . that to induce the white settlers to build houses, he himself went about very carefully plotting the measurements and laying out the streets, so that the town looked more beautiful."⁵¹ Post's painting illustrates small palm trees just planted along a newly defined alley leading towards a wooden structure that was used later as the entrance of the Ruio do ponte, a bridge linking Mauritsstad to Recife. Post has celebrated Johan Maurits by showing him among the bystanders, with two guards in white trousers and red jackets. All around are seen the inhabitants of the town; Dutch and Portuguese, as well as more numerous Indians and Africans, all shown as

active if not agitated, and typical features of Dutch landscapes of the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In this view, painted after his return to Holland, Post gives us an idealized vision of the new world combining Dutch order and social hierarchies with the richness and promise of a newly settled, exotic country.

More than fifteen of Post's paintings show *engenhos de açúcar* or sugar mills.⁵² By 1623, over 350 plantations with mills had been established in Brazil, especially in the captaincy of Pernambuco. By intercepting letters from the Portuguese governor Mathias de Albuquerque, the Dutch discovered that the three northeastern captaincies alone contained 137 sugar mills producing an average of 700,000 *arrobas* (a measure either of more than 14 kilogrammes, or between 12 and 16 liters); the tithes alone were valued at 70,000 and 80,000 cruzados by the Portuguese, and at 1,050,000 florins by the Dutch. The owner of a large *engenho*, including a mill, a boiler house, and various out-houses, employed fifteen to twenty Europeans and some hundred slaves, while a small-sized plantation needed respectively five or six supervisors and twenty slaves. The owner generally leased his land to Portuguese, who needed

at least twenty hardworking slaves each to work the fields.⁵³ Two drawings by Post and two diagrams by Wagener⁵⁴ show the mechanism of one of the mills, with the central roller driving two lateral rollers, with the cane pressed between them. In one of them Post has shown a black worker unloading an ox-cart on the left; the others bring the cane to the press while a supervisor is seen on the right. In one of the most detailed views of a sugar plantation painted by Post after his return from Brazil (fig. 8), the house of the planter is shown on the hill, below a chapel.⁵⁵ In the foreground are the various buildings of the *engenho*. An ox-driven cart is unloaded, the workers bringing the sugar cane to the water driven mill where they are pressed, generally twice, between the vertical rollers. The technology was well understood and discussed in numerous studies. The juice is then led to a good-sized container, from where it is taken to a large wooden vat. From there it runs along a channel to the great tanks of the boiler house, represented in the painting at the left of the mill. There the juice is boiled in large copper vats, and the impurities skimmed off from the surface. The liquid is then poured into conical moulds where it crystallizes; these molds are then stored and purified, for a whole week, in the *casa de purgar*, where the white sugar is further separated from the brown molasses. The wooden platform in front of the *casa de purgar* is used to dry and purify the sugar.

In the painting, various protagonists, mainly Europeans and blacks, are involved in the various tasks of the production, within an exotic landscape including, in the right corner, a Brazilian bird and a *tatuete* or nine-banded armadillo.⁵⁶ Until 1669 when he seems to have stopped painting, Post found a niche in the art market by defining his specific type of painting based on his Brazilian experience, a world codified as much by artistic convention as by careful observation. There was certainly no place in his work for the excesses and cruelty of slavery and, more generally, social inequalities, but these, after all, were hardly ever the subject of any painting before the anti-slavery imagery of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

When Pieter Nason (1612–1688/91) painted Johan Maurits van Nassau more than twenty years after he had left Brazil (1666), he represented him in a state portrait and with a black page.⁵⁷ This work, known through a number of autograph versions as well as copies,⁵⁸ was probably commissioned at the Hague, where Johan Maurits and Friedrich Wilhelm, elector of Brandenburg, stayed from May 12 to 15, 1666, although the painting was probably completed in Johan Maurits's residence in Cleves. Standing in front of a classical structure recalling a triumphal arch, he is sumptuously dressed, at sixty-two years of age. Well in evidence are the Danish Order of the White Elephant granted to him by King Frederick III of Denmark in 1649 and the Order of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. In 1652 Johan Maurits had been elected as Master of that order for the bailiwick of Brandenburg and the grandest and most lavish version of Nason's portrait (now Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe) (fig. 9) originally hung over the fire place on the south wall of the

large gallery of the Masters of the Knights of Saint John in their castle of Sonnenburg (Slónsk).⁵⁹ The martial character of the portrait is strengthened by various attributes, including a helmet, an armor, a culverin, and canon balls, while the page holds a piece of paper or parchment with the ground plan of the fort of Schenckensschans, a fortress in Holland that successfully resisted the Spanish invaders in 1635. There, one year before his departure for Brazil, Johan Maurits first met Friedrich Wilhelm. Nason's inclusion of a black page reflects a new development of an iconographic formula that was beginning to feature in grand portraiture. The youth of African origin may represent a specific servant in Johan Maurits's household, but he may equally have been included as a novel artistic device. Even if his association with the former governor of Dutch Brazil may conjure up today associations with the African slave trade there, it is unlikely that Johan Maurits would have welcomed such an allusion in this portrait to his Brazil venture. In any case, this episode in his life—which brought a large number of Africans to the Americas—may have seemed glorious to him at the time, but it ultimately ended in failure.

Fig. 9
Pieter Nason,
'Johan Maurits van
Nassau,' 1666. Muzeum
Narodowe, Warsaw.





ECKHOUT AND CANNIBALISM

The Colonial Colors of Artistic Ethnology

ADONE AGNOLIN

ABSTRACT

This essay analyzes certain cultural categories through the emblematic and symbolic prism of the New World. Both in the past and today, these categories have been at the center of the debate and confrontation between the West and the rest of the world. It is through this confrontation that a cultural identity was constructed, which in turn transformed the cultures of both the observer and the observed.

The "portraits" Albert Eckhout painted of the Tapuya serve as highly significant examples of the confrontation between the historical and ritual contexts of early modern Europe and colonial America, between the Catholic and Protestant worlds, and between the Tupi and the Tapuya.

Albert Eckhout's *Homem Tapuya* (Tapuya Man, fig. 2) and *Mulher Tapuya* (Tapuya Woman, fig. 1), a pair of oil paintings completed in 1641, cannot be analyzed in isolation from two other paintings by the Dutch painter and illustrator. These are *Mulher Tupi* (Tupi Woman, fig. 3), also from 1641, and *Homem Tupi* (Tupi Man, fig. 4), from 1643. The four pieces are part of a series of eight compositions that are in turn part of a larger collection of twenty-four paintings Eckhout (1610–1665) completed while in the service of Prince Johan Maurits van Nassau, the governor-general of Dutch Brazil between 1637 and 1644.

As Maurits van Nassau's court artist and a participant in the broader Dutch artistic mission to Brazil, Eckhout used his brush to create one of the most notable classifications of Brazil's indigenous peoples and, more generally, of the entire Brazilian population of the time. In addition to the aforementioned four paintings, Eckhout completed *Homem Negro* (African Man, see p. 104), *Mulher Negra* (African Woman, see p. 109), *Homem Mulato* (Mulatto Man), and *Mulher Mameluca* (Mestizo Woman) during the Dutch occupation of the Brazilian northeast. These pictorial records significantly affected European attitudes toward Brazil. Eckhout's depictions were presented as "curiosities," a characteristic designation at the time, and would be responsible for the *ethnological* gaze (as opposed to an *ethnographic* gaze, a substitution some naively make) that would influence anthropological perspectives on Brazil's indigenous peoples up to the present day.

It is worth noting that *tapuya* is not a proper ethnological term, but a Tupi designation that developed into a colonial/European category during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The Tupi originally used this word for non-Tupi indigenous groups.¹ This distinction, whatever its Tupi or colonial provenance, ultimately was redefined by

colonial readers such that by the seventeenth century, "Tapuya" had replaced the "Tupinambá" used by Europeans during their first contacts with Brazilian Amerindians.

The phenomenon I will describe in this essay occurred throughout the Americas and is certainly not exclusive to Brazil. Nonetheless, from the beginning of the European colonization of Brazil, the figure of the savage operated as a privileged mechanism for interpreting the American environment and justifying European intervention. The apparently savage quality of the Amerindians was succinctly communicated to Europe through reports about the practice of cannibalism.²

Cannibals: savages and insatiable consumers of human flesh, living on the most remote frontiers of Western society. Until the end of the 1600s, the original, classical definition of cannibal remained unchanged. But with the extraordinary discovery of the New World "savages" at the end of the fifteenth century and the construction of immense new cultural boundaries, the idea of the cannibal expanded to near-infinite dimensions—both in terms of where cannibals lived as well as their possible numbers. In the case of the Portuguese colonization of Brazil, polemics concerning America and its inhabitants were used as a pretext for defenders of Catholicism to present the perceived horrors of the Reformation in explicit terms. The writings of the "propagandist" Giovanni Botero, the critical considerations of the Protestant Jean de Léry, and the stoic "relativism" of Michel de Montaigne make clear that, during this period, Europe saw itself through the image of peoples it considered barbarous and cannibalistic. In short, cannibalism influenced Europe's interpretation of its own unique and complex historical situation.

However, even in summary form, the marking of sharp distinctions between Catholic and Protestant interpretations of an "unquestionable anthropological fact" like cannibalism, as Pierre Chaunu does for a four-century period, is overly simplistic and schematic. Chaunu writes:

... the noble cannibalism of vengeance is Catholic, is missionary; the cannibalism of need is Protestant, full of disdain, later "enlightened, mechanical, materialistic." This second cannibalism is linked to man's denunciation. The disdain spat onto the Other returns—as God is just—like a boomerang to the face of he who spits. For some, these men [i.e., the cannibals] are sinners, they transgress like us, and like us need forgiveness; for others, the fact of extreme barbarity creates a wall that no one can overcome. Cannibalism separates human civilization from a subspecies that is less than human.³

Fig. 1
'Tapuya Woman,'
Albert Eckhout,
Brazil, 1641.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.

One of the points Chaunu does not take into proper account is that Léry exercised a profound influence on Montaigne. The latter's *Essais* attempt a reconsideration (albeit in a more complex form) of European culture of the type Léry had attempted earlier. Confrontation with the various cultures of Mexico and Peru, as well as those of the "primitive peoples," led to the association of "high cultures" with Europe and to the assumption that European culture was exempt from the "natural laws" that governed Brazilian indigenous groups.⁴ According to Montaigne, European culture, which he characterized as opportunistic and generally negative, took

Fig. 2
'Tapuya Man,'
Albert Eckhout,
Brazil, 1641. National
Museum of Denmark,
Copenhagen.



the Amerindian "laws of Nature" by surprise, destroying them with its force. Montaigne believed that culture should follow nature's example in order to find its true meaning.

Similar European interpretations of Brazilian Amerindians, i.e., that they represented nature's exemplary role vis-à-vis culture, occurred from the second half of the sixteenth century, with travelers and missionaries' accounts of cannibalistic ceremonies celebrating the Tupinambá living on the Brazilian coast. Among these European observers were German sailor Hans Staden, French cosmographer André Thevet, Protestant pastor Jean de Léry, Capuchin friars Claude d'Abbeville and Yves d'Évreux, various Jesuits, including José Anchieta and Manuel da Nóbrega, along with the lively and semi-illiterate Milanese writer Girolamo Benzoni. Notably, the Amerindians these Europeans observed were the same group whose merits Montaigne celebrated in his *Essais*.

Eckhout, whose art helped redefine the category of the "savage" in the context of early seventeenth century Dutch colonialism, can be included in this perspective—i.e., that the defense of nature serves as a guiding role for culture and thus grants culture meaning through its representations. In this work of (re)definition, Eckhout's artistic realism should not be understood as an *impossible* ethnographic adherence to Brazilian "reality," but as a *necessary* restatement and affirmation, an "artistic ethnology," if you will, with peculiar results, one that encompasses the various stages of development of a culture undergoing a profound transformation. The Dutch painter's "pictographic monument," which redirected the cannibalistic savagery of the Tupi to the Tapuya, attests to the most important phase of this transformative process. Eckhout's rewriting takes on the characteristics of a functional *inventio* or invention, consciously or unconsciously contributing to the restructuring of Brazil's colonial society.

In this way, it becomes significant that Eckhout's *Homem Tapuya*, naked except for a penis sheath, is "adorned" with a feather headdress and wears a circular pattern of *ema* feathers down his back. Eckhout's representation of the Tapuia as a warlike, primitive savage is furthered by the man's pierced face and the arms he carries: a blowgun in his right hand, and a *borduna* in his left. *Homem Tupi* makes for an interesting comparison: though his naked upper body is on view, he wears European-style cloth around his waist and carries a characteristically European-model knife at his waist. Holding a bow and arrows in his left hand and a long spear in his right, he retains his warrior status. The Tupi man stands next to a river, with cut manioc at his feet, leading the viewer to suppose that his warlike impulses might have been productively redirected toward fishing (with the long spear), hunting (with bow and arrow), or even rudimentary agriculture, as indicated by the manioc. In sum, Eckhout sketches out the beginnings of an emergent "civilizing process" and represents the Tupi as making the transition from savagery to civilization or as occupying a median location between nature and culture.

It is also important to consider the varying landscapes into which the artist inserted his Amerindian subjects. The background in the painting of the Tupi man seems to confirm the



hypothesis of an incipient cultural “domestication” of the environment; the “domesticated warrior” is surrounded by cut roots that point to various stages of manioc cultivation, along with a variety of native plants, and a hummingbird, which lends the painting a touch of delicate exoticism. A *guaimu* (a large blue-shelled crab) is in the lower left-hand corner and, as mentioned earlier, running through the background is a river, where the Tupi community would bathe and wash its clothes. We might infer that Eckhout presented the river, which cuts through the forest, as another sign of the civilization that was progressively encroaching on the land. None of these marks or signs of civilization are present in Eckhout’s painting of the Tapuya man, whose environment reinforces his apparently savage character: the animals (a spider, a lizard, and a snake, bloodied and possibly killed by the man’s weapons) are poisonous, and the vegetation is typical of the Brazilian jungle.

The painting *Mulher Tapuya* depicts a female figure, a kind of proto-Brazilian Eve. She is naked except for the feathers that cover her genitals and carries a basket on her head, which she secures with her right hand. Curiously, the lower part of a human leg and a foot emerge from the basket, and she holds a hand and forearm. As with the Tapuya man, the painting betrays tenuous traces of colonial contact: the woman wears sandals made from vegetable fiber and is accompanied by a domesticated dog (introduced to Brazil by the Portuguese). And as with *Homem Tapuya*, the landscape serves as much more than simple decorative space: once again, the plants that surround the Tapuya woman are all native to the area (*cassia fistula*, the granadilla tree, and *typha dominguensis*). Moreover, the painting makes reference to land that lies beyond Dutch control, with groups of armed Amerindians emerging from the background. They are presented in circles and moving their arms, in a near-certain reference to Amerindian warfare.



Fig. 3
‘Tupi Woman,’
Albert Eckhout,
Brazil, 1641.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.

Fig. 4
‘Tupi Man,’
Albert Eckhout,
Brazil, 1643.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.



Fig. 5
 'Dancing Tarairiu,'
 Albert Eckhout,
 Brazil, 1641. National
 Museum of Denmark,
 Copenhagen.

What is more, they are quite similar to the Amerindians depicted in another important painting by the Dutch artist, *Dança Tarairiu* (Dancing Tarairiu, fig. 5).

As with *Homem Tapuya*, it is interesting to take a comparative look at the Tupi counterpoint to *Mulher Tapuya*. In *Mulher Tupi*, the woman depicted has braids that recast and conceal the indigenous mode of haircutting. She wears white cloth around her waist, leaving her breasts exposed (like the Tupi man). She carries a naked child on her back and in her right hand holds a gourd, hollowed-out for carrying water. Finally, she balances a straw basket on her head with her left hand. The basket, unlike that of the Tapuya woman, holds manufactured products. Without spending too much time on a detailed formal analysis, the parallel to the Tupi man is evident. While the Tupi woman has not entirely lost her savage connotations, she is presented as undergoing a process by which her exoticism has been influenced by civilization. Just as the Tupi man is being transformed from a warrior to a hunter, fisherman, and farmer, his wife is moving toward a new way of caring for children and a new "domestic economy" (see, again, the contents of her basket).

Once again, the background against which Eckhout presents the indigenous figure is significant and, in this case, typically colonial. At the woman's side is a banana tree, another Portuguese introduction. In the background is a plantation with animals and workers, occupying land that has been transformed by human labor.

In sum, Eckhout's four paintings constitute an important "ethnological quadrangle," representing the conditions of

Dutch colonization in Brazil at the time of their composition. The paintings depict their Amerindian subjects at distinct stages of a civilizing process that begins with the redefinition of the new "Tapuya savage." Here we can see the subtle presence of the Dutch artist and his Western gaze. Working within the vocabulary of Batavian iconography, Eckhout combines primitivism and exoticism in his representations of Brazilian Amerindians.⁵ Beside the represented subject (the Tapuya "savage" of two of Eckhout's paintings) we find the implicit, tenuous presence of the artist—and of the West—which can be detected in the ways in which the subjects of these paintings return Eckhout's gaze.⁶ The Amerindian subjects appear to be caught off-guard by the artist, who takes advantage of this surprise to transform them into important symbolic subjects, with connotations that are essential to the Western colonial project. The subjects of Eckhout's paintings (including the men on the right-hand side of *Dança Tarairiu*) look not toward this colonial context but at the painter. This is significant, as the ethnological identification of the Tarairiu would have implied a form of cannibalism not immediately congenial to Eckhout's project: it would appear as nothing more than a characteristically Tupi "form of vengeance" carried out against a Tapuya captive, as opposed to a "loving cannibalism"⁷ identified with the respectful burial of the deceased in the stomachs of his relatives.

In any case, Eckhout can be contextualized within a developed Renaissance tradition that remained in effect as the scientific Enlightenment was emerging and in which artistic representation was tied to the construction of natural history. In fact, beginning at the end of the fourteenth century, the

Fig. 6 (opposite)
 'Tapuya Club,'
 Brazil; before 1674.
 National Museum of
 Denmark, Copenhagen.

new Renaissance art and its artists dedicated themselves with zeal to representing objects in realistic and naturalistic terms (making use of dissected human bodies, for example).⁸

As a result of these ideas, artists began to pay close attention to the features of natural life beyond the human body (see Leonardo and Dürer's botanical representations). It is during this period that scientific illustration, which sought to faithfully depict aspects of natural life for the purpose of knowledge and not merely as art, was born; such was the case of Leonardo's detailed reproduction of the human lungs. Finally, the second half of the sixteenth century witnessed a characteristically Late Renaissance increased interest in collection and classification. This motivated the naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi to make engravings and watercolors of others' illustrations for his own artistic reference. As he wrote in 1577, nothing seemed to him, "che dia più vaghezza all'huomo, et utilità, che la pittura massime delle cose naturali," thanks to which, "veniamo in cognitione delle spetie straniere quantunque in lontani paesi nate." This opening was influenced by the ideas behind the new Renaissance art and would now turn artistic reproduction toward a new exoticism: classifying, descriptive, but at the same time necessarily performative (i.e., neither true nor false). This exoticism characterizes the *realism* (impossible to achieve because of the colonial context) of Eckhout's paintings.

In closing, I would like to make a small observation on the *tacape* (Tupi club), based on the example featured in *Encompassing the Globe* (fig. 6) as well as its representations by Eckhout.⁹ The *tacape* featured in the exhibition is 96 cm in length, no larger than that represented by the Dutch artist. Bearing this in mind, and noting the examples from Paris and Berlin, illustrated by the French anthropologist Alfred Métraux and respectively 1 m and 20 cm in length, it does not seem likely that all of these are representative of the *tacape* as a sixteenth or early seventeenth century *ritual object*. If the examples collected by Métraux date from the end of the nineteenth century (or more likely, from the beginning of the twentieth), then I am convinced that the *tacape* featured in the exhibition and that painted by Eckhout represent an object transformed from its original, much longer size (1.6 m, 1.95 m) and its function as a *weapon* used in ritual execution. From the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the *tacape* was shortened in response to European weapons. While Staden and Léry spoke of *tacapes* of five to six feet, Brandão wrote in 1618 about a "short sword." Today, the Tupi of Mato Grosso use *tacapes* that measure little more than a meter in length. On reflection, the reason becomes obvious: it is only by shortening this instrument of ritual execution that a hand would have been free to hold a shield. One of the many disadvantages facing the Tupi in man-to-man combat against the Europeans had been their lack of defensive protection. The result was the transformation or "hybridization" of the *tacape*, which during the colonial era acquired a new function in response to an emerging (colonial) context. The *tacape*, like Eckhout's paintings, represents an example of the "language of objects" necessary for the historical construction and interpretation of this new era.

Translated by Robert Patrick Newcomb





MANIOC

Diet and Culinary Practices in Portuguese America

LEILA MEZAN ALGRANTI

It is often stated that the European maritime voyages of the early modern period and the consequent discovery and conquest of “new worlds” led to a dietary revolution in Europe. This argument contends that the revolution resulted from the transportation of plants that, as Fernand Braudel affirmed, became constant after the European discovery of America.¹ As Massimo Montanari notes, however, “in terms of culture this revolution is apparent rather than real, since individuals’ dietary needs and desires are quite old.”² Indeed, foodstuffs, plants, and culinary traditions were moving across borders well before the establishment of modern colonial empires. Without moving too far back in time, one need merely recall the importance of spices to medieval European cuisine, which was heavily seasoned with eastern spices—hence, the European efforts to acquire them directly from their places of origin.³

What occurred during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was an expansion of Europe’s culinary relations with other areas of the world. Wheat, grapes, and olives from the Old World were taken to the Americas, and corn, potatoes, cacao, tomatoes, and manioc were taken from the New World to the Old.⁴ This transoceanic movement had a profound impact on Portugal’s vast empire between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, with Portuguese ships constantly traversing the seas and transporting people, manufactured products, treasures, and foodstuffs. The Portuguese took various plants of American origin to Africa and Asia, and introduced plants and seeds from their eastern empire to Brazil; one example is the Indian coconut palm.⁵ What really merits discussion, however, is not the simple back-and-forth movement of plants, but the cultural dimension of this exchange, as expressed in the preparation and consumption of foodstuffs. This was a demanding, creative process that called for the transmission and appropriation of knowledge and techniques and was fundamentally defined by invention and transformation. The result in Portuguese America was a unique cuisine and a series of culinary practices of mixed (particularly European and indigenous) origin.

THE INTERACTION BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND INDIGENOUS DIETARY SYSTEMS

When the Portuguese arrived in America they brought a centuries-old culinary tradition based on bread, olive oil, and wine. While Brazilian Amerindians had domesticated some plants (manioc, for example), for the most part they

did not live off agriculture or animal husbandry, and they were far from producing the kind of food to which the newly arrived Europeans were accustomed. To survive in their new environment, the Portuguese had to rely on a wide range of local knowledge, particularly in terms of diet.

The first Portuguese chroniclers of America described the nature and customs of the land’s inhabitants in detail, both to help them survive and to learn about an as yet unknown world. These accounts function as our primary means for understanding how American plants and animals were treated by and used as sources of food by the Portuguese in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After all, even the simple hunting of animals and gathering of fruits required a certain “know-how,” that is, *culture* in the sense of cultivation.

The most common technique used by the chroniclers to describe America was to make comparisons to the world they knew. For example, Pero de Magalhães Gandavo (circa 1570) described *ananás* (pineapples) as the most sought-after fruit in Brazil, writing that they “grow like artichokes, and naturally resemble pine-cones, being of the same size or a little larger. When ripe they have a very sweet odour, and are eaten pared and cut into slices.”⁶ These descriptions reveal the mental associations made by the European conquerors, who attempted on a symbolic level to substitute their usual foods with the local foods they encountered. The most revealing example of this mental process in Portuguese America relates to manioc and to the uses and characteristics the Europeans attributed to it. Chroniclers were unanimous in comparing the flour obtained from this root to wheat flour, with Gabriel Soares de Souza, a famous chronicler and Bahian landowner, describing manioc flour in 1576 as “the area’s principal food and the most nutritious.” Referring to the plants and foodstuffs to be found in the province of Brazil, Gandavo noted in 1576 that, “[f]irst, I shall describe that plant and root from which the inhabitants obtain sustenance and which they eat in place of bread. The root is called *mandioca*” (author’s emphasis).⁷

According to legend, the word *mandioca* is derived from “mani-oca” (the house of Mani). Mani was a beautiful young Amerindian girl whose mother had given birth to her after an encounter with a white man in a dream. The girl died after a year of life without sickness or pain, and leaves sprung up from her grave. These leaves were attached a root that was pale white, strong, and good to eat.⁸

Fig. 1
'Manioc,' Albert
Eckhout, Brazil, ca.
1641–43. National
Museum of Denmark,
Copenhagen.

In his *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil* (Descriptive Treatise on Brazil), Gabriel Soares de Sousa noted that, “manioc is a root like a yam or potato, and grows to a size that reflects the richness of the land.”⁹ According to the chronicler, there were various “castes” or types of manioc (*manipocamirim*, *manaibuçu*, *manaitinga*, and *parati*). The chroniclers wrote most frequently of two types, called *aipim* and *mandioca brava*. Of this second variety, they emphatically warned about the necessary steps for removing the “venom” from the root, and they considered the liquid extracted from the root after grinding and squeezing it to be “the most terrible poison to be found in Brazil.” Nonetheless, they noted that *farinha de mandioca* (manioc flour) could be made from the root once it had been squeezed and thoroughly dried.

Upon his arrival in Brazil, Jean de Léry, a Calvinist who accompanied Nicolas Durand de Villegagnon during the 1556 French invasion of Rio de Janeiro, immediately became aware of the lack of wine and bread in Brazil and commented extensively on the types of flour ground by Amerindian women. A drier variety, *farinha de guerra* (war flour), kept longer and for this reason was used by the Amerindians and the Portuguese in their expeditions to the interior. Another kind, wetter and more delicate, struck Léry as similar to “the inside of a hot loaf of white bread.”¹⁰

The process of making “war flour” (also called *farinha de páu*, or “wood flour”) consisted first of stripping the manioc roots—using oyster shells for the peeling—until they appeared white. After being ground with a stone, the manioc was placed in a *tipiti*, a tool made from palm fronds, and dried over a fire. The result was a fine, dry flour, similar to couscous or wheat flour.¹¹ The “freshest” and finest flour was eaten hot. This was obtained from the non-poisonous manioc (*aipim*), which was left to rot. The husk of the root could then be easily removed and the flour turned into *farelo*, or “bran.” It was then cooked over the fire and eaten. According to the author of the *Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil* (Dialogues of the Great Things of Brazil), this was so tasty that some preferred it to white bread.¹²

The European chroniclers considered manioc flour to be the “bread of the land” not only because of its role as the Amerindians’ principal food source, but because of the way the Portuguese adapted it for their own consumption, using it to make *bolos* (cakes) and *beijus* (tapioca pancakes), which in Portugal were made with wheat flour. The *beijus* were made of thin dough, similar to the Moorish-origin *filhós*, a kind of fritter the Portuguese valued highly. Manioc flour also was used to make “tapioca,” a sort of dried pancake that is eaten in northeastern Brazil to this day. The Portuguese added familiar ingredients, like eggs and butter, to these dishes, but they also created new recipes working from a manioc flour base. By adding water or beans they created *angu*, a warm dish that could relieve the hunger of even the poorest people, who often had only these ingredients with which to make a meal. *Angu*, whose etymological origin is African, also can be made with *fubá* (wheat or corn flour).

By creating new recipes using manioc flour and using it in the manner of the Amerindians, the Portuguese were

integrated into a manioc-based dietary culture that stretched from the north to the south of Brazil. The Portuguese habitually ate manioc in small clumps after bites of meat or fish. They also used manioc leaves for soups and fried and ate the roots. Moreover, manioc proved an excellent medicine, with the Portuguese using it as a poultice applied over wounds or in liquid form as an emetic.

With the passage of time, the Portuguese increasingly developed their own techniques for preparing, cooking, and consuming manioc and other local foodstuffs. For example, during the drying stage they substituted the *tipiti* for *pranchas de lagar* (a wooden tool for squeezing grapes that originated in Europe) and replaced sharp stones with graters.¹³ And they began frying manioc in pans instead of cooking it over a fire.

Manioc in its various forms sustained the Brazil’s north-eastern plantations and the expeditions to the interior and guaranteed the survival of the troops from Pernambuco and Maranhão in the seventeenth-century wars against the Dutch and the French. Manioc was the food of slaves, cattlemen, and plantation owners, though it should be acknowledged that the European conquerors did as much as they could to resist the substitution of wheat for manioc. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they chose wheat whenever they could and considered manioc the poor man’s bread.¹⁴ Wheat was planted in the Paraíba captaincy and in São Paulo in the seventeenth century. While in the northeast this proved impractical, the wheat fields of the São Paulo highlands became famous and functioned as the granary for the other Brazilian captaincies. Similarly, wine was imported from Portugal throughout the colonial period despite the presence of grape vines in Brazil. In terms of culinary taste, the colonial elites remained faithful to bread, olive oil and wine, though their everyday diet was composed of beans, dried meat, and manioc or corn flour.¹⁵

It is therefore possible to assert that the European and Amerindian culinary systems coexisted and interacted with each other during the first centuries of Portugal’s American colonization. However, this process did not consist exclusively of the substitution of local for European foodstuffs, which the Portuguese then prepared in their own way. While the Portuguese brought a repertoire of recipes from Europe, which they worked to adapt to local conditions, it was the Amerindians who taught them about the cultivation of local products as well as their nutritional properties. We see creativity and exchange in various culinary areas, such as sweets, drinks, and condiments, as well as in the preservation of meat, fish, and produce.

Little by little and through the interaction of European and Amerindian techniques and tastes, a cuisine took shape that was no longer indigenous, Portuguese, or European, but “Brazilian.” Over the centuries this cuisine has gained specific national and regional features, as well as benefited from the know-how and traditions of other groups who participated in the colonization of Brazil.

Translated by Robert Patrick Newcomb

Fig. 2
‘Still life with pineapple, melon, and other tropical fruits,’ Albert Eckhout, Brazil, ca. 1641. National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen.



SUGAR AND SLAVERY IN BRAZIL

Quem pudera cuidar que as plantas regadas com tanto sangue inocente houvessem de medrar, nem crescer e não produzir senão espinhos e abrolhos?

[Who could have ensured that the plants watered with so much innocent blood might flourish, instead of failing to grow and producing only thorns and thistles?]

Father Antonio Vieira, 1688.

After the discovery of Brazil in 1500, the Portuguese crown adopted various policies aimed at making profitable use of a colony that consistently failed to fit the description of a site from which precious metals could be extracted. Once the Portuguese concluded that New World gold and silver would be reserved for the Spanish, they began seeking other sources of wealth in their American colony as a means to satisfy broader imperial objectives. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, Brazil wood (*pau-brasil* in Portuguese), for which the colony was named, was the principal good traded along the Brazilian coast. European merchants—some from Portugal but mostly French—crossed the Atlantic in search of this valuable wood, which was used to dye textiles. Indigenous groups participated in the trade, harvesting the wood and transporting logs on their shoulders, in exchange for clothing, linen shirts, hats, knives, axes, iron wedges, and other tools of European origin.¹

This practice, however, did not guarantee that Portugal's New World territory would be adequately defended. The

Portuguese considered various strategies for occupying and populating the land, and these were informed as early as the sixteenth century by the moves made by other European maritime powers to lay claim to the Americas, which forced Portugal to seek out new ways to defend its recently acquired American domain. While the Portuguese crown was primarily concerned with Asia and its spice trade, it maintained the hope that precious metals might be discovered in Brazil, like the silver that had been found in Peru. This hope, fueled by greed, was a strong source of motivation for those involved in the maritime trade. Portugal dedicated itself to defending its colonial empire on the grounds that geopolitical autonomy would work to preserve its political independence—the latter a perennial preoccupation for the Portuguese state.

The Portuguese recognized the importance of populating the land, of making it productive, and of producing a good in the colony that would not only be profitable for the maritime trade, but would moreover justify this trade. As such, the Portuguese moved from a system of *feitorias*, the commercial “factors” dedicated to intermittent trade with indigenous groups, to the organized production of tropical goods. As early as the fifteenth century, the Portuguese were producing sugar on the islands of Madeira and São Tomé. Portuguese faith in the great potential for profitable sugar production in their portion of the American tropics led them to transplant sugar cane to Brazil along with the technology necessary for its cultivation.



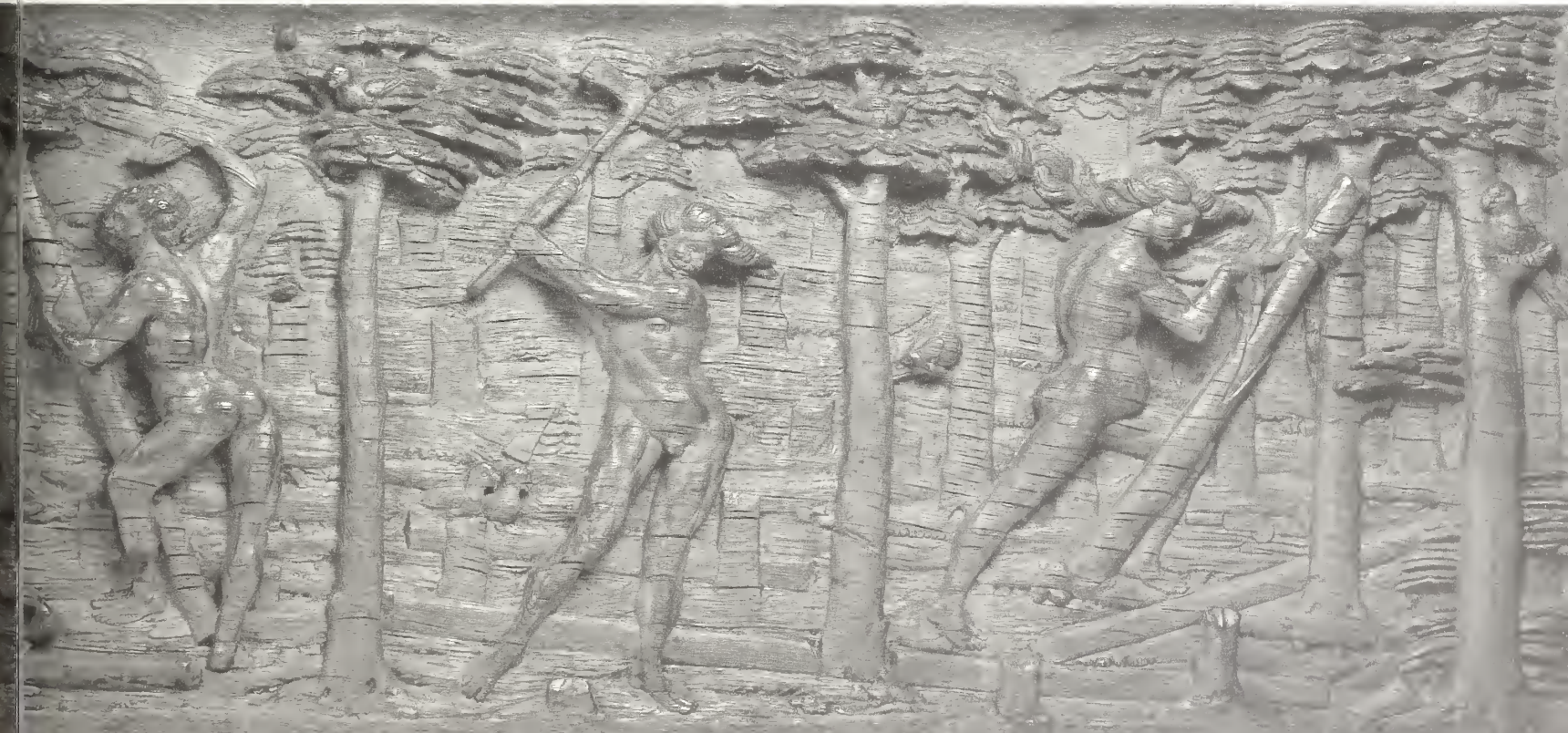
Martim Afonso was the first Portuguese proven to have brought sugar to Brazil, in 1532, though there are indications that the Portuguese may have begun producing sugar locally, and as a European trade good, at an earlier date.²

Sugar cane thrived in the Brazilian climate and could be produced locally on a heretofore unheard of scale. This allowed the colony to enter the emerging world market as a producer of a unique product. Sugar had long been known to Europeans, but was treated as a spice and sold in pharmacies until the sixteenth century. With the colonial production of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, sugar came to be more widely consumed (though still as a "spice") in European courts and noble houses. Over time, the sphere of sugar consumption was further enlarged, and it came to be widely consumed, especially with the popularization of tea and coffee in the nineteenth century.³ With sugar, Brazil, which had earlier appeared to the Portuguese as a deserted though promising territory, was incorporated into the circuit of European trade, operating according to mercantilist policy as the producer of a product that was complementary to those produced in Europe.⁴ Once sugar was transplanted to Brazil its production skyrocketed. By 1570 there were 61 *engenhos*, or plantations, operating in Brazil, producing approximately 180,000 *arrobas* per year, with each *arroba* weighing nearly 15 kilos. By 1610, the 200 *engenhos* then operating in Brazil were producing 600,000 *arrobas* per year. When the

Dutch took Pernambuco in 1630, Brazil was producing nearly one million *arrobas* of sugar every year.

At the beginning of the Portuguese colonization, labor on the plantations was provided by Brazil's indigenous peoples, who were found in abundance and who were pressed into service with relative ease. The first European traders, both Portuguese and non-Portuguese, sought for purely selfish reasons to maintain good relations with the indigenous peoples who lived on the coasts. The Amerindians provided the European travelers with food, principally *farinha de pau* (manioc), and would barter their own labor for certain European products they coveted. With the planting and cultivation of sugar cane, a more stable work force was needed, and the Portuguese made the transition from barter to slave labor. During the 1550s and 1560s there were practically no African slaves working in the plantations of northeastern Brazil, though the data indicates that by the 1580s Africans represented a third of the workforce in the Pernambuco plantations.⁵ If Amerindians represented the majority of plantation labor in the colony's most productive region until 1580, the following decades would see African slaves partially supplant them. As Stuart Schwartz demonstrates, the transition from a predominantly indigenous to a predominantly African plantation labor force occurred during the first two decades of the seventeenth century, "which were apparently a period of boom for the Bahian sugar economy and for that of Brazil

Fig. 1
'Gathering Brazil wood,'
Rouen, France; ca. 1530.
Musée départemental
des Antiquités de la
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PEDRO PUNTONI

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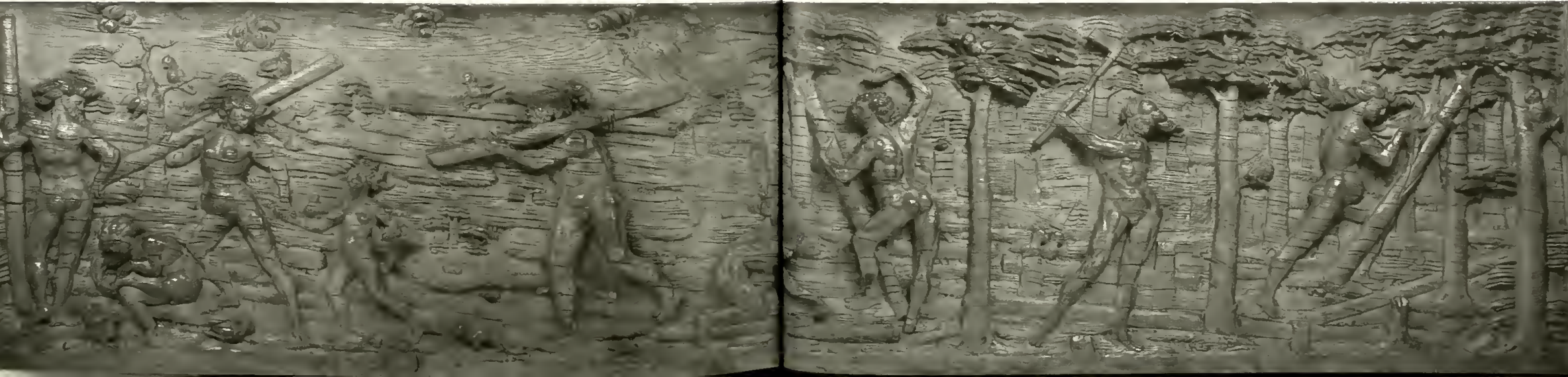
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"Gathering Brazil wood,"
Rouen, France, ca. 1530.
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in general. A series of good harvests . . . the introduction of the three-roller mill, and the conclusion of peace between Spain and the United Provinces of the Netherlands in 1609 all contributed to the climate of peace and expansion."⁶

Reasons can be found in the dynamics of mercantile capitalism itself for the substitution of African for indigenous labor in the plantations and sugar mills of the Brazilian northeast. As Novais has shown, the need for forced labor was not directly linked to the reasons for capturing and enslaving Africans. Brazil was set up as a colony dedicated to economic exploitation. As such, the Portuguese were not only concerned with occupying and effectively populating the territory, but they desired moreover to colonize the land for mercantile capitalism. In the minds of the Portuguese colonizers, Brazil's preexisting, "primitive" capital accumulation (or rather, that of the future producing area) was inferior to that of the metropolis, which mandated that the colony's wealth be concentrated in the hands of an entrepreneurial elite that would maintain the system of production (that is, the reproduction of capital), and would orient the colony toward the production of goods for the metropolis, as well as the consumption of metropolitan products. The insertion of the colony into this system explains the need for large-scale economic production.⁷ As Adam Smith wrote, where land is abundant and the barriers to expansion are open, the natural tendency, which he identifies with free labor, is for high worker salaries and the democratization of land, which is only possible in economies tending toward autarchy or in situations characterized by the primitive production of goods.⁸ In economies oriented toward the market from the beginning, these options are foreclosed. The choice to be a salaried laborer is shown to be historically impossible. As Novais concludes, "if we were to imagine a system of export production organized by entrepreneurs utilizing salaried labor, the production costs would be such as to impede the commercial exploitation of the colony, and thus its place in the development of European capitalism."⁹

The so-called "theory of the open frontier" as discussed by Novais explains the historical inevitability of forced colonial labor, with the colony charged with producing alternative, complementary goods for Europe in the context of expanding maritime circulation and trade. However, as the historian demonstrates, *the need for forced labor does not explain the need for slavery*, which can be accounted for by examining the dynamics of the process by which indigenous (that is, local) laborers were replaced by African slave labor. The preference for African over indigenous labor can be explained systematically by the successive steps of the mercantilist cycle, which were all oriented toward fostering European wealth. The extraterritoriality of the Africans who provided slave labor for Brazilian plantations is fundamental in explaining their role in the accumulation of wealth. In this sense, it is the slave trade that explains the enslavement of Africans, and not the opposite.¹⁰ As with slavery in earlier periods, the emerging colonial economy "possessed no natural, internal mechanism of self-reproduction, because its labour-force could never be homeostatically stabilized within the system."¹¹ In this way,

provisioning the colony with slave labor depended on European conquests outside of the immediate space of production, that is, outside of colonial Brazil.

The use of African labor was only generalized in colonial production once a network of relationships between Africa, America, and Europe had been established under the aegis of mercantile capitalism.¹² On this topic, Luiz Felipe de Alencastro has demonstrated that the organization of the slave trade as a component of broader colonial production served to *maintain the metropolis's control of the system of production*.¹³ While Spain's American colonies depended more on the circulation of colonial goods than on the production process, Portugal was compelled to organize its American colony so as to maintain the flux of economic exchange, from which profits and tariffs were derived. The Spanish system, which depended on warehousing precious metals until Spain's famous *flotillas* could arrive, would not work in the case of the perishable agricultural goods cultivated by the Portuguese. Moreover, Portugal's American ports actively participated in maritime commerce, which made Spanish-style monopolies difficult. Returning to the issue of slavery, the Portuguese slave trade transcended its immediate economic function and became a key component of Portugal's foreign policy. For Alencastro, the scope of the Portuguese slave trade is explained if we see it as a component of a vast commercial network linking Portugal to the Middle and Far East, as a revenue source for the Royal Treasury, and as a contributor to the productivity of plantations in Portugal's Atlantic islands.¹⁴

That said, I believe that Novais's thesis should be revised in two respects. As we know, the fact that the movement in colonial Brazil toward non-indigenous labor became irreversible during the first quarter of the seventeenth century does not mean that indigenous labor was abandoned altogether. Historical scholarship tells us that the legal enslavement of Amerindians ended by 1570, when the crown guaranteed the freedom of indigenous persons, building on ideas advocated by Pope Paul III in the papal bull of 1537, *Sublimis Deus Sic Dilexit*. In an apparent paradox, the new Portuguese law provided for certain cases in which one might "make captives of these peoples"—for instance, Amerindians taken in a "just war," that is, one authorized by the king or by the Portuguese governor in Brazil. Moreover, cannibals like the "Ay-mures" could be legitimately enslaved.¹⁵ The substitution of African slaves for indigenous laborers should not be viewed as a complete replacement. Rather, Amerindians continued, for centuries and with frequency, to be enslaved on the margins of the Brazilian sugar-producing zone. This was the case in the southern provinces (which constituted their own specific system, as John Monteiro argues¹⁶), as well as in the Amazonian north. In fact, forced indigenous labor did not entirely disappear from the center of the colony's sugar cultivation: whenever the need for labor could not be met exclusively by African slaves, whether due to local circumstances or to the wars of the seventeenth century, smaller producers and large plantation owners did not hesitate to press Amerindians into service. For their part, the settlements and *reduções* administered by various Catholic religious orders (as well as the



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'Gathering Brazil wood,'
Rouen, France; ca. 1530.
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Protestant orders operating in Dutch-controlled territory), had their own methods of coercing Amerindians to work, whether on the mission itself or for individual colonizers, to whom they were "loaned" or "rented out," to cite the terminology used during the period.

Despite the persistence of indigenous labor in Portuguese Brazil, there were various factors that mediated against the enslavement of Amerindians, which in turn informed the Portuguese preference for African slave labor. These had to do with the crown's strategies for occupying and defending its American territory, as reflected in legislation and colonial practices. As is well known, Portuguese control of the land now known as "Brazil" was only consolidated during the mid-seventeenth century, with the completion of the colonial wars against the Dutch. Until this point, and in certain later contexts, the territory's indigenous inhabitants were useful to the Portuguese as partial substitutes for the colonizers needed to guarantee Portugal's continued control of its territory, and in the face of attempts at invasion or conquest by other European powers, or even rebellions by hostile indigenous groups.¹⁷ As such, we can safely assume that along with the maintenance of colonial economic activity—and more precisely the slave trade—the substitution of African for indigenous labor was conditioned by the need to guarantee a *minimal* population for the colony. Amerindians could provide this population, which would grant the Portuguese colonial enterprise and its system of necessarily forced labor a margin of security from the external challenges represented by competing European powers, as well as from internal threats. This is what Luiz Felipe de Alencastro terms "Portugal's dual military front."¹⁸

As early as 1943, the historian Caio Prado Júnior was considering the specific importance of Brazilian Amerindians in the colonizing process. For Prado, it was apparent that during the early days of colonization, the Portuguese sought to take advantage of indigenous persons "not only as suppliers of native products for trading or as allies, but as a *participating* element in colonization."¹⁹ The Portuguese utilized Amerindians in creating a base population for their colony: in addition to importing capital for the formation of the colonial economic system, it was incumbent on the colonizing power to attract indigenous populations in order to provide a minimal source of occupation and defense.²⁰ Certainly, the Portuguese were more interested in attracting European colonists with the skills and resources necessary to make the land profitable,

and it was precisely this group of Europeans capable of reinforcing the colonial entrepreneurial elite that was in shortest supply. That said, the Portuguese envisioned a role for the Amerindian in their colonial world, particularly regarding defense. As such, they sought to keep Amerindians in their state of "natural freedom."

The Jesuit priest, intellectual and diplomat Father Antônio Vieira was fully aware of this need, as he demonstrates in a letter written to King João IV, in which he proposes alternatives to the enslavement of Amerindians. Once the indigenous persons are freed, Vieira argues, "the republic [*república*] will have many Indians to serve and defend it, as it was they who in large part assisted in its restoration."²¹ The role of populating agent was extended to the Amerindians as it was to European colonists, and in this way the former group played a key strategic part in the construction of colonial society. Indeed, the original inhabitants of Brazil were the only group capable of transmitting knowledge of the land to the Portuguese, and were valuable in contributing supplementary troops to the various wars and lesser conflicts the Portuguese fought against hostile indigenous tribes and competing European groups. Fernão Guerreiro, a chronicler writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, recognized the importance of the Amerindians for colonial defense, as in various other areas. He writes that, "when an enemy group or pirate band arrives and disembarks in some portion of the colony, it is the Indians, led by the priests [*à sombra dos padres*], who defend the colony and destroy the enemies with their arrows, much more than the Portuguese with their musket balls."²²

Amerindians could also be used to ameliorate the internal tensions of the slaveholding system, particularly in those regions where African slaves constituted to primary source of labor—that is, in the colony's center of production. In the words of an anonymous Jesuit living in Brazil just before the Dutch invasion, the African slaves feared the Amerindians because the latter group would "search them out in the mountains, capture them, and punish them." This leads Evaldo Cabral de Mello to conclude that Brazil's indigenous population was "the salvation of the Portuguese colonizers." "If it is true," he writes, "that without Africans there would be no Brazil, it is no less true that without Amerindians there would be no Africans [*in Brazil*], since without Amerindians there would be no security."²³

Translated by Robert Patrick Newcomb



THE ARTS IN BRAZIL BEFORE THE GOLDEN AGE

NUNO SENOS

According to surveys on Brazilian colonial art, the colony's artistic production did not develop a character of its own before the middle of the eighteenth century. Most of these texts rush through the years preceding the 1740s and focus their attention on the architecture and sculpture that flourished in the region of Minas Gerais, and especially on the life and work of Aleijadinho (the Little Cripple), Brazil's most cherished and studied colonial artist. There is a wide consensus among historians and art historians alike that, when it comes to Brazil, the expression "Golden Age" has a literal as well as metaphorical meaning: the period in which gold was found in extraordinary quantities and in which the arts experienced their most impressive and interesting development. Before the Golden Age, art historians repeat almost without exception, Brazil's art was but a subservient copy of Portugal's art, and it was not until the eighteenth century that it broke away from its colonizing matrix in order to acquire its own personality.

The archives, of course, are much more generous regarding information for later periods than they are for earlier ones. In addition, more often than not, later works are better preserved and survive in greater quantities. Nevertheless, to critically understand the available scholarship one needs to keep in mind that at the moment the foundations of the history of Brazilian colonial art were being laid, there were political and cultural concerns at play that shaped research agendas and left the early colonial period—the focus of *Encompassing the Globe*—outside the academic horizon where, for the most part, it has remained. Beginning in the nineteenth century, a varied genealogy of texts created, developed, and then crystallized this approach to the issue of originality in the colony's cultural production. Naturally, art historians were not single-handedly responsible for the construction of this interpretative paradigm. Intellectuals, writers, historians, sociologists, journalists, anthropologists, musicians, and artists participated in the process, which makes the resulting canon all the more solid and difficult to overcome.

As a consequence, only a few, scattered early colonial artistic topics have been studied systematically. In this essay I shall briefly characterize the two main theoretical premises that contributed to this scholarly situation. I also shall provide a short survey of the artistic and architectural production of Brazil before the Golden Age, arguing for its importance and interest and for the need to give it much more attention than it has received so far.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

Throughout the nineteenth century, Brazilians struggled to forge a national identity that would allow the inhabitants of the newly independent country (as of 1822) to accept that they were no longer subjects of the Portuguese crown. This was achieved in various different ways, some of which bore little or only indirect consequences for the study of colonial art. Two fundamental ideas would be of the outmost importance to art historians, however: a) cultural miscegenation was a specific and central component of Brazil's historical identity, and b) identity was based on an opposition to the former colonizing power, Portugal.¹

These two premises proved fatal for the study of Brazilian early colonial art. Although Europeans, Africans, and Amerindians had long coexisted in the colony, the names of the artists identified for earlier periods were all Portuguese or, at best, Portuguese descendants born in Brazil. Furthermore, early works of colonial art looked hopelessly Portuguese, and none seemed to have a personality of its own or to be related to the cross-cultural phenomenon that art historians sought so eagerly.

In the absence of works of art that witnessed a relevant Amerindian input, art historians connected the artistic production of blacks and mulattoes to miscegenation. An interdisciplinary field of research developed around the study of religious syncretism and its artistic expressions, focusing especially on nineteenth- and twentieth-century objects. More traditional art historians also had plenty of material on the art and architecture commissioned by black and mulatto brotherhoods and the craftsmanship of slaves and freed Africans who worked as painters, sculptors, architects, and silversmiths.² Brazil's artistic pantheon became populated with several mulatto artists; Valentim da Fonseca e Silva (1745–1813), more commonly referred to as Mestre Valentim, is one of the best known.³ He was a sculptor, architect, and silversmith based in Rio, where he worked on important projects promoted by the viceroy. In 1913, he was even given a public monument. Although the field of metalwork never achieved the academic dignity enjoyed by other arts, it was soon acknowledged that the majority of its Brazilian practitioners were non-white and that their skills were superior. The mulatto Ignácio Luiz da Costa was given the great honor of making the crown for João VI's coronation in Rio in 1817.⁴ The urge to promote non-white artists was so great that many who were at one point or another said to be mulatto were later shown to have been white; such was the case of the painter Manuel da Costa Ataíde (1762–1830).

Fig. 1
'Saint Bernard,'
Frei Agostinho de Jesus,
Brazil, ca. 1652.
Mosteiro de São Bento
de São Paulo Collection.

The most important consequence of this scholarly effort was the promotion of the mulatto Antônio Francisco Lisboa, o Aleijadinho (1738–1814), whose name looms high above those of his peers. No other artist from colonial Brazil has received more attention or been the object of more publications. A great quantity of scholarly work has analyzed and discussed, attributed, and de-attributed his work, making it the most visible and also the most complicated and delicate topic in Brazilian colonial art.⁵

It should be noted that all of the artists mentioned above were active in the eighteenth or even the nineteenth centuries. Few traces of mulatto artists were found before the Golden Age, and certainly none of the stature of Aleijadinho. By focusing on non-white artists whose activity was only recorded in the later colonial period, art historians relegated the artistic production of the seventeenth century to the shadow of academic knowledge.

Another problem, that of the intrinsic originality of the works of art and architecture, was clearly stated by Gilberto Freyre in the first issue of the oldest and most important art historical journal published in Brazil: "Portuguese religious architecture was copied in Brazil almost with no alterations. . . . This persistence of Portuguese art is remarkable."⁶ The idea that Brazilian colonial art was nothing but an overseas extension of Portuguese art proved very resilient and is perhaps best epitomized in the extremely influential work of North American art historian Robert Smith, who was impressed by the idea that Portugal had been able to maintain such a strong influence upon its colony for so long: "These [Brazilian] churches, convents, houses, public buildings, ceilings, and retables prove in undeniable fashion that the Portuguese were able to maintain abroad for three hundred years, with a minimum of variation, the continuing tradition of the art and architecture of the mother country."⁷ Originality was not to be found in Brazil until the middle of the eighteenth century, when a set of churches animated by bold, curved surfaces was built in Minas Gerais.

Smith's view of Brazilian art was predicated on the idea that the colony's coastal cities (Salvador, Olinda-Recife, Rio), more exposed to the mother country by sheer virtue of their geographic location, were unable to depart from the artistic models transported by the annual fleets. In contrast, the inland region of Minas was naturally shielded from such influences and thus was able to develop a discourse of its own. Such interpretation was promptly embraced by Brazilian and foreign scholars, including John Bury, who wrote: "Brazil must be regarded art-historically as being as much a part of Portugal as, say, the Minho [a region of northern Portugal]." The only exception to this well-rounded framework was, naturally, Aleijadinho whose "extraordinary personal artistic talent" explained his originality.⁸

THE ARTS IN THE EARLY COLONIAL PERIOD
The aforementioned concerns related to the construction of a national identity have prevented art historians from acknowledging the dignity of early colonial art and extracting the information that it holds. In the second part of this essay I shall

summarize the reasons why this practice should be changed.

The fact that hardly any vestige of Brazilian material culture prior to the 1580s has survived is significant because it reflects the fragility of the early colonizing process. At first, the Portuguese established a sparse network of *feitorias* (commercial establishments), sometimes supported by fortifications at a few chosen, coastal points, where buildings were made of perishable materials. Ephemeral as they were, these early establishments set up a proto-urban geography that would become the basis for a more permanent occupation throughout the sixteenth century. For instance, in 1510 a *feitoria* was established in Bahia, the area where the crown would build its capital a few decades later. The *feitoria* established in Igarassu in 1516 became the seed of Pernambuco's earliest urban settlement. Rio had its own *feitoria* by 1519, to which a fortress was added in 1531.

In the 1530s, King João III divided the colony into captaincies and assigned them to private investors and aristocrats to occupy and develop. Of these, only two succeeded and their captain-donors (*capitães-donatários*) were responsible for the foundation of Brazil's earliest cities: São Vicente (founded in 1532, today in the state of São Paulo) and Olinda (1537, in Pernambuco). Due to the failure of this plan, in 1549 the monarch decided to create a centralized government, led by a viceroy, to coordinate and stimulate the work of the captaincies. The viceroy was headquartered in Bahia, where the city of Salvador was created, perhaps according to drawings Portuguese architect Miguel de Arruda sent from Lisbon.⁹ Besides the most industrious captain-donors and the crown itself, a third important actor arrived in the colonial stage with the first viceroy: the Society of Jesus. An important part of the colony's urban network was defined by Jesuit settlements.

Slowly but steadily, life in the colony became more structured and complex. Written documents contain occasional references to works of art—mostly devotional imagery, liturgical objects, and some furniture—but most cannot be matched to specific surviving objects. Many, perhaps most, of these artworks were imported from Portugal, a practice that lasted through the entire colonial period. One of the earliest examples of imported sculpture to survive is the wooden image titled *Our Lady of Wonders*, which belonged to the original cathedral of Salvador and is now in the Museu de Arte Sacra da Universidade Federal da Bahia (the cathedral has been demolished). It is believed to have been brought to Salvador by the city's first bishop in the 1550s. A terracotta image of the Immaculate Conception, today in the Museu de Arte Sacra de Santos, is believed to date to the 1560s and may be one of the earliest sculptures made in Brazil. The wooden Virgin of Guadalupe in the Museu de Arte Sacra, also made in sixteenth-century Brazil, is a rare example of an early sculpture that exemplifies the seventeenth-century practice of coating earlier statues in silver (which in this case took place in 1671, according to an inscription).

The original churches that housed these images were made of adobe; from the 1580s onward, they were replaced with stone constructions. Earlier examples of stone churches include the Jesuit churches of Salvador (1585), Rio (1588),

Fig. 2
'Saint Francis of Assisi with Christ,' Brazil, 17th century. Museu de Arte Sacra Collection, São Paulo.





and Olinda (circa 1597), and the parish church of Saint Sebastian in Rio (1583).¹⁰ None of these has survived, either because they were replaced by newer buildings or because they were demolished, the victims of progress and modernization (as is the case with the churches in Rio). Traces of sixteenth-century structures have been tentatively identified here and there, but it is very difficult, not to say impossible, to form a consistent idea of the main characteristics of Brazilian architecture during that time.

It is perhaps not an accident that the only building of that period to survive is not a church but the house of the Garcia d'Ávila family—extremely wealthy and powerful landowners, sugar planters, and cattle raisers. Their palatial house, in the captaincy of Bahia, north of Salvador, was mentioned in records as early as 1584 and represents the success of the driving force behind Brazil's early colonization: sugar production. Modern conservation criteria have ensured that only the chapel of the house has been restored, but enough of the structural elements exist to provide an idea of the grandeur of the whole complex. The chapel itself is an octagonal structure, with a main apse covered by an impeccably carved shell-like half dome, inspired by similar buildings in Portugal.

By the beginning of the seventeenth-century, Brazil's colonization had become a solid endeavor, grounded on the strengths of a wealthy sugar economy centered mainly in Bahia and Pernambuco. In fact, Brazil had become so attractive that the nascent Dutch empire selected it as a target. In 1624 the Dutch attacked and occupied Salvador, but they were expelled the following year by a Luso-Spanish army. Then in 1630 they occupied Pernambuco, setting Olinda, the most important city of the captaincy, on fire on the night of November 23, destroying churches and houses alike. Pernambuco and the neighboring captaincy of Paraíba remained under Dutch control until 1654 when they were recovered by Luso-Brazilian military forces.

It is customary to assume that, deprived of its most developed and richest part and thus forced to assign most of its resources to the recovery of the lost territory, the colony was paralyzed for most of the first half of the seventeenth-century. Art historians usually turn their attention to the artists who traveled with the Prince Johan Maurits van Nassau, the Dutch governor of Pernambuco between 1637 and 1644. To a certain extent, it is true that Portuguese architecture and art production was halted in the northeast of the colony while the Dutch were there. It is also true that the arts promoted by the Dutch during that period had very little influence on the art that followed their departure from Pernambuco. It seems therefore legitimate to treat this period as a separate episode in the history of the arts in Brazil.

Prevented from investing and developing the northeast while it was under Dutch control, the Portuguese turned their attention to other parts of the vast Brazilian territory. An army was sent to Maranhão in the north, where the French were establishing their *France Equinocial*. It is in the context of the Portuguese occupation of Maranhão that Francisco Frias de Mesquita moved to Brazil, in 1603, with the title of first architect (*engenheiro-mor*) of Brazil.¹¹ Born into a

family of architects and trained in Portugal, Francisco was responsible for designing several fortresses in the north. He also designed the Sea Fort of Salvador, started in 1623 and under construction when the Dutch invaded, and in 1617 designed the Benedictine monastery in Rio, which was built a few years later. He is the earliest known architect working in Brazil whose oeuvre has (partially) survived.

At the same time, the Jesuits extended their network of settlements (*aldeias*), many of which eventually developed into cities or parts of cities. Niterói, today a suburb of Rio, was originally a Jesuit *aldeia*. In the captaincy of Espírito Santo, Vitória, Reritiba (Anchieta), and Reis Magos (Nova Almeida) became cities. But the most spectacular of these Jesuit foundations is São Paulo, today one of the biggest cities in the world, where the Jesuit chapel of Saint Michael (1622) bears witness to this early occupation.

Other religious orders moved beyond the northeast in this period. However, many of the churches they constructed were significantly transformed, and sometimes completely replaced, at later dates. Most of their decorative programs have also disappeared, and their silver liturgical objects were often melted in order to make new ones. Some exceptions, however, provide precious information. As a rule, Brazilian altarpieces, like their Portuguese counterparts, were made not of stone but gilded woodcarving. Early examples include the two Jesuit altarpieces from the Jesuit church of Saint Ignatius, demolished in 1922, that are now in the church of Bom Sucesso in Rio, and two similar ones in the former Jesuit church (today the cathedral) of Salvador. Stylistically, they combine Italianate and Flemish elements that circulated worldwide in printed form. They also include painting, which soon would be omitted from Portuguese and Brazilian altarpieces; beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, sculpture and woodcarving became the sole art forms for all retables.¹²

The Benedictine monastery in Rio still has an important set of early seventeenth-century liturgical objects.¹³ The most spectacular of these is a calyx combined with a monstrance, a typology frequently found in Brazil. It was given to the monastery in 1631 as a pious present from a prominent sugar trader called André Homem, who was also a member of the *Misericórdia*, an exclusive brotherhood of the wealthiest inhabitants of the city. This extraordinary object shows a strong European influence, demonstrating the importance of the aesthetic models arriving from the Old World. Very complex and profusely carved following an Italianate canon, this monstrance also shows how silversmithing developed in the colony and was used to assert one's social standing.

Terracotta sculpture is perhaps the most interesting chapter in the history of Brazilian art during the first half of the seventeenth century. Yet hardly any work on this topic has been done since the classic studies by Clemente da Silva Nigra, published in the 1970s.¹⁴ The two major protagonists are the Benedictine friars Agostinho da Piedade and Agostinho de Jesus, and their work, which can mostly be found in Salvador and São Paulo, is well documented in *Encompassing the Globe*. Piedade was born in Portugal where he probably learned the

Fig. 3
'Silver monstrance,'
Macao, China,
17th century. Santa
Casa da Misericórdia
de Lisboa/Museu
de São Roque, Lisbon.

art he took to Brazil. The core of his work was identified on the basis of four sculptures he signed, two of which he also dated. They combine features from Portugal with elements derived from Luso-Asian sculpture that was brought from Goa and traded in Brazil. Curiously, the work of his disciple Agostinho de Jesus, who was born in Brazil, is closer to the European canon. Younger than his master, Jesus executed four statues for the renovated main altar of the church of São Paulo (including *Saint Bernard*, fig. 1), all of which are perhaps less inventive than those made by Piedade.

In addition to the work of the two friars, dozens of anonymous terracotta sculptures can be found in various parts of Brazil. *Saint Francis of Assisi with Christ* (fig. 2) bears witness to a more vernacular production that was certainly dominant at the time. It also shows that terracotta sculpture was not exclusive to the Benedictines, as one is sometimes led to believe. Reliquary busts are one of the most recurrent typologies of this period. The most impressive set was made for the Benedictine monastery in Salvador but Franciscan examples also exist (for example, in the church of Nossa Senhora do Amparo in São Paulo). Sculpture from the first half of the seventeenth century also can be found in Maranhão.¹⁵ Similar in form to their southern counterparts, these depictions of saints in bust- or full-length format were often used as reliquaries (various examples are in the Museu de Arte Sacra de São Luís) and usually are made of polychrome wood rather than terracotta.

After 1654, when the Dutch were defeated by the Portuguese and left Brazil, the arts flourished most consistently in the colony. Many churches damaged during the conflicts were entirely rebuilt and new ones were built as well, in the northeast and elsewhere. With few exceptions, most of these churches have received little attention, and when analyzed as a whole they are consistently considered to be derivations of Portuguese models.

The Franciscan church of Ipojuca, fully rebuilt between 1653 and 1657 according to a very simple program, is a good example of a Brazilian church during this period.¹⁶ Its façade is organized in three levels, a three-arched porch, three windows on the second floor, and a triangular pediment crowning the whole. Inside, one finds an elevated choir above the main door, a rectangular nave, and a rectangular main chapel. All surfaces are plain and whitewashed; stone was used only to highlight structural elements, such as pilasters, doors, and windows; ornamentation is kept to a minimum. The Franciscan church of Serinhaém, built soon after, originally followed the exact same model.

This tendency towards an ostentatiously unadorned architecture made of white surfaces and very little apparent stone is found in many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century churches in Portugal. In churches such as those in Ipojuca and Serinhaém, it seems fair to speak about the influence of the motherland. However, original models were being designed in the colony at the same time. Buildings such as the Franciscan churches of Cairu (1654–61) and Paraguaçu (1658–86) incorporate European architectural elements but the way they were combined constituted a solution that was

elaborated locally. A taste for dynamic forms that visually dominate the façade of the church developed at this point and may be linked to the later architecture of Minas Gerais.

The two most complex and monumental churches of the second half of the seventeenth century were constructed in Salvador by the Jesuits and in Rio de Janeiro by the Benedictines. The plan for the latter, designed by Francisco Frias in 1617, was executed between 1631 and 1641 and comprised a single, rectangular nave.¹⁷ A couple of decades later, beginning in 1669, Friar Bernardo de São Bento enhanced this building by adding four arches on each side of the nave, opening it onto side chapels. He also designed a new façade, which was finished in 1691. More ambitious than the churches of Ipojuca and Serinhaém, this façade still has its three arches, topped by three windows and crowned by a simple triangular pediment, the whole now flanked by two imposing towers. Whitewashed surfaces and a modest use of stone nevertheless remain important features.

In 1654 the Society of Jesus decided to replace its college and church in Salvador with a more ambitious project.¹⁸ This new church was started in 1657, finished in 1672, and subsequently decorated. For the most part, what resulted is the church that can be visited today, the grandest architectural endeavor of the Jesuits in Brazil and one of the most monumental churches in the country.¹⁹ Unlike most other Brazilian churches, this one is luxuriously covered in stone brought from Lisbon (façade and interior). It is a vast, single nave church with eight side altars, each with a gilded, profusely carved retablo, leading the eye of the worshiper to the main chapel furnished with another spectacular gilt retablo and a set of thirty-three painted panels. The nave is covered by a heavy wooden ceiling based on a pattern taken from one of Serlio's books. At first sight, this church follows stylistic principles set in Europe and does not seem to present any particular trace of originality. Its most surprising feature is the usage of two gigantic volutes at the top of the façade between the central bay and the flanking towers. This design has always been presented as a copy of the Jesuit church of Santarém in Portugal. However, the church of Salvador was finished in 1672 while its alleged Portuguese model was finished the following year; in any case, similar volutes can be found in Cairu, finished a decade earlier. Further research is required to shed light on the connection between these two churches. The Salvador façade might not have been copied from Portugal but rather invented in the colony.

Inside these new churches woodcarvers, sculptors, painter, tilemakers, and silversmiths developed and produced their most spectacular works. The interior of the Jesuit church in Salvador is particularly interesting. On the one hand, the profuse usage of stone sets it apart from most other Brazilian churches. On the other hand, a history of gilded woodcarving in the colony can be written just through the analysis of its altarpieces, two of which came from the previous building, thus illustrating earlier choices; the rest were made throughout the seventeenth and even eighteenth centuries. Gilded woodcarving represents a form of religious decoration that is peculiar to the Portuguese world. In fact, it is so unique that Robert



Smith called a particular style that developed towards the end of the century the “national style.”²⁰

The national style of woodcarving developed simultaneously in Portugal and Brazil. It is characterized by a series of columns, surmounted by radial arches organized in receding order, and covered with floral and animal motifs, much like a Romanesque portal. Fine examples can be found in the Jesuit church of Salvador but the best and most famous example is undoubtedly the so-called Golden Chapel, in the Franciscan church of Recife in Pernambuco. Built in 1696–98 and decorated immediately afterwards with a spectacular program that combines gilded woodcarving, tiles, and painting, this chapel was emulated by many others throughout the colony. The Benedictine church in Rio is again worthy of mention not only because of its extraordinary interior (partly changed and

completed through later campaigns) but also because we know the names of its main sculptor, Friar Domingos da Conceição da Silva (circa 1643–1718), and painter, Friar Ricardo do Pilar (circa 1635–1700). The latter is the first-known painter to work in Portuguese Brazil whose work has survived.²¹

Tiles, another particularly Brazilian feature, were profusely used in art from this period onward.²² To protect Lisbon’s workshops, tile production was forbidden in the colony and, thus, the enormous quantities of tiles found in its churches and palaces were all made in Portugal. In that sense, there is no history of Brazilian tiles; there is, however, a history of tiles in Brazil. Tile panels from the second half of the seventeenth century were organized in blue-and-white patterns of floral and animal motifs that could be endlessly repeated and easily adapted to spaces of various shapes and dimensions. Great narrative panels were introduced in the following century.

Along with gilded woodcarving and tiles, sculpted images of religious figures also had their place inside the churches of Brazil. Polychrome wood seems to have replaced the terracotta tradition that had characterized artistic production in the beginning of the century. In general, seventeenth-century Brazilian sculpture shows few signs of enthusiasm for the dynamic, animated forms of the European baroque, which did not become fashionable until later. However, this is a very little studied area, and it is virtually impossible to draw relevant conclusions at this point.²³

Finally, the silversmithing that had shown such exciting beginnings lived up to its promise and produced extraordinary objects, most of which are liturgical or have other religious uses.²⁴ *Encompassing the Globe* features a simple monstrance (fig. 3) that shows how this typology evolved: while earlier examples were strongly influenced by architectural renaissance forms, the one here on display is already the product of a vocabulary solely developed by silversmiths. A processional cross (fig. 4) is a rare, early example that also attests the development of the work of silversmiths in the colony.

A FIELD IN ITS OWN RIGHT

Despite the wealth and interest of the artworks and architecture produced in early colonial Brazil, a strong theoretical tradition has encouraged art historians to keep studying about and teaching that eighteenth-century Minas Gerais was the true moment in which a local genius made his first appearance, heralding the formation of an anti-colonial spirit.²⁵ It is true that the gold found in the region of Minas triggered a creative explosion that materialized in a great number of works that cannot and should not be underestimated and play an important role in the history of Brazil. Nevertheless, today Brazil is a thriving country whose cultural identity has acquired a distinctive flavor that is recognized all over the world. The house of the Garcia d’Ávila family, the various churches spread throughout the coastal cities, and the artworks that furnish them are valuable works in their own right. They, too, constitute historical evidence not only of Brazil but also of imperial Europe and the Atlantic world in the early modern age.

Fig. 4
‘Processional cross,’
Brazil, 17th century (?).
Private collection.

ASIA



ASIAN EXPANSIONS

DIOGO RAMADA CURTO

According primarily to Indian historians, the Portuguese enterprise that began with the arrival of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in 1498—as well as the activities of the Dutch, French, and English in India until the late eighteenth century—merits very little attention compared to the construction and dissolution of the Mughal empire. This perspective is particularly evident in Kavalam Madhava Panikkar's classic text titled *Asia and Western Dominance*, whose first edition in 1953 included the subtitle, *A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History 1498–1945*. While Panikkar agrees that Vasco da Gama's arrival in Calicut was a turning point in history, he maintains that no one could have envisioned in 1750 that the next fifty years would witness the conquest of India by a European nation. However, between Afonso de Albuquerque's "conquest" of Hormuz in 1515 and the mid-eighteenth century, the European presence on the Indian subcontinent remained virtually static. As Panikkar notes, the seventeenth century was marked by internecine European defeats, as the Portuguese lost Cochin and Bombay to the Dutch and the English, which solidified their presence in the eighteenth century in Surat, Madras, and Calcutta. The French also attempted their own colonial projects, managing to hold on to Pondicherry (Pudicherry). Nevertheless, this European presence was confined to a greatly reduced number of establishments and port-cities in India and had very limited capacity to impose its will on even the smallest local governments.¹

Albuquerque's correspondence, for example, is full of references to the formalities occasioned by Portugal's relations with the "kings" of Cochin, Calicut, and Hormuz. Every gesture of submission to these petty local chiefs was celebrated as an achievement by the governor of the *Estado da Índia*, but between the lines it is possible to distinguish the difficulties these newcomers faced as they attempted to establish their authority. The same was true of the relations between Europeans and greater powers, such as the Mughal emperor. In the first half of the eighteenth century, John Russell, director of the British East India company, addressed himself to the sovereign with evident submission, presenting himself as "the smallest particle of sand." More recently, Jack Goody has strengthened this periodization, recalling that the concept of Western superiority over the East is found, for example, in a 1759 piece by Samuel Johnson titled *Rasselas* but not in the plays of Shakespeare (1564–1616).²

A brief analysis of the problems raised by this type of interpretation should begin by questioning the very pertinence of a national history based on the European experience in the

East. The stereotype is well known: While the Portuguese, following the Iberian mode of expansion, developed forms of imperialism based on warrior values and religion, the Dutch and English were impelled by strictly commercial reasons. Historian Wolfgang Reinhard recently repeated this stereotypical vision—a view that dates back as far as the travel narratives of the late sixteenth century, especially those by Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1562–1611) and also to the theories of political economist and sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) concerning the Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. More profound investigations of the European expansion now have revealed, in the Portuguese case, the need for considering the role of the merchant-knight and the nature of a profoundly mercantile state. These are the principal themes found in the work of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, which goes beyond the reductionist visions of the Portuguese imperial culture.³

In addition, even more recent research into the seventeenth-century experiences of the Dutch and the eighteenth-century experiences of the British has revealed the existence of centralized bureaucratic systems as well the fact that both nations made investments in military organizations to ensure coercion and violence, thus contradicting views that describe their expansionist aims as mere commercial ventures. Beyond the stereotypes, it is possible to detect the forms of adaptation in each national configuration involved in the process of European expansion in Asia. But what is a "process of expansion"? The use of a new vocabulary to designate this very process, with particular emphasis on contact between different civilizations and the emergence of new forms of interaction, has been presented as a new sign of the most adequate historiographic approach. Let us not forget, however, that the preoccupation with noticing "the state of the Orient at the time we arrived and stayed"—in the late nineteenth-century words of the count of Ficalho, who had similar interests to David Lopes—has deep roots. It dates back to fifteenth-century descriptions and chronicles and includes such works as the compilations of customs and religious practices completed by the Jesuits with particular intensity in the early seventeenth century. The goal was to describe ethnographically the societies with whom the Portuguese came into contact and also to celebrate so-called heroic acts of violence, such as the manifestations of intolerance and the forced imposition of a new system of belief. In this way the European texts were said to resemble the *Baburnama* (1528–29), the memoirs of the founder of the

Fig. 1
Goa stone container,
Goa, India, late 17th–
early 18th century. The
Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York.





Mughal dynasty, Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (1483–1530), in which the glorification of the massacres perpetrated by the conquerors is coupled with a description of new lands. Violent acts were connected to the installation of new institutional organizations that would promote peaceful relationships, commercial and diplomatic activities, education and information gathering, and some Portuguese adopted local customs.⁴

This comparative exercise is based on a general description of the military expansion, diplomatic initiatives, commercial activities, and fiscal and bureaucratic stability of the Mughal, Safavid, Ottoman, and Ming empires. It runs the risk of projecting a stereotype of Asian despotism—i.e., a central government ruling an agrarian civilization that gave a special role to warrior elites—onto Eastern political systems. The risk is even greater regarding such sources as the *Baburnama*, which highlights the dramatic events—wars, violence, and other modes of supremacy—rather than the peaceful relationships that arose from group interaction and exchanges.

The intellectual tradition of explaining the “European miracle” or “emergence of the West” in contrast with Asian political systems is so deeply ingrained that it persists even in some of the most sophisticated descriptions of the construction of modernity. Not long ago, economic historian E. L. Jones referred to Asian political systems as military and despotic, capable of exercising fiscal dominance over subjugated populations. Danish historian Niels Steensgaard, however, forged an ingenious explanation of the European expansion in the East, describing the Ottoman, Persian, and Portuguese empires as despotic political systems capable of redistributing financial revenues to their warrior elites. In this view, the exceptions to the supposed archetype of Asian despotism are not ignored. On one hand, the *Estado da Índia* is presented as belonging to the same type of political system as the Ottomans and Safavids; on the other hand, the redistribution of fiscal revenues, rather than being limited to agricultural activities, involves mostly commercial activities. But the most important factor in Steensgaard’s thesis is the fact that the modern Dutch and English trading companies are contrasted with more primitive political redistributive forms of organization. This interpretation has attracted much criticism. One such critique describes the institutions of the *Estado da Índia* as the first example of a European experiment that is impossible to reduce to archaic or primitive types. Historian Holden Furber, for example, maintained that the structure of the municipal *câmaras* (town councils) and the *misericórdias* (religious brotherhoods) on which the Portuguese expansion was founded, revealed aspects of democratic representation that did not exist in the autocratic organization of the Dutch company. Following the same line of argument, Geoffrey Parker has defended the notion that the aim of the European presence in the East was commerce; that was true, at least, for the Portuguese and the English, who until the eighteenth century only resorted to force when potential commercial partners resisted mercantile exchanges or when threatened by other European powers. The Dutch were the exception to this general rule; from the beginning

Fig. 2
‘Discovery of India,’
Tournai workshop,
Belgium, early 16th
century. Caixa Geral de
Depósitos, Lisbon; on
loan to Museu Nacional
de Arte Antiga.

Fig. 3
‘Triumph of the King
of Cochin,’ The Nether-
lands or Portugal (?),
ca. 1540–50. Gallery de
Jonckheere, Paris.



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Mughal dynasty, Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur (1483–1530), in which the glorification of the massacres perpetrated by the conquerors is coupled with a description of new lands. Violent acts were connected to the installation of new institutional organizations that would promote peaceful relationships, commercial and diplomatic activities, education and information gathering, and some Portuguese adopted local customs.⁴

This comparative exercise is based on a general description of the military expansion, diplomatic initiatives, commercial activities, and fiscal and bureaucratic stability of the Mughal, Safavid, Ottoman, and Ming empires. It runs the risk of projecting a stereotype of Asian despotism—i.e., a central government ruling an agrarian civilization that gave a special role to warrior elites—onto Eastern political systems. The risk is even greater regarding such sources as the *Baburnama*, which highlights the dramatic events—wars, violence, and other modes of supremacy—rather than the peaceful relationships that arose from group interaction and exchanges.

The intellectual tradition of explaining the "European miracle" or "emergence of the West" in contrast with Asian political systems is so deeply ingrained that it persists even in some of the most sophisticated descriptions of the construction of modernity. Not long ago, economic historian E. L. Jones referred to Asian political systems as military and despotic, capable of exercising fiscal dominance over subjugated populations. Danish historian Niels Steensgaard, however, forged an ingenious explanation of the European expansion in the East, describing the Ottoman, Persian, and Portuguese empires as despotic political systems capable of redistributing financial revenues to their warrior elites. In this view, the exceptions to the supposed archetype of Asian despotism are not ignored. On one hand, the *Estado da Índia* is presented as belonging to the same type of political system as the Ottomans and Safavids; on the other hand, the redistribution of fiscal revenues, rather than being limited to agricultural activities, involves mostly commercial activities. But the most important factor in Steensgaard's thesis is the fact that the modern Dutch and English trading companies are contrasted with more primitive political redistributive forms of organization. This interpretation has attracted much criticism. One such critique describes the institutions of the *Estado da Índia* as the first example of a European experiment that is impossible to reduce to archaic or primitive types. Historian Holden Furber, for example, maintained that the structure of the municipal *câmaras* (town councils) and the *misericórdias* (religious brotherhoods) on which the Portuguese expansion was founded, revealed aspects of democratic representation that did not exist in the autocratic organization of the Dutch company. Following the same line of argument, Geoffrey Parker has defended the notion that the aim of the European presence in the East was commerce; that was true, at least, for the Portuguese and the English, who until the eighteenth century only resorted to force when potential commercial partners resisted mercantile exchanges or when threatened by other European powers. The Dutch were the exception to this general rule; from the beginning



Fig. 4 (left)
Shadow puppet,
Java, Indonesia, 16th
century. Kunstkammer,
Kunsthistorisches
Museum Wien.



Fig. 5 (right)
Shadow puppet, Java,
Indonesia, 17th century.
National Museum of
Denmark, Copenhagen.

of the seventeenth century, they dedicated 70 percent of their Asian budget to military organization.⁵

More recently, based on a desire to rethink the connections between political systems and commercial activities, historian Palmira Brummett has studied the Ottoman empire's involvement in commerce. One must remember that the participants in the struggle for hegemony in the Eurasian sphere during the early sixteenth century were not equal in terms of power, resources, capacity for action, or governmental organization. The powers in competition were the Ottomans in the Balkans and Anatolia, the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria, the Safavids in Iran and Iraq, and the Portuguese and Venetians. Of all of these, Venice was particularly significant since the Ottoman state had already recognized the Italian city-state as the naval authority in the

eastern Mediterranean. In addition, Shah Ismail (1487–1524), founder of the Safavid dynasty, known as Xeqe Ismail to his Portuguese contemporaries, consolidated power in Iran, a region that had been politically fragmented for two centuries. Combined with the expansion of the Portuguese and Ottoman empires in the Eurasian region, this led to new political and rhetorical configurations that, in Brummett's words, translated into the formation of alliances and diplomatic negotiations. Such configurations were never based strictly on Christian/Muslim or East/West divisions but on economic interests and the organization of commercial spaces.⁶

Discussions about scales of analysis—involving the nature of political systems, religious identifications, patterns of rationality, and economic practice—have provoked other

controversies. Until the seventeenth century, Islam was the impetus for the greatest expansion in the Afro-Eurasian hemisphere (called *oikumene* by Islamic scholar Marshall Hodgson) and exerted the greatest influence over other societies. If a visitor from Mars had arrived on Earth in the sixteenth century, he would have found a world on the verge of becoming Muslim. (Felipe Fernandez-Armesto used the same metaphor to suggest that at the dawn of modernity the principal empires undergoing expansion were the Chinese, Russian, and Incan).⁷ This conclusion appears obvious due to the Muslims' political and strategic supremacy as well as their cultural vitality. Only two areas of the continental Afro-Eurasian territories resisted Islamic political hegemony: the Chinese and Japanese in the Far East and the Christians in the northwest. As such, Muslim rulers achieved the summit of their power, not in 732 as some Eurocentric viewpoints maintain, but in the sixteenth century. In fact, due to their organization and prosperity, three vast Muslim empires commanded the admiration of the Europeans: the Ottoman empire centered on Anatolia and the Balkans, Iran under the Safavid dynasty, and the Mughal empire. Added to these were Arab and Muslim merchant communities spread around the entire the Indian Ocean as well as the various Muslim kingdoms that ruled Malaysia until the arrival of the Portuguese. Even if one concedes that economic, political, and scientific changes at the end of the sixteenth century would lead to European supremacy over the rest of the world, it still can be stated that Islamic civilization reached its height in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

According to Marshall Hodgson, 1600, rather than 1500, marked the beginning of technical specialization in the Western world—the key to explaining the growth of the West. (To include the Renaissance in this transformation would be, perhaps, misleading because in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Europe was an agrarian society, and the principal global dynamism was powered by the Islamic world.) After 1600, the primary transformations in Europe concerned the augmentation of productivity, above all in agriculture, and later in industrialization; the diffusion of new scientific discoveries during the eighteenth century; and the end of social privileges connected to familial origins that led to the American and French revolutions. Though this process had begun around 1600, it only bore fruit around 1800. The same generation that participated in the industrial and the French revolutions also helped establish global European hegemony, although this domination did not necessarily translate into European military occupation or political control. The development of technical specialization in northwestern Europe during the seventeenth century, Hodgson notes, was linked to the growth of expanding markets, the dissemination of new discoveries, the acquisition of knowledge, and innovations in weaponry. Furthermore, specialization at the administrative level, i.e., the social organization of the modern state, had precedents in the procedures used by Chinese bureaucrats and the Ottomans. Hodgson's thesis about the role of Europe in global history unites two principal arguments. On one hand, it recognizes the importance of a cross-continental

complex in which it is possible to attribute an exceptional character to Europe. On the other hand, it gives supremacy within this complex to Islam, at least until the French and the Industrial revolutions.⁸

This thesis of Islamic supremacy, represented by the flourishing Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal empires during the sixteenth century, also has been defended as the basis for the activities of the Arab, Muslim, and other merchant communities around the Indian Ocean. K. N. Chaudhuri has studied Islam from the seventh century until the establishment of the British empire in India during the eighteenth century. His model for understanding the Indian Ocean world suggests that a political and legal context of stability and liberty was needed for the execution of commercial activities, especially the neutrality of several port-cities that were allowed to develop commercial circuits where Muslim communities predominated. In contrast to this essentially pacifist commercial culture, which was established before Vasco da Gama's arrival, Portugal and other European nations—in keeping with their Mediterranean origins dating back to Antiquity—introduced warrior and military practices when the interests of merchant groups coincided with state actions. In China as well, where in principle external commerce was controlled by bureaucrats and diplomats, the diverse political systems of the Indian Ocean did not seek to control long-distance commercial routes that had been established overseas.

The situation changed in 1498, with the introduction of a new culture. Chaudhuri states that from the time of the Greeks and Romans there had been attempts to impose naval control over maritime routes with the goal of accumulating important economic resources while simultaneously exercising political authority. Then the Italian city-states—particularly Genoa and Venice, which were emulated by Seville, Lisbon, Amsterdam, and London—combined the interests of merchant groups with those of the state. Finally, technological developments in Europe and the Mediterranean, especially concerning naval construction—although comparable to the

Fig. 6
Quatrefoil box, Mughal
empire, Mughal school,
North India, ca. 1650.
Freer Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.



Chinese junks that participated in the maritime expeditions of the first half of the fifteenth century—led to the formation of maritime empires (as opposed to the territorial Asian empires). According to Chaudhuri, only in the seventeenth century did this fusion of commercial and state interests—with the domination exercised by the Dutch in the Indonesian archipelago and the consequent loss of the latter's economic autonomy—lead to Western imperialism, as exemplified by the British during the nineteenth century.

Thus, Chaudhuri's thesis subverts the terms by which the West traditionally conceived its relationship with the East. From Aristotle to Montesquieu, Adam Smith, and Marx, despotism or the lack of liberty were the attributes projected onto Asian political systems. Chaudhuri compares and defines interactions between the Mediterranean societies, particularly the Italian city states, and later all of Europe, and those in the Indian Ocean, with the exception of China modifying these same terms. To Chaudhuri, the European presence represents a political culture in which commercial practices are confused with state organization, in sharp contrast to the free and peaceful organization of merchant communities in the Indian Ocean before the arrival of the Portuguese. It remains to be seen if the terms of comparison, presumably related to the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, do not constitute a propagation of the stereotypical opposition of East and West.⁹

Even if we admit that Max Weber did not see rationalization as exclusively Western or believe that the processes of social transformation were constituted by cumulative forms of rationality (but by a shock between rationality appropriate to everyday social forms of organization and exceptional charismatic eruptions of force), it is necessary to recognize the integral role the process played in the tradition of thought that documented the process of modernization in Europe. On one hand, the process of rationalization and a disenchantment with the world manifested themselves at the level of the individual conscience. The separation between religious life and everyday practice led to the creation of the capitalist, bourgeois, or—according to another interpretation inspired by Weber—psychological economy represented by the noble courtier, who felt obliged to calculate and control his impulses in the sphere of his interpersonal relations, comprising aspects of the individualism from which modernity is defined. On the other hand, the same processes are solidified in the formation of new institutions that participate in disciplinary and regulatory processes of society and the economy, in part conflated with the development of the modern state and capitalism. In this respect, Europe, or more precisely Protestant Europe, was equipped to rise to domination once it had gained a set of institutions, cultural models, and resources. A plurality of political institutions and a specific social structure allowed for processes of social mobility—the recognition and autonomy conceded to new groups and values based especially on commerce, but also in the exercise of other professions, a higher level of technical innovation, and an accumulation of capital resulting in a commercial revolution whose first signs can be seen in me-

dieval Italian cities. The great historian Fernand Braudel liked to remind readers that thirteenth-century Italy disposed of all capitalist institutions and even industrial production using salaried labor, factors that permitted him to classify the country at that time as a capitalist world economy. Vitorino Magalhães Godinho's interpretation of the impediments to modernity in Portugal arises from the same interpretive context. From at least the fifteenth century, the weakness of groups linked to commerce can be explained as much by the appropriation of mercantile activities by groups of knights and nobles, which impeded the creation of an autonomous sphere for the bourgeoisie, as by the weight of the mercantile state, which redistributed revenues to its noble and ecclesiastical strata.¹⁰

Studies about merchant communities in the Indian and Pacific oceans, Asia, and Africa, in the period prior to the European expansion, for the most part followed this same process and have come to challenge the various interpretations inspired by Weber. We are not concerned here with reducing the growing number of studies aimed at expanding our knowledge of these communities, diasporas, networks, or emporia to a single model, but only to establish some of their themes. In this field of research, the discussion about India emerges as particularly interesting, positing K. N. Chaudhuri and Michael Pearson against Christopher Bayly and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. The former defend the existence of a separation between political systems and merchant communities (a thesis partially supported by Philip Curtin); the latter call attention to the role of forms of organization (temples, brotherhoods, corporations) situated between the state and commerce. It is also worthwhile to recall the complexity of the project defined by Jean Aubin and Denys Lombard, which sought to understand the local logic and function of each community or network of merchants and to avoid excessive theoretical model-making. This contrasts in part with the theory of central places used by Curtin or the anthropological economy of Karl Polany, which pays special attention to port-cities. More recently, Jack Goody sought to synthesize a set of studies relative to the relations and images between East and West, according special emphasis to the work of Indian nationalist authors. For the British anthropologist, there exist at least two arguments that call the Weberian thesis into question. The first concerns the necessity of recognizing that over the long duration, the comparative supremacy of the West over the East was a temporary phenomenon. Therefore, rather than accepting European or Western superiority as a permanent or structural fact in the period after 1498, it is necessary to recognize that over all of the Eurasian landmass since the Bronze Age there has been a perpetual oscillation that continues to the present, with a current Western economic domination of the East. The second argument concerns the division, in the transference or diverse forms of analogy, between different patterns of rationality, especially regarding economic activities in all of the civilizations of the Eurasian complex. Recognizing this rationality, and the fact that commercial capitalism had many origins, constituted the



principal criticism to all interpretations that insist on a primitivization of the East by the West or, more precisely, of a primitivization of the Indian Ocean in the period prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. With respect to the diverse aspects of market organization and economic activity, Jack Goody claims that there even exists a continuity between the practices of merchant communities in the Indian Ocean, the Italian families of the late Middle Ages, and the Dutch and English trading companies. More generally speaking, the importance attributed to writing systems, in particular commercial accounting, and to learned or scientific traditions do

not permit any exceptional quality to be accorded to the West. The primary difference is found, instead, between Eurasian and African civilizations.¹¹

The presentation of a summary of conclusions must be made more as a developing program of research than as a body of acquired knowledge. The first of these conclusions concerns the units of analysis used for the comparisons we have made. The necessity of placing the first voyage of Vasco da Gama within a broader perspective led to a revision of some of the processes of expansion that developed parallel to that voyage. Let us

Fig. 7
Cabinet, India,
16th or 17th century.
Museu Nacional
de Arte Antiga, Lisbon.



Fig. 8
Box, Goa, India,
16th century. Museu
de São Roque, Lisbon.

leave aside the political systems of South America during the pre-Columbian age, Africa, and Russia and concentrate our attentions on the territorial and maritime space that extends from the eastern Mediterranean to India, the islands of Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. Although “imperial” political systems have comprised the primary units of description, we have questioned their integrating character and evaluated the degree of autonomy of certain other units, such as households, brotherhoods, merchant communities, city-states, and small states. One must not forget that we often sought to examine the meaning of an entity still vaster than these empires—religion, and more specifically, the expansion of Islam. Therefore, by varying our scale of analysis, it was possible to obtain different visions of the age of Vasco da Gama. If his voyage inaugurated the intrusion of the Portuguese and other European nations into the maritime routes of access to the Indian Ocean and Asia in general, the meaning of the process of expansion that it represents should be seen in comparative perspective. It is not enough, then, to substitute the notion of expansion for that of interaction; it is necessary to think of the set of different processes, detecting the similarities with and differences from other forms of expansion. The interests and commercial practices, ways of using violence, exchange of knowledge and technology, simple ceremonial contacts, proselytizing of missionary activities, and forms of perception of different societies constitute the principal themes of these processes of expansion. Thus, it is for the historian to place the acts, occurrences, and processes in perspective. For example, violence, glorified by the *Baburnama* as well as by the many chroniclers of Portuguese feats in the Indian Ocean, originated in parallel with other forms of interaction. The comparison must be made not only between the Portuguese and the Mughals, but also between their diverse modes of behavior in different fields of activity.

Our second conclusion concerns the manner of conceiving the above-mentioned political systems or the diverse entities. On a macroscopic scale it is always difficult to understand the way agents represented their own actions, often attributing

multiple meanings to them that were unlikely to be perceived by an analysis attentive to structures and processes. Speaking of the connection between the use of force—here, the exercise of violence and its costs—and economic development, Frederic C. Lane presents a suggestive model. He claims that the processes of European expansion in which force was used to impede the participation of other competitors in trade led to reduced profits, particularly when one considers the costs of protection. That is what happened, in Lane’s opinion, to the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, in contrast to their initiatives in the Atlantic where force was used to control the forced labor that brought more rewarding returns. In addition to being defensible, this interpretive model has the advantage of connecting the use of violence to economic interests, and war to merchandise.¹²

Nevertheless, the establishment of this connection between two variables has to be made at the cost of omitting sixteenth-century categories. Two examples from 1507 and 1508 help to understand the necessity of incorporating, in an analysis of structures, the concerns and values of the era under consideration. The first example appears in the instructions given by King Manuel (1469–1521) to Fernão Soares, captain of an armada bound for India, in which one finds an idea of an organization joined to both war and the spice trade. At the same time that the king commanded the taking of “Moorish” prizes, with the exception of the ships of the “kings” of Melinde, Cannanore, and Cochin, attributing to his factors the organization of war, he entrusted both factors and captains with the purchase of spices and the collection of information about trade. This blurring of functions relative to war and commerce—denounced early on by many factors, who sought to exclude the captains from participating in trade—must be compared to the ideas found in the second example, a document from 1508. In the instructions given to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira to discover Malacca, there is a clear distinction between the type of interaction represented by the recourse to force and the aims to enlarge the area of influence and opportunities for trade. This text instructs the royal agents to, “in all of the lands in which you arrive, ask for Christians, or whether there are news of them there, and also for the things of trade . . . do not do any damage, nor any harm to anyone, so that all of you should receive honor and favors, do not, neither at sea, nor on land take any possessions.” Besides clearly marking this distinction between the use of violence and trade, the document suggests that any optimization of opportunities requires abandoning the recourse to violence. Similar to the many documents that we have sought to analyze in the description of the diverse processes of expansion in Asia, the incorporation of images in the comprehension of structures, processes, or the establishment of relations between variables introduces an element of greater complexity, as well as a positive oscillation between microscopic and macroscopic scales of analysis.¹³

Our third and final conclusion concerns the integrating character of the above-mentioned entities. In this respect, it is important to begin by noting that our reflections on the political systems described sought to escape the monolithic

definitions based on the stereotype of Asian despotism, as well as the overly rigid divisions between the formal consistency of political systems and the informal nature of merchant communities. Far from attempting a model or general typology, it is better to limit our discussion about the degree of consistency of formal structures to a mid-ranging theory. In this line of investigation the use of comparative methodology is as difficult as it is necessary. With respect to the *Estado da Índia*, several theses have already been presented. Some historians tend to think that the initiative of isolated groups or agents (*lançados*, privateers, factions, or corrupt officials) was a response to the precarious nature of the institutions, discussing the chronology of their initiatives either as a response to the decay of formal structures or as a process equivalent to the foundation of a political system. Opinions are divided concerning the localization of informal practices during the sixteenth century: Would the primary agents in charge of the legitimate exercise of authority be those responsible for such informal practices or, on the contrary, were these practices exclusively the actions of the Portuguese who “went native,” acting outside of formal structures? Was the history of the *Estado da Índia* characterized by a conflict between factions whose political role was to reinforce or abandon institutional structures? Although the possibility of generalizing is greatly reduced here, it seems that the cleavages between those who claimed to be loyal servants of the king (the defenders of public good) versus those guarding private interests, as well as the *casados* versus the *lançados*, can hardly be characterized by an opposition between formal and informal structures. This is why the historical reconstitution of a period simultaneously demands the consideration of both the categories in which the agents attributed meaning to their own actions, and the set of operations preventing the reduction by analytical categories of the dichotomies of the moral discourse of the period, with its separations between good and bad, order and disorder. In comparative terms, this separation between formal and informal structures has received particular attention from historians interested in the Dutch and English expansions; the Dutch trading company (VOC) tends to be defined as an autocratic type of organization with the capacity of avoiding the dysfunctional potential of its agents, while the role of the British East India Company is defined by the decisive activities of its agents.¹⁴

What, therefore, distinguishes the Portuguese private agents from their English and Dutch counterparts? Why must the former be held responsible for a supposed decadence while the latter represent the individual initiative of a supposed economic liberalism? These are questions likely to be posed—perhaps they are questions *mal posées*—since they attempt to compare such diverse periods as the sixteenth century and the Enlightenment. It is more difficult to compare Asian political systems with other social units. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sought alliances with and benefited from conflicts between different potentates; profited from the activities of several isolated agents with whom they forged accords of cohabitation, namely in Goa, Cannanore, and Malacca (Melaka), as confirmed by the research of

Geneviève Biuchon; introduced themselves in China and Japan, thanks to the interests of agents situated on the periphery; and profited from a temporary disorganization of the political systems with which they came into contact. However, those signs can hardly be interpreted as indicators of a structural inconsistency of the political systems or the formal structures with which the Portuguese established contacts. Moreover, as has been said, the documentation about formal ceremonies occasioned by audiences and embassies seems in this context to be quite meaningful, not only with regard to great empires, but also to small potentates.

Fig. 9
Fan, Sri Lanka,
mid-16th century.
Kunstammer,
Kunsthistorisches
Museum Wien.



افزای بودیاری ز دلف از و شوران نصاری بفهم و فطرت نشان کجایی داشت دران بزم الهی کج طراز



SURPASSING SYLVESTER

Jesuit Missionaries and Asian Rulers in the Early Modern Period

LIAM MATTHEW BROCKEY

PRELUDE: THE MODEL

Sylvester, according to legend, fled to the hills near Rome when he learned that Emperor Constantine had called for a persecution against the Christians. This Bishop of Rome, who was pope from 314 until 335, took refuge in a cave to await a turn in the imperial humor. As fate (or providence) would have it, Constantine became afflicted with a mysterious ailment, perhaps leprosy. Pagan priests suggested the gruesome remedy of a bath in the blood of three thousand infants, but the emperor rejected such a cure out of hand. Shortly afterward, Saints Peter and Paul appeared to him in a dream and instructed him to seek out Sylvester, who would propose a different immersion—in the baptismal font—to heal Constantine's body and soul. With the prospect of a martyr's death before him, Sylvester made his way into Rome to play his crucial role in history.

The story of Pope Sylvester I, later Saint Sylvester, can be found in Christian chronicles dating from the early Middle Ages. Given its importance to the institutional history of the Roman Church, especially because of its testimony of the spurious "Donation of Constantine," which accorded jurisdiction over Western Europe to the popes, Sylvester was celebrated for centuries. His memory was invoked each year on his feast day, December 31, when passages from the *Roman Martyrology* were read aloud in convents and canonries across Europe. Longer versions of Sylvester's tale can be found in the *Legenda Aurea*, the renowned collection of saints' lives compiled in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine and in similar compendia that appeared in the later medieval and early modern periods. Perhaps the most vivid account is in the *Flos Sanctorum* (Flowers of the Saints) by the Spanish Golden Age author and Jesuit priest Pedro de Ribadeneyra (1526–1611).¹

The crucial moment in Ribadeneyra's version comes during the first encounter between pope and emperor. The priest brought painted portraits of the two saints who had appeared in Constantine's dream. Then, wrote Ribadeneyra, "Saint Sylvester began to preach about Jesus Christ and to explain to the emperor the mysteries of our holy faith, and to declare to him that without it there is no eternal salvation." He confirmed to Constantine that the shades he had seen were "Apostles of the Lord, founders of the Roman Church, and preachers of its Gospel." Their goal, Sylvester continued, was to open "the path to life" for him, as soon as he abandoned

"the cult of his false gods" and became a Christian. So resolved, Constantine set aside the imperial purple and clothed himself in sackcloth to receive doctrine and submit to baptism. "Above the place where he was baptized," Ribadeneyra continued, "a most clear light suddenly shone down, more brilliant than the sun, and he came out of the baptismal font with his face white, healthy, and pure like a child's, leaving the water full of that leprosy as if it were fish scales."²

While more historically accurate accounts hold that Constantine was baptized on his deathbed, years after this purported encounter, it was the collaboration between priest and emperor that mattered to Sylvester's hagiographers. After his miraculous healing, Constantine became keen to spread Christianity throughout his empire and became, in Ribadeneyra's phrase, "very fond, devoted, and obedient to the holy pontiff Sylvester." Actions counted more than words, however, and the emperor put his conviction on display by patronizing the church with "equal magnificence and piety," ordering the destruction of shrines to the old deities, and commissioning "many, very sumptuous temples to the true God." Not content with these gestures, Constantine handed over to Sylvester the keys to Rome and the title to the Western Roman Empire before decamping to Byzantium.³

In the age before the Enlightenment, the story of Sylvester and Constantine was read as an object lesson in the felicitous combination of temporal power and true religion. It demonstrated how Christianity rose to preeminence among the other belief traditions of the Roman world: imperial patronage vaulted it from marginal practice into state cult. Even if Constantine did not spontaneously turn his sword against those in his empire who resisted conversion (much to the chagrin of contemporary Christian apologists), he aimed, as Ribadeneyra wrote elsewhere, "to amplify the cult" of his new religion. At Sylvester's suggestion—and in keeping with the heavenly admonition *in hoc signo vinces* (in this sign you shall conquer)—he inaugurated the religious transformation of the Roman Empire by replacing the pagan symbols of political authority with Christian ones: "He changed the eagles on the imperial banner and standard to the Cross," and he ordered coins to be struck showing "his image with hands lifted up to the sky, as when one asks for help from God." Once the emperor and the Roman state became linked to the Christian religion, as Ribadeneyra suggested and history proved, it would only be a matter of time before the whole of *Romanitas* was converted.⁴

Fig. 1
'Indian miniature depicting two Jesuits seated next to Emperor Akbar.' Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

INTRODUCTION:

THE JESUITS, THE PORTUGUESE, AND KINGS

Christian tradition records several encounters between churchmen and non-Christian rulers between the Age of Constantine and the Age of Discovery. Priests in the Early Middle Ages such as Remigius and Cyril addressed themselves to the lords of northern and eastern Europe in the hopes of enjoying successes similar to Sylvester's. Such episodes became infrequent in the High Middle Ages, and were limited to Europe's far fringes. But with the initiation of the European overseas expansion in the fifteenth century, a new age of pious heroism began. Carried overseas in the ships of the Iberian *conquistadores*, Catholic missionaries launched efforts to bring the Christian message to the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Though in Mexico, Peru, and Brazil the priests arrived in the wake of colonial armies, the situation in Asia was the reverse. The Portuguese enclaves that dotted the coast from East Africa to Japan provided springboards for ambitious missionaries to journey beyond the bounds of European control. Moving inland or far out into the eastern seas, they traveled unarmed into the courts of indigenous empires to play Sylvester to a number of would-be Constantines. This essay focuses on the encounters between priests and potentates in India, China, and Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Society of Jesus, whose members are known as Jesuits, was one of the most important groups involved in the effort to bring Catholic Christianity to non-European peoples in the early modern period. This religious order was founded by the Basque mystic Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) and approved by the papacy in 1540. Its defining characteristic was its dedication to pastoral work among laymen and women (rather than monastic contemplation), an activity that was expressed in the Jesuits' two primary ministries: education and missionary work. In the decades that followed the Society's foundation, its ranks swelled and it opened scores of colleges across Europe and in colonial cities overseas. These educational institutions provided the manpower for the Jesuits' evangelization enterprises around the globe, from Quebec to Tibet and from the Amazon to the Congo—not to mention their efforts among Lutherans, Calvinists, and other Christians outside the Roman fold.

The Jesuits' involvement in overseas missions was due in large part to their swift establishment in Portugal. Within months of the Society's inception in Rome, two Jesuits had traveled to Lisbon at the behest of King João III (reigned 1521–57). Once they arrived, Francis Xavier (1506–1552) and Simão Rodrigues (1510–1579) were asked to divide their labors between continental Portugal and its overseas empire. The Portuguese Rodrigues accepted the charge to propagate the Society in his homeland, setting up the Colégio de Jesus in the university town, Coimbra. To the Basque Xavier fell the task of opening mission fields in Asia. He spent ten years traveling around maritime Asia, inaugurating Jesuit enterprises in India, the Indonesian archipelago, and Japan before his untimely death on the China coast. Within a matter of decades, the Society had residences and colleges throughout

Portugal in cities such as Lisbon, Évora, Braga, Angra (Terceira Island), and Funchal (Madeira Island). And by the end of the sixteenth century, Jesuits operated missions across an area coterminous with the most generous conception of Portuguese power, stretching from Brazil to Japan, and including Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Persia, India, Southeast Asia, the Indonesian islands, and China.

Not all of the Society's missionary activities met with equal success. Some gathered no fruit; others saw early advances violently checked; and still others saw the slow, but steady growth of indigenous Christian communities that have endured to the present. In those cases where the Jesuits attempted to implant Catholicism in soil that lay beyond the reach of European might, their task required a combination of zeal, audacity, and diplomacy. They were aware that their goal of gaining converts would come to naught without political protection from whoever was the lord of the land. They had to address themselves to emperors, kings, and even petty lords if they sought to avoid persecution—even if a desire for martyrdom was what impelled many of them to travel abroad in the first place. In such dealings, the Jesuits set the bar at royal indifference to their proselytizing projects while hoping for signs of sympathy or favor. The possibility that a monarch might convert remained the distant prize that fueled many of their efforts. After all, the Society labored *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, and as all its members knew, *cor regis in manu Domini*.⁵

The Jesuits' encounters with monarchs, whether in Europe or elsewhere, were unusual in the context of early modern religious history. While the figure of the charismatic holy man speaking truth to power has a lengthy pedigree in East and West, and the position of royal confessor was a venerable institution in Catholic Europe, the rise of the Society of Jesus into the stratosphere of royal affairs occurred with meteoric speed. To be sure, kings often preferred the company of long-standing religious authorities and institutions; and in general, royal flirtation with new groups engendered suspicion. But the Society's representatives held dealings with European monarchs within months of the order's foundation, whereas other groups took decades to achieve similar influence. As such, the Jesuits' capture of royal attentions gave rise to no end of frustrations from those who saw themselves even partially eclipsed, whether bishops or friars in Europe or indigenous clergy in Asia.

Nevertheless, the Jesuits understood their rapid access to the ears of kings as proof of divine favor. From an institutional perspective, the first meetings between Xavier, Rodrigues, and King João III served as the template for all other encounters. According to one chronicle of the Jesuits in Portugal, the monarch was filled with "a new and sure hope" as soon as he beheld the priests: "through them he was going to send another new heavenly light from the East to the peoples of the Orient." The Jesuits were overwhelmed by this reception by "such a powerful king," who showed "his favor so appropriate and so easily granted in order that everything might be accomplished for the service of God." Not only did the monarch listen with care to their preaching, he took care of their welfare, "as was fitting for the liberality of the king."⁶



When the time came for Xavier to depart for India, King João entrusted the Jesuit with the mission to carry out an Asian conquest parallel to his own. On this occasion, he reportedly said:

*In India there are heathens who live outside my dominion, for whose temporal conquest greater powers than mine were necessary, but for the spiritual yours are sufficient since they are divine. It will be a great glory for me if you do not fail to bring them the light of the Gospel, for even if I do not have them as conquered vassals, it will be our glory to have them as converted neighbors. Do not imagine that you have left my service to work in another's vineyard and spend my treasure there while you do, and I will alert my ministers so that you will not want. For I esteem one heathen converted in India more than a kingdom conquered.*⁷

And so Xavier left for India, confident that the Almighty would open the hearts of the sovereigns in Asia in the same way He had done in Portugal.

IN THE BEGINNING: FIRST ENCOUNTERS

The first meeting between a Jesuit and an Asian ruler occurred in 1545, a scant three years after the first members of the Society disembarked in India. Xavier and his colleagues had reached Goa, the capital of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, as the city neared the climax of its wealth and power. Goa was known up and down India's western coast as a force to be reckoned with since its inhabitants had conquered several port cities and reorganized maritime trade in the Arabian

Sea through extortion and brute force. Along with the Portuguese conquerors came an aggressive clergy, seeking souls from among the area's Muslims and Hindus. It was in this climate of war and commerce that the raja of Tanur, a kinglet from the Malabar Coast, south of Calicut, secretly declared his intention to become Christian to the Portuguese.⁸ This ruler's domain was surrounded by stronger economic and military powers, so his motivations appear to have been largely material. Nevertheless, seeing how beneficial this conversion could be, the bishop of Goa sent a Jesuit, António Gomes (1519–1554), to instruct the raja in Christian doctrine. While it was another priest who baptized the raja as Dom João, Gomes played a lead role in helping him face the challenges that lay ahead for the Christian ruler of Hindu subjects.⁹

Gomes's achievement was publicized as a confirmation of the Jesuits' holy mission and the herald of a speedy spiritual conquest of the Malabar Coast. One of the Goa Jesuits wrote to Portugal to describe how his confrere had made "great stirrings in those kingdoms, principally by instructing this king in the faith." Gomes had witnessed the raja's constancy and several displays of devotion, such as when he cried "a thousand tears over a crucifix." Not only was this king a "great and very capable nobleman" but, the Jesuit asserted, "all Malabar" knelt before him. In fact, he went on, the mere sight of the mighty Dom João submitting to baptism had so touched his fellow potentates that they "all will

Fig. 2
'Saint Francis Xavier bidding farewell to King João III before leaving for India.'
André Reinoso, 1619.
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/
Museu de São Roque.



Fig. 3
'Saint Francis Xavier
travels to Yamaguchi,
Japan.' André Reinoso,
1619. Santa Casa da
Misericórdia de Lisboa/
Museu de São Roque.

become Christians." Without a doubt, the missionary claimed, his baptism was "the greatest work and thing that has been accomplished in India."¹⁰

The story of the raja of Tanur, as the Jesuits related it, contained more than just a dusting of pious fancy around a core of truth. But this raja was no Constantine. In fact, he was a minor lord who held tenuous sway over a small coastal outpost through the goodwill of his powerful neighbor, the Zamorin of Calicut. His assumption, in missionary eyes, of royal stature was characteristic of the way in which the first generation of Jesuit authors tended to inflate the status of their noble interlocutors. Other Portuguese chroniclers were not enthralled by the raja's magnificence and recorded that when the news of his baptism got out, he was locked inside his palace by his councilors. According to Diogo do Couto, this great lord had to flee to safety on board a Portuguese ship by "lowering himself at night down the castle wall by a rope, scraping his head and hands."¹¹ After enjoying a festive reception by the city fathers in Goa, the raja returned by stealth to his castle where, after a few years of frustration at the lack of temporal assistance that was forthcoming from his European brothers in the faith, he apostatized.¹²

While this Indian interlude was taking place, Francis Xavier was traveling around the eastern reaches of maritime Asia seeking his own encounters with royalty. As the emissary of the king of Portugal, he expected ambassadorial treatment from the rulers he met. After eight years of considering areas for missionary work in southern India and Southeast Asia, he

knew the value of securing political acceptance before attempting to win converts. Moreover, by cloaking himself in the mantle (if not the actual garb, in light of his vow of poverty) of an ambassador, he could enjoy the protections accorded to royal representatives at other courts. This is precisely what he had in mind as he headed to Japan in 1549 to establish a mission in a land that, by that date, only a handful of other Europeans had ever visited.

When Xavier arrived at Kagoshima on the southern tip of Kyūshū island on August 15, 1549, he began by addressing himself to the local rulers. According to Luís Fróis (1532–1597), a Jesuit who lived in Japan for almost thirty-five years, the lord of Satsuma province, Shimazu Takahisa (1514–1571), received Xavier cordially "because he was a foreigner." Despite the language barrier that he encountered, Xavier managed to discover that the supreme Japanese ruler, Emperor Go-Nara (reigned 1526–57), resided far away in Miyako, modern Kyoto. "Since the priest's primary intention was to direct his route specifically to the most powerful king that there was in Japan," wrote Fróis, "he implored the king of Satsuma to please direct him and give him transport so that he might make his way there."¹³ Shimazu agreed, hoping that Xavier's connections to the Portuguese traders would steer their richly laden vessels to Kagoshima. But when after a year he saw the ships go elsewhere, he ceased to entertain the missionary, and Xavier was forced to seek a more accommodating patron.¹⁴

Xavier found his man at Yamaguchi on the western tip of Honshu, the home of the daimyo (great name) Ōuchi Yoshitaka (1507–1551). At a time when rival warlords were vying for influence in regional politics, Yoshitaka was, in Fróis's exaggerated terms, "the most powerful king and the one who had greatest pomp and splendor in his service and estate in all of Japan."¹⁵ But Xavier's single-mindedness was such that he remained in Yamaguchi only long enough to present Yoshitaka with a garbled synopsis of Christian doctrine and to secure the means to get to the imperial capital.¹⁶ According to one Jesuit commentator, "it appeared to him that if the Law of God was implanted in Miyako it would easily extend afterwards to all of the places."¹⁷ And so Xavier traveled to Kyoto, uttering his spiritual motto, "More, More, More," while running barefoot behind his Japanese companion, a samurai on horseback. Alas, the Jesuit's journey was in vain—he saw firsthand that the emperor enjoyed "no more honor than the name" and that he lived "in some old palaces, without pomp or grandeur."¹⁸ Moreover, the fact that Xavier arrived in his plain black robe and lacked any form of tribute befitting an ambassador made him unworthy of an audience with even this sovereign.

Realizing that he had gone to Miyako on a fool's errand, Xavier returned to Yamaguchi to rendezvous with his colleagues and to make a better impression on one of the real powers in Japan. The tumult of contemporary Japanese politics had confused the Europeans, as evinced by the ease with which they labeled potentates of vastly different stature "kings." Although the Jesuits' engagement with indigenous culture would eventually afford them a clear view of the

spectrum of power in Japan, Xavier decided to focus on a man who conducted himself in genuine kingly fashion. The second time he called on Ōuchi Yoshitaka, he went in ambassadorial attire, switching his simple robe for more noble raiment and bearing a set of European curiosities including a clavichord, a clock, some Portuguese textiles and wine, and letters from the viceroy and bishop in Goa.¹⁹ This flourish of tribute and credentials produced its desired result: the daimyo ordered signs to be posted declaring that his subjects could adopt the Jesuits' teachings if they so desired. As another sign of goodwill, Yoshitaka offered the missionaries a disused temple in which to reside.²⁰ Xavier, it appeared, had not lost his touch with the powerful.

The conviction that he had the charisma and authority, not to mention the divine protection, to win acceptance elsewhere in Asia eventually proved fatal for the Basque missionary. After leaving Japan in 1551, Xavier planned to gain a foothold in China, rightly identifying the Ming Empire as the most powerful in Asia and believing that acceptance there would speed the establishment of Christianity across the Confucian cultural sphere. Yet Ming law prohibited the entry of foreigners into China outside of trade or tribute embassies. After a projected Portuguese embassy that he planned to join was cancelled, Xavier traveled to the China coast alone in 1552. His plan was to bribe a native merchant to smuggle him to Canton under the cover of darkness.²¹



Xavier would then seek out the governing mandarin, informing him that he needed to find the emperor and showing him a letter for the Son of Heaven from the bishop of Goa. This letter was the proof that the missionary had been sent "by His Highness to declaim the Law of God."²² The rest would be in the hands of the Almighty. But this encounter was not to be. Xavier died of an illness on Shangchuan Island in the early hours of December 3, 1552, before he could convince any Chinese merchants to carry him into the Ming Empire.

BREAKING THE SPELL: JAPAN

Francis Xavier set the tone for the creation of Jesuit missions throughout Asia. His successors would attempt to build on the foundations that he had laid, seeking political protection for their apostolic endeavors by courting indigenous rulers. This policy yielded promising results in western Japan, where a few minor lords—accorded royal status in Jesuit correspondence to Europe when they submitted to baptism—showed the missionaries favor. Its first fruits were reaped through the Jesuits' relations with some of the "kings" of Kyushu, in particular the daimyo of Bungo, Ōtomo Yoshishige (1530–1587, called Ōtomo Sōrin after 1562). This lord had spent a brief time with Xavier at the end of his stay in Japan, had been "extremely pleased to see the priest, and showered him with honors and hospitality." Writing three decades after this encounter, Luís Fróis asserted about Yoshishige that "no heathen king had ever been found in Japan until the present who showed such heartfelt favor towards the Law of God and displayed such love for the priests and the Portuguese as he."²³ The Portuguese Jesuit had good reason for this assessment, since it was the daimyo of Bungo who welcomed the missionaries when they fled the revolts that broke out in nearby Yamaguchi in 1551.²⁴

The Jesuits' experiences in Japan in the 1550s taught them that winning the favor of native rulers was indispensable. When the missionary Melchior Nunes Barreto (1520–1571) sailed to Japan in 1556, he went with a clear goal: "Upon reaching Bungo, I worked to visit the king, because in Japan everything depends on the leader, and sought to bring him to our holy faith with much reasoning." Yet less than two years later, Barreto voiced his frustrations that he had not been able to mint the coin of conversion. Yoshishige, he claimed, "was sunk in sins from which he knew he would have to free himself if he was to become a Christian." Moreover, he practiced Zen Buddhism and feared that his subjects would rise in revolt against him if he adopted the Europeans' religion. Yoshishige nevertheless showed the Jesuits friendship, "telling the lords of his kingdom that it was necessary for the Law of God to spread throughout his lands to ennoble them."²⁵

While it would be almost twenty years before the Jesuits would be able to coax this lord into submitting to baptism, they had swifter success with other noblemen. Perhaps the most important of these was a minor Kyushu lord, Ōmura Sumitada (1533–1587), whom only the most imaginative biographers could call a king. That said, it was he who first

Fig. 4
'Reliquary cross,'
Portugal, 17th century.
Museu Nacional de
Machado de Castro,
Coimbra. According to
legend, Francis Xavier
calmed the seas during
a storm by throwing
his cross into the ocean.
When he arrived in
Malacca, his cross was
returned by a crab
crawling on the beach.

showed the Jesuits liberality on a kingly scale—even if he envisioned substantial material rewards for his largess. Sumitada held sway over a stretch of western Kyushu endowed with capacious natural harbors, just the place where the massive Portuguese carracks might drop anchor. In 1562, he agreed to hear doctrine lessons from Juan Fernández (1526–1567), a Spanish lay brother who had lived in Japan since 1549. The missionary discoursed on several Christian themes, most of which failed to make an impression on Sumitada. But when Fernández explained the primary Christian symbols, the Japanese lord took more interest; “at which point the brother told him the story of the emperor Constantine as an example of the great excellence of the cross, and he greatly enjoyed hearing it.”²⁶

It is only fitting that a samurai would enjoy a tale of warrior valor with the stirring message, “in this sign you shall conquer.” But Sumitada went beyond mere affinity for the Jesuits when he was baptized in the spring of 1563 by Cosme de Torres (1510–1570), one of the two priests (and four lay brothers) in Japan at the time. For the missionaries, the new convert, now called Dom Bartolomeu, appeared to have taken more than one aspect of the Constantine story to heart. According to Fróis, he headed into battle soon after his baptism with his adopted faith as a shield. Stopping by a temple where he used to worship, he ordered the building to be burned and its statute of Marishi-ten, a deity of war, brought before him. In a vignette worthy of the *Legenda Aurea*, Dom Bartolomeu

cried out to the statute, “Oh, how many times you duped me!” before lopping off its wooden head and consigning it to the flames. He had a cross erected in its place before continuing on his way.²⁷ Sumitada made another generous offer that seems lifted straight from the Sylvester legend: He ceded in perpetuity to the Society of Jesus temporal dominion over Nagasaki, then just a village, and its harbor. Sumitada’s act seemed to the Jesuits a gift from God. Not only did the “Donation of Bartolomeu” provide them with a safe haven for their activities in Kyushu, it also ensured them a reliable source of income in the customs duties paid by Portuguese and Japanese merchants.²⁸

According to Jesuit chroniclers, the conversion of Ōtomo Sōrin in 1578 was a watershed that surpassed that of Dom Bartolomeu. Unlike Sumitada, Sōrin was one of the most powerful lords of western Japan, even though his fortunes fluctuated considerably during the time the Jesuits knew him. In fact, by the time of his baptism, the “king of Bungo” had abdicated, passing on the formal responsibility of governing the extensive but unwieldy Ōtomo domains to his son. Yet when Sōrin was baptized as Dom Francisco, the prospects for the Jesuit mission improved dramatically. Following his example, “the spell was broken,” wrote Fróis, and some Kyushu noblemen ceased despising Christianity and submitted to baptism.²⁹ Of course, the news was not well received by all; some rivals who insisted that “one so versed in the sects of Japan could never have made such a change” spread rumors

Fig. 5
‘Partial view of Nanban
Biombo depicting Jesuit
missionaries disembark-
ing in Japan.’ Museu
Nacional de Arte
Antiga/IMC, Lisbon.





Fig. 6
Hideyoshi's Portuguese
cloak, late 16th century.
Hideyoshi and Kiyomasa
Memorial Museum,
Nagoya City.

that "he must have gone overboard, or crazy and because of that became Christian."³⁰

Regardless of the incredulity of outside observers, Ōtomo Sōrin soon proved the force of his conviction with the point of his sword. He withdrew his patronage from the Zen monasteries before requesting permission from Francisco Cabral (1533–1609), the Azorean Jesuit who baptized him, to "absolutely destroy the temples and lay low the bonzes [Buddhist clergy], to burn and devastate the idols, and to tear up suddenly all of the pagan rites and customs" in nearby lands that he set out to conquer in 1578. The missionaries were only too happy to see Dom Francisco make good on his desires, and the Japanese lay brother João de Torres (1550–after 1612) relished the charge he was given to oversee the Buddhist monks dismantling their own temples.³¹ Yet the wheel of fortune had not ceased to spin for Sōrin; no sooner had he sketched out a veritable *civitas Dei* "ruled and governed according to the laws and customs of Europe" than his armies were crushed by those of the Shimazu clan from southern Kyushu.³²

By 1580, the Christian community in Bungo counted approximately ten thousand members. A similar flourish awaited part of Shimabara Peninsula in Hizen Province when its lord, Arima Harunobu (1567–1612), submitted to baptism and was christened Dom Protasio shortly before

Easter Sunday in 1580. Harunobu ordered Shinto and Buddhist sanctuaries to be destroyed and replaced with churches, and in the end brought as many as twenty thousand of his subjects into the Christian fold (by means both fair and foul). Standing in the path of warlord might and missionary encouragement, a patchwork of territories across Kyushu saw the firm implantation of Catholicism and the vigorous uprooting of indigenous religion.³³

So it was not without reason that the Jesuits applied the title of king to the Kyushu lords who adopted Christianity in the 1560s and 1570s. But the missionaries were also aware that there were men of greater moment elsewhere in Japan—namely, the warlords who held supreme military and political power, Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–1598). While not kings in the European sense, these two lords aspired to and at length attained complete dominion over Japan. Through brute force and cunning, no less than political acumen, military genius, and innovative governance, Nobunaga and his successor Hideyoshi laid the foundations for Japan's national unity in the late sixteenth century. If the Jesuits felt the need to seek recognition (as well as protection) from the seat of power, they had to gain the ear of the hegemons. Of course, the icing on the missionaries' cake would be the conversion of either Nobunaga or Hideyoshi.³⁴



The Jesuits' overtures toward the Japanese hegemon were part of the realization of Francis Xavier's plan to establish a mission in the imperial capital and its vicinity. Their first encounter came during Easter week in 1569, when Luís Fróis and a Japanese lay brother named Lourenço were summoned to meet Nobunaga on a bridge overlooking the construction site of Nijō Palace in Miyako. After asking Fróis, among other things, if his relatives hoped to see him again in Portugal and if he had regular contact with other lands beyond Japan, Nobunaga inquired if the missionaries had a residence in the capital. Permission to live there was precisely what Fróis sought and in return he promised to celebrate Nobunaga's name "even among the nations that had never heard of him such as India and European Christendom." The warlord eventually issued a boilerplate decree granting the Jesuits their desired permission and excusing them from various standard obligations. According to Fróis, Nobunaga laughed when the Jesuits and local Christians proffered silver in exchange for expediting his gesture of approval. He remarked to the missionary's samurai go-between, "Do you think that my name would sound as sweet in India and in the countries where the priest is from if I treated him with such baseness and inhumanity?"³⁵

While Nobunaga seems to have enjoyed the prospect of fame abroad and the opportunity to irk the Buddhist clergy by courting the foreigners—to the point of inviting Fróis to his palatial castle at Gifu and serving him sake with his own hands—Hideyoshi sought more from the Jesuits. He welcomed the missionaries on more than one occasion in the 1580s and 1590s, dealing personally with mission superiors Gaspar Coelho (1528–1590) and Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), who was acting as ambassador of the Portuguese viceroy of India, and showing great familiarity with the gifted Portuguese linguist, João Rodrigues (1561–1633, called *tçuzzu* or interpreter).³⁶ On May 4, 1586, Hideyoshi received Coelho at Osaka Castle where the Jesuits offered to aid his plans to conquer Korea and China by securing two "great ships" from their Portuguese allies to help transport his invasion force. The hegemon responded kindly and, in Fróis's words, promised to "raise churches everywhere and order everyone to adopt our law" once he subjected the Ming Empire to his rule. He then gave the Jesuits a tour of his Xanadu, showing them his riches in full view of native noblemen who only infrequently received such courtesies. In the following weeks, Hideyoshi even paid the priests a visit at their church in Osaka, where he listened to a presentation of Christian doctrine. According to Fróis, he was especially taken with a portrait of Jesus and claimed that he "felt no obstacle" to conversion. Yet the missionaries placed a major stumbling block—their insistence on strict monogamy—in the way of the hegemon's path. "If you dispense with that," Hideyoshi reportedly told the missionary, "I'll become one as well."³⁷

In the end, Hideyoshi would find other aspects of the Jesuits' teachings distasteful, including their insistence on perverting Japan's ancient order of relations between church (or in this case, temple) and state. He was particularly galled by the Jesuits' notions of the proper balance between temporal

and spiritual power, European conceptions with a pedigree that dated back to the Age of Constantine. Given his ambition to become the legitimate lord over all Japan—a project that required as much force as diplomacy—he could ill afford the type of religious exclusivity demanded by Christianity. The Jesuits' prescription for the religious transformation of Japan as it had been realized by their converted daimyo, including temple destructions and forced conversions, had produced no shortage of refugees, malcontents, and strife. When Hideyoshi landed on Kyushu at the head of an army of two hundred thousand men in 1587, he confronted the Jesuit Sylvesters and their Japanese Constantines in the very spot where they had been most effective at propagating Christianity. They would learn that their brand of inflexibility would be matched by a locally bred one, just as soon as Hideyoshi had reduced the Christian "kings" of Kyushu to his obedience.

BENEATH THE STAR OF FORTUNE: INDIA

During their first decades in Asia, Jesuit authors spun tall tales about the stature of the kings to whom they had brought knowledge of the gospel. It was therefore no small surprise for them when in the late 1570s, reality surpassed fiction in the form of an invitation from the Mughal court in northern India. In the autumn of 1578, Emperor Akbar (1542–1605) requested that the "Chief Fathers of the Order of St. Paul" (that is, the superiors of the Jesuit Colégio de São Paulo at Goa) appoint two priests to travel to his court with "the principal books of the Law and the Gospel." The emperor made it clear that he intended to hear the priests discourse on

Fig. 7
Descent from the Cross, India, Mughal dynasty, ca. 1598. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 8
'Salus Populi Romani,' Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome.

Christian teaching to “find what is most perfect in it.” He also allayed their fears about crossing enemy territory, declaring that they would travel in safety and be received “with all possible honors.”³⁸

The suddenness of Akbar’s invitation hit the missionaries like a thunderclap. Until that point the Jesuits rarely looked beyond the Western Ghats mountains from their perch at Goa. Rather, they focused their attentions on coastal areas close to the protection afforded by Portuguese cannons. Yet the offer of direct access to the Mughal throne was too good to refuse. After all, Akbar held sway over dominions that stretched from Afghanistan to Bengal and, were he to convert, he might bring all India to the baptismal font with him. In contrast to the plodding pace of elite conversions in Japan, Akbar’s invitation seemed to the Jesuits to be a reproduction of Constantine’s summons to Sylvester: the emperor would legitimize Christianity in northern India and it would rapidly spread through all levels of Mughal society. Within weeks, the Society’s superiors at Goa had selected a few good men: Rodolfo Acquaviva (1550–1583), a young Italian nobleman who was the nephew of the Jesuit superior general; Antonio Monserrate (1536–1600), a Catalan who would also be entrusted with a mission to the emperors of Ethiopia; and Francisco Henriques (circa 1538–1597), a Persian-speaking priest from Portuguese Hormuz in modern Iran. By the end of February 1580, the trio had made their way overland to the gates of Fatehpur Sikri, the capital Akbar built for himself near Delhi.³⁹

The Mughal emperor was perhaps the most eclectic ruler that the Jesuits would encounter, in Asia or elsewhere. Owing to their personal dealings with him, Akbar appears in vibrant detail in the missionaries’ reports. Monserrate wrote that he was “of a stature and a type of countenance well-fitted to his royal dignity”; his eyes were “so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea shimmering in the sunlight,” and he had “wise foresight both in avoiding dangers and in seizing favorable opportunities for carrying out his designs.”⁴⁰ Although he lacked a formal education, Akbar had a large range of mechanical and philosophical interests. Henriques reported that he knew “a little of all trades and enjoys practicing them at times before his people, either as a carpenter or as a blacksmith.” Akbar even practiced medicine, the Jesuits learned, “bleeding some of his captains in public.”⁴¹

Of more immediate importance to the Jesuits was his attitude towards religion. Although Akbar was a Muslim, he was often criticized for his dismissive attitude towards Islam and his inquiries about other religions, especially Hinduism. It was in the context of his proclaimed “search for truth” that he convoked a series of debates in the mid-1570s between representatives of India’s varied religions. According to Abu al-Fazl, one of Akbar’s chief ministers and his official chronicler, Sunnis, Shi’ites, and Sufis, as well as Hindus, Jains, Tibetan lamas, Jews, Zoroastrians, and orthodox Christians gathered in a special chamber at Fatehpur Sikri where they “enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, . . . and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality.”

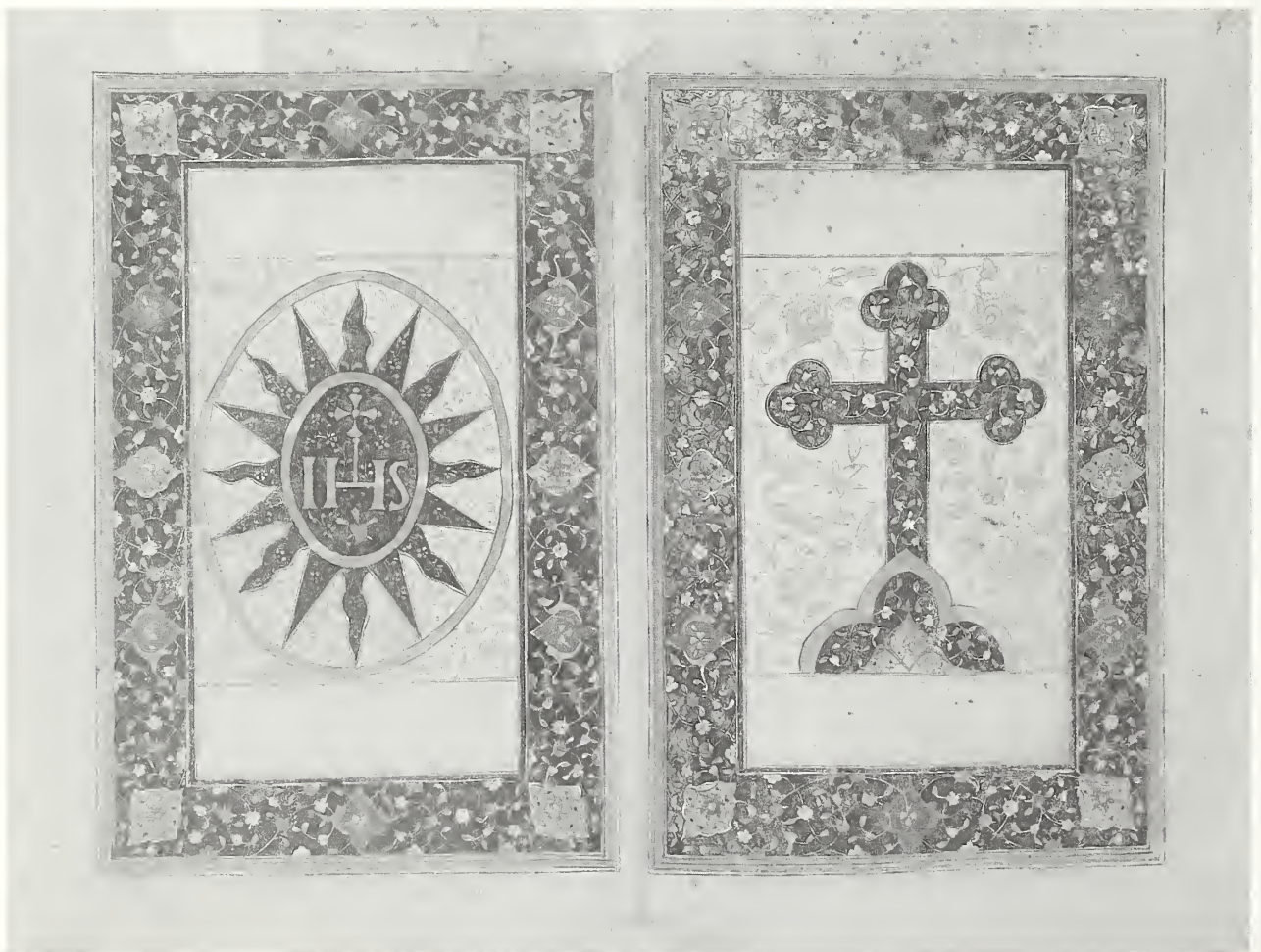


Fig. 9
‘Dastan-i-Masih’
(Life of Christ), Jerome
Xavier, S.J. with Abdu-s-
Sattar ibn Qasim,
ca. 1604. Biblioteca da
Ajuda, Lisbon.



In this irenic view of the proceedings, "reason was exalted and the star of fortune shone for the acquirers of knowledge."⁴² While it is unclear if the Jesuits knew they were to join in a public contest for Akbar's favor, they relished the chance to compete against their religious adversaries, especially the representatives of Islam, without fear of harm.⁴³

Akbar received the missionaries warmly in the spring of 1580, and the priests presented him with richly bound copies of the Antwerp polyglot bible and a world atlas.⁴⁴ According to Acquaviva, the Jesuits were granted access to Akbar "almost every day," and he showed them the rare favor of sending them food from his table, thus placing them "ahead of all his grantees, both native as well as foreign."⁴⁵ Other aspects of the Jesuit presence turned heads at court: In addition to "their curious caps, their shaven faces, and their tonsured heads," the missionaries' plain robes prompted other courtiers to call them, "those dressed in black, by which it seems they mean the devils incarnate, for in these parts nobody dresses in black."⁴⁶ What also drew attention were the sacred images that the Jesuits hung in their improvised chapel. Akbar made several visits to see the copy of the *Salus Populi Romani* from the Roman basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, also called the *Madonna of St. Luke*. When he brought his sons to see it, Henriques recorded, they were particularly taken by the figure of the Holy Infant, "and it seemed as if they would have

liked to play with him and talk to him more closely if they only could."⁴⁷

The principal forum for the Jesuits' presentations of Christian doctrine at the Mughal court was the debating hall where Akbar presided. Since Acquaviva showed the greatest capacity for speaking Persian, he took the lead. Although there were representatives of other traditions present, the Jesuits singled out the Muslim clerics as their principal adversaries and spent much time attacking Islam. Monserrate described triumphantly how the Jesuits proved the authority of the Bible, undercut the Qu'ran, and dismissed the figure of Muhammad who—they claimed—was "the only witness to himself, the only writer about himself, the only authority for his own wonderful experiences."⁴⁸ After three debates, Acquaviva claimed, the mullahs "gave up and were confused, because falsehood cannot resist truth." Nevertheless, the Jesuits received word from Akbar that they should cease their denunciations of Islam, lest they court danger; Acquaviva even said that his affirmation that Muhammad was the anti-Christ put him "very close to martyrdom."⁴⁹ In one of the better-known episodes of the confrontation between the missionaries and mullahs, Akbar is said to have proposed a "trial by fire" in which each protagonist would walk through a pyre holding his sacred book. Acquaviva rebuked the emperor for his presumption, for this proposal was nothing

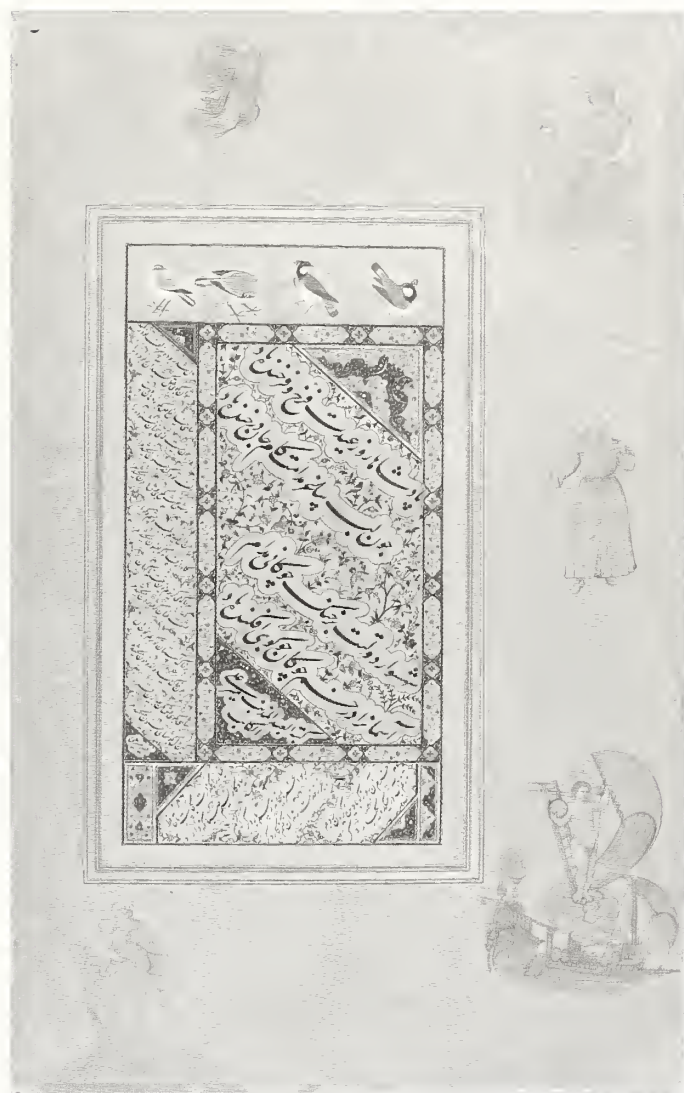


Fig. 10 (top left)
'Young Christ as the mariner on the Ship of Salvation,' India, 16th century. The British Museum, London.

Fig. 11 (top right)
'Folio from the Gulshan Album' (Rose Garden Album), Mughal empire, Mughal school, ca. 1600. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. The marginal illustration in this manuscript shows the Mughal artist's familiarity with an allegorical Christian image like the ivory plaque to the left



Fig. 12 (right)
 'Child Jesus as the
 Good Shepherd,' Goa,
 India, 17th century.
 Távora Sequeira Pinto
 Collection.

Fig. 13 (opposite)
 'Child Jesus as the
 Good Shepherd,' Goa,
 India, 17th century.
 Joaquim Horta Correia
 Collection, Lisbon.

short of asking God for a miracle. Moreover, the Jesuits contended, "if a miracle were performed by some upright follower of our religion, [the Muslims] would say that it had been brought about by magic and sorcery."⁵⁰

During their first months at court the missionaries attempted to divine the emperor's intentions. What was the real reason for their presence before the throne? After their initial encounter with Akbar, they were convinced that his displays of kindness "foretold the speedy conversion of the king to the true religion and worship of Christ."⁵¹ But from early on the Jesuits also remarked that the emperor seemed distracted, noting "his inability to listen to the things of God with the requisite peace and tranquility."⁵² By July 1580, the missionaries had decided to confront Akbar about his reception of Christian doctrine, informing him that "in Japan, great kings spend nights with our Fathers listening to God's law and are converted."⁵³ If only he could overcome his inattentiveness (as well as his habit of taking *bhang* and drinking to excess), they insisted, he might be drawn to the baptismal font.⁵⁴ After all, Akbar had seemed to be at his most alert while listening to an account of Christ's birth that Acquaviva had written in Persian and had even suggested to the Jesuits that he would make a journey on the pretense of going to Mecca but instead seek baptism in Goa.⁵⁵

As months turned into years, the Jesuits began to despair, thinking that they would never become Indian Sylvesters. By late July 1581, Acquaviva admitted that "the hope that this king be converted is slender."⁵⁶ Although Akbar continued to show the missionaries favor and even entrusted Monserrate with the task of teaching Portuguese and Christian doctrine to his second son, Murad, it was this priest who expressed his disillusionment most forcefully by claiming the mission was "all a show."⁵⁷ The Jesuits were further disappointed when they learned that the emperor was intent on starting his own religion, called *Din-I Ilahi* or divine religion, by blending elements from various faiths along with a robust cult of himself.⁵⁸ Monserrate asserted that this was the real reason for the foundering of the Jesuit mission: "Hence we may justly suspect that [Akbar] had been led to summon the Christian priests not by any divine prompting but by curiosity and too ardent an interest in hearing new things, or perhaps by a desire to attempt the destruction of men's souls in some novel fashion."⁵⁹ Convinced that their talented men could be put to better use elsewhere, the Society's superiors ordered the missionaries back to Goa in February 1583.

COURTING OFFICIALS: CHINA

Their experiences in Japan and India bequeathed two missionary models to the Jesuits. Among the daimyo they worked their way from the fringe to the center of authority, while among the Mughals they were catapulted to the summit of power. Their efforts in Japan gained them thousands of converts but failed to secure patronage from supreme authorities; their work in India resulted in a strong political alliance but failed to produce more than a handful of Christians. These lessons would not be lost on the Jesuits entrusted with starting a mission in China in the 1580s. Their task



Fig. 14
 'Portrait of Matteo Ricci,' Emanuel Pereira, S. J. Beijing, China, 1610. Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina, Rome.



would be to forge strong links to the ruling elite and, if possible, the emperor himself, whether or not these friendships resulted in conversions. Once they had gained official approval, they could turn their apostolic attentions to those segments of society most likely to adopt Christianity. As a result, the Jesuits who worked in China would have to wait far longer than their confreres in the other Asian missions to see if their project would produce results.

Of course, an understanding of Chinese society was necessary for the implementation of such a plan, and the missionaries had only gathered information piecemeal during the thirty years following Francis Xavier's death. From contacts with Chinese merchants on the shores of the South China Sea and from what they had learned from the Japanese, they had vague ideas about the power structure of the Ming Empire, the strength of the Chinese bureaucracy, and its Confucian philosophical underpinnings. Yet they did not gain permission to reside within China until Alessandro Valignano, the plenipotentiary visitor appointed by the Society's superior general to inspect the Asian missions, laid out a plan for initiating a Jesuit enterprise there. The secret, Valignano claimed, lay in the successful presentation of Christianity to the Chinese in their own language:

If Our Lord is served to open the door to the gospel to this people, it appears that much more fruit will be made with them than with all the other nations of the Orient, because if our law pleases the king and his council all of the Chinese will adopt it without doubt or complaint because of the great obedience and reverence that they enjoy, as well as because the people are naturally intelligent and given to letters with which they are readily made aware of their falsities; and beyond this, they will find almost no objections to our law, since ... [it is not] contrary to the status and grandeur of the mandarins and their mode of governing but rather conformed to it.⁶⁰

It was therefore no coincidence that the first Jesuit selected to devote himself to the study of Chinese in 1579 was a priest who had joined the Society after earning degrees in law. Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607), Valignano believed, could start a dialogue with the Chinese authorities based on an appeal to their eminent rationality.

Valignano's plan seemed straightforward to the Jesuits at Macau, the Portuguese enclave at the mouth of the Pearl River. Once Ruggieri made his way to Canton and began to court the friendship of local officials in Guangdong Province, however, he learned that making his way into the emperor's presence would be a near-impossible task. He and his companion Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the Italian Jesuit often called the founder of the China mission, learned firsthand that the massive Chinese bureaucracy stood between them and the throne. But that fact was both an obstacle and an opportunity, since it meant that the missionaries might not have to go all the way to the summit of the Chinese pyramid of power to gain social legitimacy. While they would seek to gain renown at court and acceptance among the highest ranks of the mandarin elite, and even claim a few of their number as converts, they could implant Christianity in China without addressing the scions of the Ming dynasty directly. In this respect, they were no different from the vast majority of mandarins who saw their access to the throne cut off in the late sixteenth century by the reclusiveness of the later Ming emperors and their reliance on a legion of eunuch functionaries.⁶¹

While circumstances did not oblige the Jesuits to seek an imperial audience, they did not cease trying to secure a guarantee of security in the form of a favorable pronouncement from within the Forbidden City. Matteo Ricci journeyed to Peking in 1601, seeking permission to reside at the capital in exchange for a set of luxurious gifts for the emperor—oil paintings, clocks, glass prisms, and a harpsichord, "things that the Chinese greatly esteem since they are new and never before seen in that country," and not because of their worth, "as China is a rich kingdom and abounds in all things that we call priceless." Unfortunately for Ricci, a eunuch seized his treasures before he arrived in Peking, and he was jailed for illegally attempting to enter the capital city. Nevertheless, rumors reached the Jesuit that his gifts were delivered to the Wanli emperor (reigned 1572–1620). This appears to have been the reason Ricci was freed and permitted to proceed to Peking. As for the paintings of Jesus and the Madonna, their realism apparently made quite an impression on Wanli and his queen, who hung them in their apartments until the emperor "was taken with such fear at what seemed a living thing that he dared not keep it before him."⁶²

During the nine years that Matteo Ricci spent in Peking, he succeeded in winning the friendship of several high-ranking mandarins and when he died was even accorded a funeral and eulogy by Wanli. His colleagues aimed to remain in China after 1610 and understood that their presence at the capital afforded protection to the missionaries who lived elsewhere in the empire. But their situation was greatly complicated by mandarin suspicions that the Jesuits were in league with Portuguese at Macao (which was true) and the

Japanese who had recently attempted to conquer Korea (which was not).⁶³ The Sicilian who took over as mission superior at Ricci's death, Niccolò Longobardo (1565–1654), drew up plans for offering gifts to the emperor with an explanation of the Jesuits' peaceful intentions. He asked his superiors in Macao and Rome for more European curiosities besides the portable organs, globes, sundials, and water pumps the missionaries had in their possession. They need not send many, Longobardo wrote, since the objects were to be passed off "as if they were made inside China after we entered" and not smuggled in from Europe or India.⁶⁴ Revisiting this plan three years later, Longobardo conceded that there was no point in sending Wanli another religious painting, since it likely would be "put aside and forgotten in the treasury, just like the other two were." Rather, he suggested that the missionaries give the emperor an explanation of Christian doctrine illustrating "how far we are from professing a law which subverts the kingdom."⁶⁵

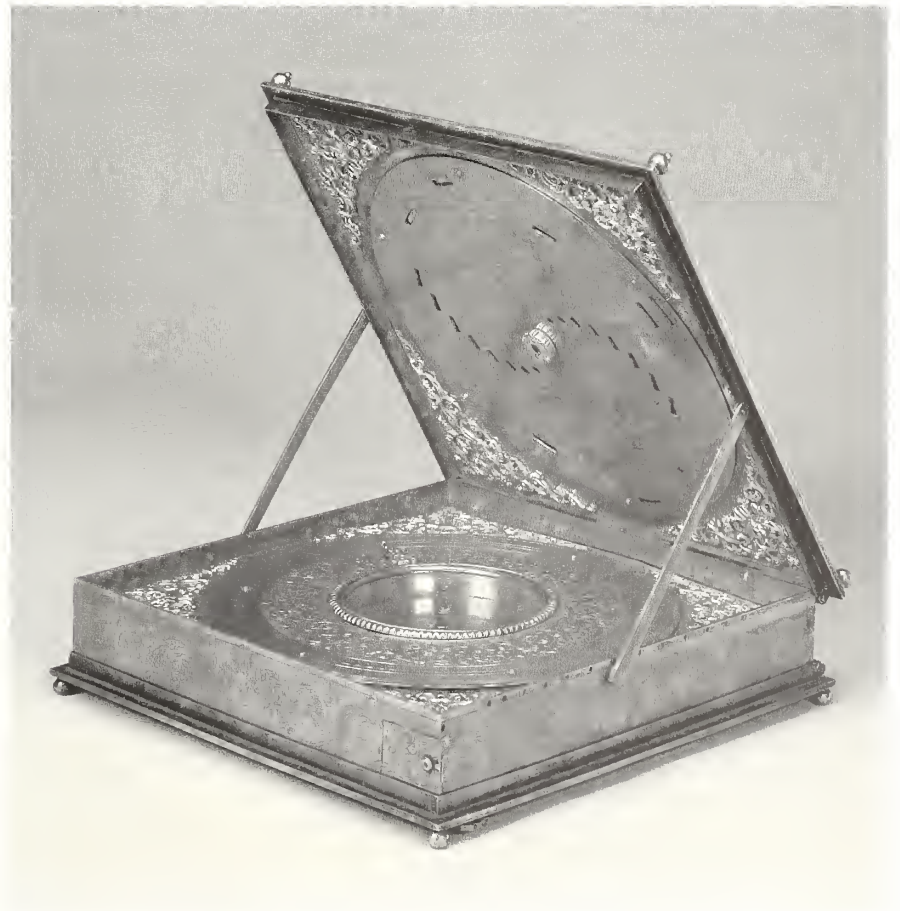
Owing to the outbreak of a persecution in 1616 and the missionaries' sequestration for seven years, Longobardo's plans were never realized. Yet after the Jesuits emerged from hiding in the early 1620s, they redoubled their efforts to cement their reputation as learned men who brought beneficial teachings to China. A handful of mandarin converts, including the Grand Secretary Xu Guangqi (1562–1633, baptized Paulo in 1603), lent their authority to this purpose. Xu had long been aware of the missionaries' technical skills, especially in mathematics and astronomy, and suggested to the throne that they help reform the imperial calendar. The Jesuits' involvement with this project began in 1629 with the successful

demonstration of their calculating methods for solar eclipses and intensified in the early 1630s with their work on the calendar. By the time the final calendar was issued in 1635, Johann Adam Schall (1592–1666), the German Jesuit who led the missionary-mathematicians at Peking, had been appointed to the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. Not only did Schall's achievement secure him a place in the Ming bureaucracy with its accompanying prestige, it also inaugurated a tradition of Jesuit astronomers at the Chinese court that would endure for more than a century and a half.

While the missionaries' overtures toward the last Ming emperors never elicited quite the hoped-for degree of beneficence, their gestures toward the Manchu lords who imposed their dominion over China starting in 1644 met with unparalleled displays of favor. When the imperial capital fell to the Manchus in that year, Schall was quick to offer his services to the new Qing dynasty. His promulgation of a new calendar cemented the claims of the Manchus that the mandate of heaven to rule China belonged to them, and earned the German Jesuit the post of director of the Imperial Astronomical Bureau. This promotion was one of the first signs of increasing goodwill that the missionaries would experience under the first Qing sovereigns, the Shunzhi (reigned 1644–61) and Kangxi (reigned 1661–1722) emperors. Perhaps owing to their suspicion of the former Ming mandarins, many of whom accepted positions in the new order, these emperors showed themselves willing to deal directly with all manner of non-Chinese in Peking, including the Jesuits. Schall and Shunzhi developed a personal friendship, and the missionaries recorded that, by 1657, the Qing emperor had

Fig. 15 (bottom left)
'Terrestrial globe,'
China, last third
of the 17th century.
Rudolf Schmidt
Collection, Vienna.

Fig. 16 (bottom right)
'Six astronomical instru-
ments with case,' Palace
workshops, Beijing,
China, dated 1691.
Palace Museum, Beijing



made eighteen visits to their Peking residence. Yet the author of that year's annual report from China was at a loss to communicate to his brethren in Europe the importance of these public displays: "No one knows just how great this monarch is; nor can anyone in Macao, or India, or Europe appreciate how much this favor is worth and how much honor it brings to Padre Johann Adam and to us all."⁶⁶

The close links between the Shunzhi emperor and his European friend caused frustrations among the Jesuit's rivals, especially the indigenous astronomers he had displaced at court. These individuals began to attack Schall's science and religion in print in 1659 and especially after the emperor died in 1661, hoping to have the missionary stripped of his mandarin dignity. It was but one episode in the jockeying for political position that transpired during the eight-year regency before Kangxi began his personal rule. The Jesuits' adversaries succeeded in 1664 when the Chinese authorities brought an accusation against them of *lèse-majesté* and detained the guilty parties. According to their indictment, Schall had made miscalculations on the calendar that resulted in the choice of an inauspicious day for the burial of an infant from the imperial household and the subsequent deaths of Shunzhi and his consort.⁶⁷ The persecution of the Jesuits reached its height between 1665 and 1668, with the Peking missionaries held under house arrest and the priests in the provinces rounded up and sent to Canton to await deportation. Schall died an inglorious death in 1666, soon after he was released from detention.

The young Kangxi emperor was not blind to the changes that had been wrought on the imperial calendar after Schall's accusers took over the directorship of the Astronomical Bureau. His discontent eventually led in December 1668 to the opening of discussions that heralded a new era of cordial relations between Manchus and missionaries in Peking. On Christmas Day, 1668, Kangxi invited Ferdinand Verbiest (1623–1688), a Flemish Jesuit whose technical skills earned him considerable renown, to participate in a contest with the other court mathematicians that would decide who could most accurately predict the movements of heavenly bodies. When the Jesuit's prognosis proved correct, Kangxi dismissed the native astronomers and promoted Verbiest to head of the Astronomical Bureau. The Jesuits were amazed at the sudden reversal of fortune, and saw in it an augury of good things to come. Gabriel de Magalhães (1610–1677), Verbiest's Portuguese companion in Peking, expressed his hopes that it would open the path for a proclamation in favor of Christianity. While he awaited that sign, Magalhães was pleased at the arrival of a high-ranking mandarin at the Jesuits' residence on December 31, who came to offer the missionaries a portrait of the Virgin Mary flanked by Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier. "What a good omen for the day of Saint Sylvester," the missionary wrote, "when the Lady and her only begotten Son manifested themselves to the greatest official at this court. It must be in order to one day manifest themselves to the emperor of China, who will be called Constantine."⁶⁸

While Kangxi never found his way to a baptismal font, he showed great liberality toward the missionaries during his

reign of over fifty years. Like his predecessor, he visited the missionaries' residence. On July 12, 1675, he dwelled at length in the sanctuary to look at the sacred images displayed there and read the lists of the beatitudes, the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, and the Ten Commandments written in both Chinese and Manchu in the church's nave. In the Jesuits' apartments, he took a brush "as thick as the fingers of a hand closed and extended, and with great dexterity wrote two letters." The imperial calligraphy read *Jing Tian*, or "Revere Heaven," a Confucian-inspired slogan that the Jesuits did not delay in hanging prominently in all of their churches in China.⁶⁹ Further incidents of the mutual goodwill between Kangxi and the missionaries came when a group of French Jesuits treated a bout of malaria with a dose of quinine and when the emperor intervened to halt a persecution that had broken out in Zhejiang Province in 1691. In the following year, Kangxi issued the greatest reward that the Jesuits gained during their more than two centuries of work in Asia—the so-called Edict of Toleration, which proclaimed that the missionaries could freely reside in China and tend to their native Christians.

ROYAL REWARDS: CONCLUSION

What was the final outcome of the Jesuits' interactions with Asian rulers? If one takes for granted that all of the missionaries' efforts were part of a grand apostolic project to convert the peoples of the East to Christianity, then their *pourparlers* with potentates gave at best mixed results. Working under the assumption that access to the throne in any land would give them a chance at baptizing another Constantine, they ventured unarmed into the presence of the supreme authorities of Japan, India, and China. Such advances often won them the status of courtiers, a coveted pedigree that at times enabled them to extend their social legitimacy to the members of their order and indigenous Christians outside of court. Yet their advances into the realm of royal politics often met with strong resistance. Moreover, the role of courtier frequently curtailed the Jesuits' range of activities and did not mesh well with their vocations as missionaries. In a time when only few men survived the journey to Asia, it was a costly gamble to assign talented men to potentially fruitless positions. As experience taught the Jesuits over the course of the early modern period, royal courts rarely offered fertile ground for the implantation of Christianity.

Such was the case in Japan, where the missionaries' involvement in politics proved extremely costly to their overall apostolic endeavor. Of course, had they not secured the conversion of several Kyushu lords, they never would have seen their mission church reach its maximum size of roughly three hundred thousand members by 1600. Yet by the same token, their efforts would not have been so violently checked—as they were in the wake of the forced expulsion of the priests under the Tokugawa shogunate in 1614—had they not aligned themselves with political figures. As early as 1587, Toyotomi Hideyoshi recognized that the Jesuits had so thoroughly intertwined politics and religion among their Japanese converts (and especially those of noble extraction) that

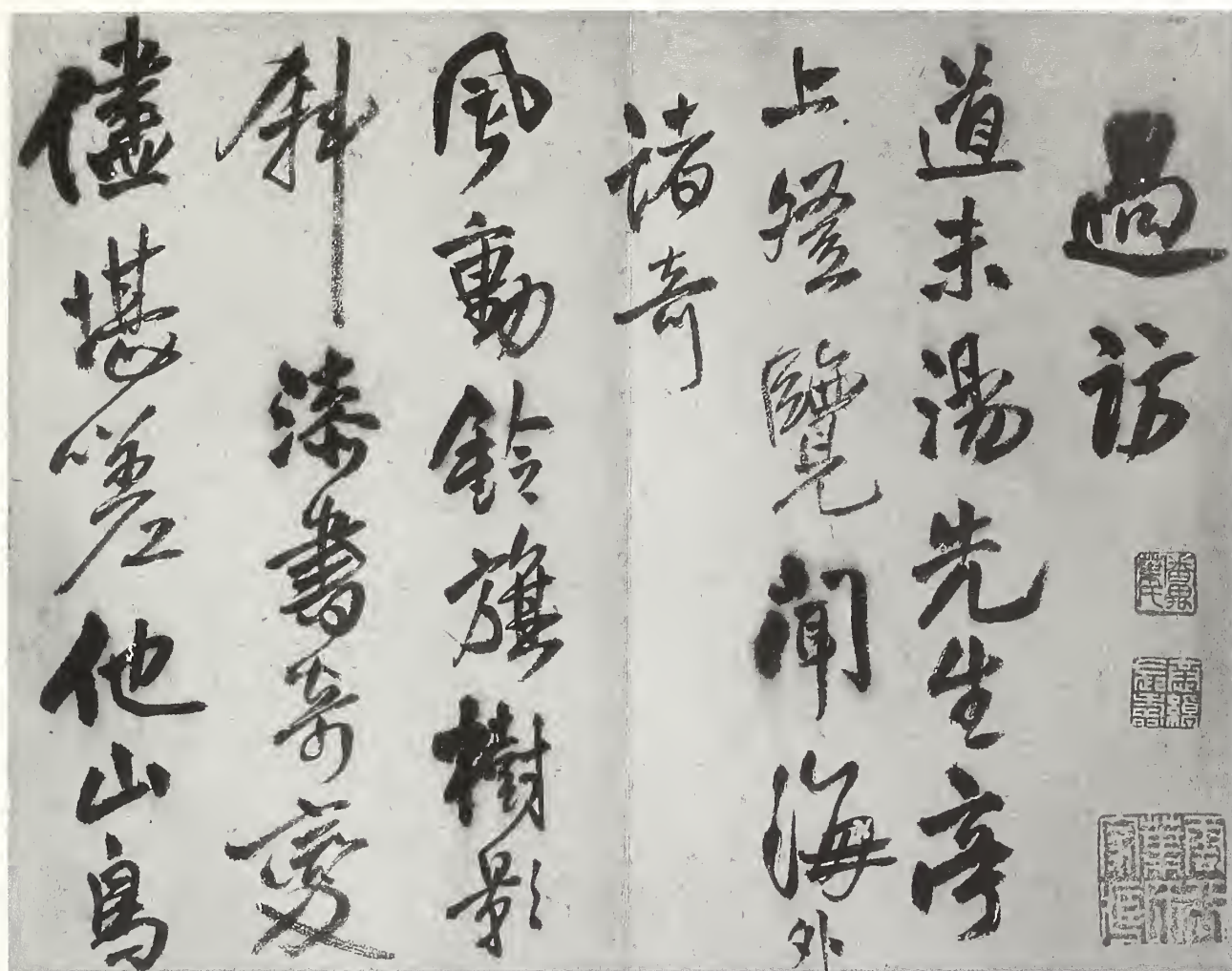


Fig. 17
Detail, 'Poems Dedicated to Tang Ruowang'
(Johann Adam Schall von Bell, 1592–1666).
Wang Duo, China, ca. 1620. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

they had dealt with by political means. The hegemon issued his first anti-Christian edict soon after his invasion of Kyushu, specifically indicting the Jesuits for their encouragement of forced conversions and temple destruction, as well as their meddling in temporal affairs. "Japan is the Land of the Gods," Hideyoshi asserted, by which he meant it was not the land of the missionaries' exclusive God.⁷⁰ While the full rigors of persecution were not felt until after 1597, the first decades of the seventeenth century would see the church that the Jesuits had planted in Japanese soil uprooted with tremendous violence.

The case in Mughal India was vastly different. The Jesuits abandoned Fatehpur Sikri of their own accord in 1583, supposedly leaving Akbar despondent. At his insistence, however, they attempted two subsequent missions in his lifetime. During the last of these, Jeronimo Xavier (1549–1617), the nephew of Francis Xavier, spent twenty years at the Mughal court, where he composed several tracts on Christian themes in Persian for Akbar and his successor, Jahangir (reigned 1605–27). Under both of these sovereigns, Xavier and his later brethren enjoyed a considerably degree of favor and even began to cultivate small Christian communities in Agra and Lahore. Nevertheless, northern India was hostile territory for missionary efforts, and the Jesuits found it hard to break out of their role as courtiers. And when the increasing imposition of Islamic orthodoxy took hold among the later Mughals, especially during the long reign of Aurangzeb

(reigned 1658–1707), representatives of other religions, including the Jesuits, were increasingly pushed away from the center of power.⁷¹

It would appear that the missionaries' efforts to win the favor of the emperors of China produced the most successful results. The China Jesuits may have taken a long time to work their way to Peking, but their success at forging bonds of friendship with members of the Ming state continued under Qing rule. Yet the Jesuits were not the only missionaries in China, and their way of conducting their apostolic enterprise was not appreciated by the members of other Catholic religious orders who arrived after the Edict of Toleration in 1692. In fact, the Jesuits' intimate links to a non-Christian monarch seemed very suspicious to their European rivals, especially when a serious theological and jurisdictional dispute put the emperor (and the Jesuits) at odds with the papacy. After years of diplomatic wrangling in the early eighteenth century, the Yongzheng emperor (reigned 1723–35) tried to solve the problems that he saw stemming from his father Kangxi's overly tolerant attitude towards the Europeans. In 1724, Yongzheng added Christianity to the official list of proscribed religions and drove its preachers into exile. Although Jesuits remained at the Qing court as artists and astronomers until the late eighteenth century, they were mere hired hands who no longer enjoyed easy access to the throne. After two centuries of clamoring for royal attentions, the Jesuits in Asia were forced to abandon their dreams of surpassing Sylvester.



INCARNATE IMAGES

The Jesuits' Artistic Program in Portuguese Asia and Beyond

GAUVIN ALEXANDER BAILEY

During the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Catholic Europe promoted imagery as never before, in part because Protestant reformers directly attacked the use of sacred pictures. Typical was the Wittenberg Protestant Andreas Karlstadt (1486–1541), who proclaimed, “The fact that we have images in our churches is . . . against the First Commandment. . . . That carved and painted idols should stand on altars is still more damaging and devilish. . . . Statues are hideous, and it follows that we become hideous if we love them.”¹ Catholic churchmen responded with the most emphatic endorsement of imagery since the Second Nicene Council put a temporary end to the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy in 787 C.E. Beginning with the Council of Trent (1545–63) and a wave of treatises from clerics such as Gilio da Fabriano (1564), Gabriele Paleotti (1582), and Jan Molanus (1619), the Church resurrected Early Christian justifications of sacred art by the Syrian John of Damascus (circa 675–749), among other theologians.² The key issue was the Incarnation: if Christ was the Word made Flesh, holy images were admissible as material representations of the divine and of scripture. The bishops at Trent assigned a plethora of roles to sacred pictures, whether as an aid to remembering and reviewing doctrine and Bible stories or as a warning to live a good Christian life.

Churchmen and lay Catholics alike were also convinced that sacred art possessed miraculous powers. Images of the saints were believed quite literally to cure people of disease or help them in adversity, and the list of mystics who had visions inspired by paintings or sculptures in this period is unparalleled.³ In the early years of what is often called the “Counter-Reformation,” Catholic religious orders placed imagery at the forefront of their ideological war with Protestant Europe, whether through church decoration (as with Peter Paul Rubens’s visual diatribe against Heresy in the Jesuit church in Antwerp in 1620–21) or—most importantly—in the print medium, with an unprecedented number of illustrated Bibles, catechisms, pious tales, meditative manuals, and emblem books meant to bring errant heretics back into the fold.⁴ The undisputed leader of this visual campaign in northern Europe was the Society of Jesus, a new order approved in Rome by Pope Paul III in 1540.

The Protestant Reformation of 1518, however, was not the only epoch-shattering event faced by worshipers in Late Renaissance and Baroque Europe. Columbus’s voyage of 1492 and Vasco da Gama’s of 1498 brought an isolated Europe face-to-face for the first time with cultures so utterly

different from its own that intellectuals from Salamanca to Prague scrambled to make sense of them.⁵ Although these alien cultures initially put Europeans into a quandary—reactions ranged from the belief that the newly encountered Americans were not truly human to the claim that they represented one of the Lost Tribes of Israel—they soon provided Catholicism with an opportunity to make up for the souls lost to Protestantism, and the Society of Jesus moved in with great zeal.

The Jesuits were not the first order to penetrate East Asia or the Americas; the Franciscans had entered Mongolia during the Crusader era in 1245 and Mexico in 1523. Nevertheless, they very quickly assumed a presence there comparable to their position in northern Europe.⁶ The Jesuits were especially prominent in the Portuguese zone of influence, thanks to the warm welcome King João III (reigned 1521–57) offered the nascent Society and, as it turned out later, their extraordinary skill as international mediators.⁷ They were the first missionaries to reach Brazil and Japan (in both cases in 1549), and in India (1542) and China (1580) they quickly surpassed the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other orders that had preceded them. In fact, the Jesuit order became a critical component of Portugal’s imperial expansion—even though many individual missionaries were Italians or Spaniards—pushing farther into the non-European heartland than military forces were able or willing to go.

Just as was their practice in Protestant Europe, the Jesuits placed prints, paintings, and sculptures in the vanguard of their global enterprise of conversion and indoctrination. In addition to being incarnations of divine beings possessing miraculous powers, such sacred pictures were believed to be an effective means of conversion and a practical way of communicating across linguistic barriers.⁸ The Jesuits were less open-minded when it came to non-European religious imagery—perhaps because they had been unsettled by Protestant charges of idolatry. Catholic extirpation of religious sculpture in Peru and the Philippines could be brutal and at times uncannily reminiscent of Protestant destruction of sacred imagery in Europe.⁹ This same unease made missionaries wary of hiring non-Christians to build or decorate their churches, even though they were often obliged to turn a blind eye to the practice.

Although eschewing armed escorts and preaching a faith that contradicted the basic cultural values of many of the peoples among whom they worked, the Jesuits were tolerated by some of the most powerful nations in Asia, including

Fig. 1
Oratory with Calvary
Goa, India, 17th century.
Private collection.

Mughal India, where an Islamic minority ruled over a Hindu majority; Buddhist Ceylon (Sri Lanka); Shinto and Buddhist Japan; and China, where the “Three Teachings” (*sanjiao*) of Daoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism had coexisted for well over a millennium. One of the keys to their success was their willingness to engage in dialogues with the host cultures. This policy of cultural adaptability was most evident in the visual arts, in spite of their intolerance for non-Christian sacred art. Inspired by the social policies of Jesuit pioneers José de Acosta (1540–1600) and Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), who had worked in Peru and East Asia, respectively, Jesuit missionaries began borrowing and trading styles, techniques, and even symbols from indigenous art, occasionally creating hybrid forms of extraordinary subtlety and sophistication. What makes these artistic contacts so fascinating is that in most cases the host cultures responded in kind, adapting elements of European styles and even Christian symbolism to their own traditions, regardless of whether they had any interest in the missionaries’ religious goals—and most of them did not.

Early modern Asia was as immense and heterogeneous as it is today, and the visual arts reflected this variety. In Asia, missionaries faced a bewildering range of artistic traditions, from the resolutely figural style of Ceylonese Buddhism to the Daoist and Chan (Zen) Buddhist-inspired landscape painting of China. At one extreme they were confronted with an Islamic disinclination toward figural imagery in parts of India and southeast Asia, while at the other they were astonished by a Hindu pantheon that surpassed even that of Counter-Reformation Catholicism. They also came across vastly different approaches to sacred art. Among the Pure Land Buddhists of Japan, sacred pictures served as an aid for meditation, whereas in China art as a tool for conversion was an alien concept.¹⁰ The Jesuits made the most of serendipitous similarities between Christian and non-Christian imagery, as in China and Japan, where depictions of the Madonna merged with those of Guanyin (Kannon in Japanese), the Buddhist bodhisattva of mercy. Especially popular were small statues from southeast China made of ivory, soapstone, or *blanc-de-chine* porcelain that depicted the bodhisattva holding or standing next to a young boy much like images of the Madonna and Child. Known as *songzi Guanyin*, or “Guanyin, bringer of sons,” such statues served as talismanic figures to which women prayed for offspring. Other images were discouraged, most notably, the Crucifixion, which was considered abhorrent or degrading in Ming China. In the words of one anti-Christian writer, it depicted “a Barbarian executed in a humiliating fashion during the Han Dynasty” (206 B.C.–220 C.E.).¹¹ Despite the Jesuits’ intention to steer clear of forms related specifically to indigenous religion, they could not always sift the cult out of culture, and in this way many Asian sacred forms coexisted alongside imported ones.

The Jesuits employed a variety of media in their efforts to convert Asian peoples, but the most common was the one that had served them so well in their efforts against Protestantism: prints. As most prints sent to the missions were

made in Antwerp, the visual arts in Portuguese Asia owe a profound debt to the Low Countries. (Flemish paintings and engravings were extremely influential in Portugal and Brazil.)¹² Also important in Portugal and its overseas missions in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the Renaissance and Baroque styles of Italy.¹³ The Jesuits sent prints after Italian masters, such as Michelangelo and Raphael, as well as original Italian oil paintings to India, Japan, and China. In Italy the Bavarian artist Sigismondo Laire (1550–1639), a friend of Caravaggio, and the Baroque luminary Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1599–1666) made a lively trade by creating paintings exclusively for overseas missions.¹⁴ A delicate painting on copper of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, recently acknowledged as Laire’s sole surviving work, was sent to the Peruvian missions sometime at the turn of the seventeenth century and is now in the Museo de Arte in La Paz, Bolivia (fig. 2). Although it follows Italian early Baroque conventions, most notably in the billowing drapery and heavenward glance of the martyr saint, the luminous greens and pinks of her gown belie the artist’s Germanic heritage by recalling the work of his compatriot Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), also a resident of Rome. In a few cases, such as in Mughal India, Japan, and China (and in Peru, Paraguay, and Chile in the Americas), the Jesuits brought European painters and sculptors to the missions. By training non-European artists to make Christian devotional imagery, they hoped not only to save the cost of importing finished works of art but also to instill the basics of Christianity into the artists’ visual memory.

Occasionally the Jesuits brought treatises on art and architecture with them, as they did at the Mughal, Chinese, and Ottoman courts. These included writings by Giacomo



Fig. 2
‘Saint Catherine of
Alexandria,’ Sigismondo
Laire (1550–1639).
Museo Nacional de
Arte, La Paz.

Barozzi da Vignola (1507–1573), Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616), Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), André Félibien (1619–1695), and Carlo Fontana (1634–1714), among others.¹⁵ The books formed only a part of libraries designed primarily to fortify missionaries with the intellectual and rhetorical wherewithal to convince non-Christians to abandon their faith—skills that once again drew heavily upon the Jesuit experience combating Protestantism. Several of the books referred specifically to Protestants, as did the diatribe against Martin Luther by Silvestro “Prierius” Mazzolini (1456/57–1523) that was inventoried in the Jesuit library at the Mughal mission in Fatehpur Sikri in 1595, or Robert Bellarmine’s *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei* (published in Ingolstadt, 1581–93) that was ordered for the Jesuit College at Cochin in the 1690s.¹⁶

INDIA AND CEYLON

The world’s first Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier—shown resuscitating a high-caste Indian in a dramatic painting of 1619 by André Reinoso (see p. 50, fig. 5)—landed in the Portuguese colony of Goa in 1542. Within a few decades of Xavier’s arrival, the Jesuits were already the most ambitious church builders in India. In addition to their massive headquarters of Bom Jesus in Goa (constructed 1594–1605), which now houses Xavier’s tomb, the Jesuits built the College of St. Paul between 1560 and 1572, the earliest Catholic university in Asia and a building whose construction predated even their headquarters, the Church of the Gesù in Rome.¹⁷ Although most of their names have not survived the vicissitudes of time, Indian masons, sculptors, and painters—many of them unconverted Hindus from the villages just outside the colonies of Goa, Daman, Diu, Bassein, Chaul, and Cochin—were responsible for much of the Jesuits’ churches, residences, and colleges in Portuguese India. A letter from Father Miguel Vaz to King João III dated November 1545 extolled the talents of these non-Christian artists in making Christian artworks.

*In Goa gentle painters have become accustomed to painting images of Our Lord, Our Lady, and other saints and [to] selling them at the gates. . . . Among these is one who was . . . of great ability in this art of painting and the best artisan of all . . . he painted retablos in the churches and houses of the Portuguese. He made many in Goa, providing him with a good living.*¹⁸

Later on in the same letter the priest warned that the Devil was behind the success of the most important painter in Goa—perhaps the Protestants had made Vaz nervous with their charges of idolatry—and such worries persuaded the king in 1546 to forbid non-Christians from making Christian images, an edict he repeated fourteen years later. The practice of hiring non-Christians had become so commonplace that in 1588, Goan church authorities were obliged once again to repeat the prohibition, stating that:

Seeing the great skill with which the gentile painters and other infidel artisans make images and figures of our Holy Christian Religion despite the hatred they have for it, [the Father of Christians is] to order that no Christian shall commission an infidel painter to paint images or any other



Fig. 3
Detail of paintings
under the arch, Church
of Santa Mónica, Goa.

*thing pertaining to the Divine Cult; nor [shall he] commission from infidel goldsmiths, founders, or ironworkers [any] chalices, crosses, candlesticks, or any single other thing that might be found in churches.*¹⁹

Sometimes artists were asked to convert as part of their contract, as occurred with the Hindu sculptor who carved the first pulpit in the Jesuit collegiate church in Cochin in 1591. There is, however, little evidence that any of them complied.²⁰ In any case the prohibition was impossible to follow. By 1606 so few skilled Christian artists were in Portuguese India that the edict was partially rescinded, and the Jesuits turned a blind eye to the increasing presence of Hindu artists and craftsmen in colonial territories.²¹ The once-extensive mural cycle in the church of Santa Mónica in Goa, based on Flemish engravings but executed with an expert hand and eye for color, is one of the finest examples of the work of Indian painters to survive in its original location today (fig. 3).

Very few European artists made the voyage to India, and those who did were not of the first rank. Such was the Flemish Jesuit priest Markus Mach or Maecht, known as Marcos Rodrigues (died 1601), whose skills as a sculptor were much in demand as he immodestly remarked, “[I am] quite skillful at [making crucifixes], as my products testify; indeed, the best ones in Asia and Japan, etc., are made by me. . . . My crucifixes are much appreciated in Italy and the rest of Europe; I have,



Fig. 4
'Miracle of Ignatius of
Loyola,' Jesuit seminary
church, Rachol.

to my great consolation, supplied all the colleges and brothers here with them. . . ."²² Mach's superior seems not to have agreed with this assessment, for he ordered the priest to put an end to his artistic production. Pedro Dias has recently suggested that Mach gilded the three main retablos in the college church of São Paulo in Goa (1589) and carved large scale crucifixes for churches in the Jesuit mission zone of Salcete in Goan territory.²³

Little is known about the Portuguese painter António Pereira, who arrived in Goa in the sixteenth century. There, he contributed to some of the monumental oil-on-panel paintings, mostly pedestrian copies of Flemish engravings, that adorned the city's great churches.²⁴ Other artists known only by name include the Jesuit brothers Belchior Dias, who reached Goa in 1559; Manuel Álvares (born 1520), who painted the high altar in the chapel of the Jesuit college of São Paulo and several other altarpieces in the city; Manuel Godinho, who painted a copy of a miraculous icon of the Madonna and Child known as the *Salus Populi Romani* (Savior of the Roman People) to send to the Jesuit mission in Mughal India in the 1580s; the Italian brother Fontabona, who contributed to the decoration at the Bom Jesus in Goa before moving to the court of Venkata II of Vijayanagara; and the Portuguese sculptor Martim Ochôa from Cáceres (born 1525), who sailed for the Indies in 1567 and spent the next nine years carving furnishings for churches in Goa and Cochin.²⁵

The most famous painter to visit Goa was the Flemish master Michael Sweerts (1618–1664), recently the subject of a major exhibition.²⁶ Abandoning an extraordinary career in Europe, Sweerts joined the Lazarist missionaries and traveled to Syria and India, where he died in Goa in 1664. No paintings from this period of his life have survived, and evidence suggests he had already lost his mind. Numerous extant records confirm that Portuguese, Italian, and Flemish artworks were being sent to Goa, including most famously the extravagant marble tomb of Saint Francis Xavier in the church of Bom Jesus (1697) by the Florentine architect Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1737), a gift from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III de' Medici.²⁷

Since the majority of the wooden and ivory saints, panels, retablos, and paintings that still adorn Portuguese India's churches were executed by non-Christians, they bear the distinctive stylistic signature of southern Indian art and are adorned with rich ornamentation based on indigenous flora and fauna. Somewhat stocky and rigid, figures are generally depicted frontally, their facial features marked by an iconic inexpressiveness. Their drapery is treated decoratively rather than realistically and on occasion even imitates the cut or pattern of an Indian garment. These features, together with a characteristic beveled edge, closely resemble those of Hindu temple sculpture. A good example is a seventeenth-century carved wooden panel showing the miracle of Ignatius of Loyola in the

chancel of the Jesuit seminary in Rachol in Salcete (fig. 4). The angels, with their bulging eyes and prominent noses, particularly resemble temple sculpture, and the scene is set against a background of lush tropical flora. Like so many of the carved panels in Portuguese India, the image copies an engraving, in this case an illustrated scene from the celebrated life of Ignatius titled *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* (Antwerp, 1609). Images from this book were reproduced throughout the Jesuit mission world. In fact, documents in the Goa archives in Panjim note that three copies of the work were sent to Goa between 1706 and 1710, and other copies could have reached Indian shores as much as a century earlier.²⁸ The monumental seventeenth-century pulpit in the Bom Jesus church is equally hybrid. In addition to the sumptuous embellishment of tropical leaves, the ring of voluptuous seminude caryatids wearing bead necklaces at the base look as if they had stepped down from a Hindu temple (fig. 5).

This same adaptation took place in Jesuit church architecture, although it was restricted at first to decorative carving on the façade and doorways. In fact, the architecture itself was emphatically classical and Italianate in style—in sharp contrast to the medieval Manueline style of most early Portuguese colonial architecture—and consciously imitated that of Late Renaissance Rome and the mother church of the Gesù.²⁹ Nevertheless, an indigenous element soon overlaid this classicism. Beginning with the Jesuit church at Bassein (1561–78/79), motifs such as the “rose of Iran” and other Indian patterns were incorporated into façades. This suggests, in the words of David Kowal, that the Jesuits “not only appreciated local talent, but, more significantly, recognized the power of the native visual languages to attract a local audience into the Christian spiritual domain by interpreting and representing Christian ideas in a way both familiar and enticing.”³⁰

The same is true of the Bom Jesus church, designed by the Portuguese architect Domingo Fernandes in partnership with Julio Simão, the chief government engineer in the Indies, the Venetian Jesuit Giovanni di Manolis (1542–1587), and others.³¹ Hindu decorative motifs such as hanging garlands are found among the decorative devices in the pediment of this church.³² Some façades borrowed much more liberally from Hindu and Islamic forms. The Jesuit church at Diu (begun in 1601) is a particularly striking example of the merging of styles (fig. 6). The façade is a rich assemblage of Renaissance pilasters, elaborately framed windows, and a gabled top with fan-shaped scrolls. This otherwise Italianate façade is enhanced with decoration that combines European heraldic devices and angels with Hindu rosettes and hanging garlands, indigenous vegetation, and Islamic geometrical arabesques.³³ A similar combination of austere Renaissance architecture with sumptuous decoration based on indigenous flora and fauna and other non-European motifs is found in buildings created between 1650 and 1830 in viceregal Peru. Art historians have dubbed it *estilo mestizo* (hybrid style).³⁴ The fact that this same phenomenon—what might be called in Portuguese an *estilo mestiço*—occurred on the other side of the world in India merits closer study. In some instances, Hindu architects who designed Jesuit churches worked simultaneously on



Fig. 5 (left)
Detail of pulpit,
Jesuit church
of Bom Jesus, Goa.



Fig. 6 (below)
Façade of Jesuit Church
of Sao Paulo, Diu.

Hindu temples. As a result, the *deepmalas* and *shikaras* (light towers and sanctuary towers) of the temples in the Maratha-occupied lands outside Goa were adorned with Renaissance engaged columns and entablatures, and the towers of some of the parish churches in Jesuit Salcete feature Hindu-style cupolas and lanterns on their towers (figs. 7, 8, 9).³⁵

Some of the finest evidence of the skills of South Indian carvers is seen in the thousands of ivory statues of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Christian saints that survive in collections in India, Europe, and Latin America. Made primarily for export as well as for the Portuguese colonial gentry and as gifts to new Indian converts, these are among the subtlest examples of hybrid Christian art found anywhere in Asia.³⁶ One of the most common iconographies, inspired by late sixteenth-century engravings created by the Wierix brothers of Antwerp, is the young Christ as the Good Shepherd, usually seated in a contemplative pose on a rock in front of an intricately carved tree. Although the trees are missing from most extant examples, the spectacular seventeenth-century statue in the Joaquim Horta Correia collection survives intact (see

p. 163).³⁷ Christ sits on top of a rock playing a lute-like instrument, while God the Father and the Holy Spirit inhabit the tree behind him, turning the upper part of the piece into a Trinity. The hill below is unusually detailed, with vignettes of the Baptism of Christ, the Adoration of the Magi, the Nativity, and various saints set into caves, while sheep and shepherds cavort around the base. The sculpture is noteworthy for its crisp carving, seen in the almond-shaped eyes of the boy, the beading on his garment, and the individual tufts of his hair.

Occasionally, Christian ivories were combined to form ornate oratories. Owing to their costliness and rarity, these were most likely private commissions. One of the most splendid is a nine-panel portable altarpiece with relief carvings of the life of Christ and the Virgin together with Saint Michael and Saint John the Baptist. Four saints represent the Jesuit, Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian orders, an unusually ecumenical iconography in an era of competing religious orders. Richly carved twisting columns bearing foliate ornamentation divide the panels into three rows of

Fig. 7 (top left)
Shri Manguesh Temple,
Priol (Goa).

Fig. 8 (bottom left)
Jesuit parish church of
Nossa Senhora das
Neves, Raia (Salcete).

Fig. 9 (right)
Right tower of the
Jesuit parish church
of the Holy Spirit,
Margão (Salcete).



three, with the lower thirds occupied by cherubs. At the top, four angels play musical instruments and flank a trio of arches through which the sun, moon, and Eucharist are seen. Some of the panels repeat themes more commonly found in sculpture in the round, such as the Immaculate Conception and the Holy Family.³⁸ Another oratory, also from the seventeenth century, has a wooden triptych frame with ivory sculptures in the central section and ivory inlay on the sides (fig. 1). The central part contains a monumental Crucifixion with minute figures of the Madonna, Mary Magdalene, and Saint John the Evangelist on Golgotha Hill below. The background of the central section is inlaid with instruments of the Passion and freestanding apostle figures, while the wings feature scenes from the Passion of Christ, not entirely in order but running roughly counterclockwise. While this piece was likely assembled in Goa, some scholars believe the Christ figure is Sinhalese, given its prominent closed eyelids and the characteristic loop in the knot on the right of his loincloth.³⁹

Although Goa was a flourishing center for ivory, some of the finest Indo-Catholic ivories come from Buddhist Ceylon, where the art had flourished since the dawn of history.⁴⁰ During the Portuguese era—beginning with the foundation of the first Portuguese fort at Colombo in 1518–24 and ending with the final expulsion of the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1658—Ceylonese ivory workshops produced works of great delicacy by combining Sinhalese forms and motifs with those derived from European engravings and sculptures.⁴¹ Although the Franciscans had been importing European imagery to Ceylon since their arrival in 1543, the Jesuits also provided an important conduit for European sacred art.⁴² Members of the Society of Jesus founded a permanent mission in 1602, eventually concentrated in the Seven Korales region (north of Colombo and west of Kandy), and they established a college in Colombo in 1620.

Ceylonese ivory carvers are famous for a kind of decorative casket, with a rectangular shape and pitched lid, made in royal workshops in Kotte.⁴³ An early- to mid-seventeenth-century example with a flat lid in the Mota Collection in Madeira combines Jesuit iconography with Ceylonese fauna (fig. 10). The box was likely made for the Jesuit mission in Colombo, possibly as a gift for the Jesuit provincial in Goa or Portugal. The central panel of the lid depicts the Madonna and Child derived from Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Madonna by the Tree* (1513), copies of which the Jesuits brought to their mission in Mughal India.⁴⁴ The end panels feature portraits of Ignatius of Loyola with the Constitutions of the Society—taken from Cornelis Galle's title page from the *Vita Beati Patris Ignatii Loyolae* mentioned above—and the standing figure of Francis Xavier comes from Rubens's famous double portrait of Ignatius and Francis by Flemish artist Schelte à Bolswert (1586–1659), printed in Antwerp to mark the 1622 canonization of the two saints.⁴⁵ Ceylonese imagery includes a pair of peacocks flanking the Madonna, a pair of elephants on the front, and a pair of mythological creatures on the back, carved with the precise line and beveled edges typical of the island's sculptures.



In addition, Ceylonese ivory carvers manufactured a series of extraordinary Christian relief panels characterized by crisp incising and smooth, beveled edges, particularly in the drapery. One of the finest is the *Allegory of Divine and Profane Love*, the exact reverse of an engraving by Jerome Wierix titled *Sacred Love Defeats Profane Love* (circa 1595). A group of Jesuits and members of other religious orders gaze upward at a Crucifixion from which the Angel of Divine Love removes the arrows of Cupid, bound and blindfolded below, and replaces them with his own (see p. 198).⁴⁶ Another relief, this time depicting the Nativity, was likely inspired by a woodcut of that scene in Dürer's *Small Passion* (1510) or possibly an engraved version by Marcantonio Raimondi from circa 1512.⁴⁷ Another typical product of Sinhalese ivory workshops is a standing figure of the Virgin Mary, usually the Virgin Immaculate or, as here, the Madonna of the Rosary.⁴⁸ These figures are often adorned with gold and are characterized by a sinuous profile and undulating folds in the drapery. The Madonna of the Rosary was an especially popular image among the Jesuits. Even rarer are pieces in rock crystal, such as a figure of Christ from the early seventeenth century in the Peabody Essex Museum and another example from Dresden—in the latter the original Christ figure was replaced with one in jacinth in the eighteenth century—two of only four in the world (see p. 202).⁴⁹ Related closely to ivory figures of the same theme, they depict the infant Christ as the *Salvator Mundi*, or Savior of the World. Such figures derived ultimately from a group of engravings by the Wierix brothers that depict the infant Christ in various adult roles, and they were well received in southern India and Ceylon, where they conveniently recalled the iconography of Krishna or Buddha.

Catholic religious imagery received an unexpectedly warm reception in the Muslim north of India. In fact, few missionary encounters in Asia were as good-natured as that between the Jesuits and the great Mughal emperors Akbar (reigned

Fig. 10
Ivory casket with
portrait of Ignatius
of Loyola, after 1622.
Dr. Jorge Neves
da Mota Collection.



Fig. 11
Portrait of a European,
India, Mughal dynasty,
1610–20. Victoria
and Albert Museum.

1556–1605) and Jahangir (reigned 1605–27), and it led the Jesuits—erroneously—to believe that the emperors were possible targets for conversion. The intercultural exchange prospered because the Mughals promoted a climate of experimentation, originality, and openness that was remarkable for the time.⁵⁰ Like the Medici with their Platonic Academy formed in Florence a century earlier, these enlightened rulers invited scholars and priests from around the world to their court, housing them in their palaces and holding weekly interfaith debates. These theologians and their hosts expounded on the texts and traditions of faiths as varied as Judaism, Hinduism, and Sunni and Shi'a Islam. Among the most outspoken and influential participants were the Jesuits. Akbar had invited them from Goa in 1580 to represent the Catholic Church, and they remained at court (with some interruptions) until 1773. Although the Jesuits and the Muslim mullahs rarely agreed on the key tenets of their faiths, the emperors encouraged both sides to find commonalities between the two religions.

This encounter is best illustrated through Mughal painting, since Akbar was keenly interested in Western devotional art and encouraged his court artists to master the Late Renaissance style, particularly the Western conventions of modeling and perspective, in their book illustrations and album pages. These efforts can be seen in *Descent from the Cross* in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Hindu painters Manohar and Nanha probably painted it in the 1590s after they adapted the composition from a Marcantonio Raimondi engraving after a lost painting by Raphael. As so often happens with copies of engravings, the painting is in reverse, since the Mughal artists traced the original by punching through the paper and reversing it at will. Manohar and Nanha transformed the black-and-white original through the brilliant, jewel-like colors typical of Persian and Mughal painting, and they altered the clothing to Indian costume. Although the figures retain the linearity of Persian style, subtle shading gives them a hint of a third dimension. The heavenly glory in the upper part of the image derives from another printed source—this time of the Last Judgment—in a kind of pastiche treatment that was common in Mughal adaptations of European subjects. A painting of a Portuguese nobleman combines a portrait, probably taken from an engraving or another source, with a landscape derived from the artist's own imagination but using the Flemish technique of atmospheric perspective (fig. 11). In the distance thatched houses typical of the Netherlands compete with Hindu temples. The shading and flowing lines of the drapery demonstrate the care and skill with which artists in the courts of Akbar and his son Jahangir executed Western-style shading. The third Jesuit mission (begun 1595) briefly included a Portuguese painter, a non-Jesuit who tirelessly executed oil paintings on paper for the emperors but whose name is no longer known.⁵¹ A painting of *Susanna and the Elders* at the Freer Gallery, one of two by this painter to survive, derives from a Flemish print by Anton Wierix (1555/59–1604) after Maarten de Vos (1532–1603) and demonstrates that even European artists turned to prints when they were overseas.

The method of pastiche was especially prevalent in the page margins (*hashiyas*) of album books compiling paintings and verses commissioned by Prince Salim (the future Jahangir). In two phases (circa 1598–1604 and 1608–1609), royal artists incorporated figural motifs in the ornamental frames surrounding classical Persian poems, most of them written by the great sixteenth-century Safavid calligrapher Mir 'Ali. The earlier group, directed by court painters Aga Reza (active 1584–circa 1628) and possibly Basawan (active circa 1560–circa 1600), includes a smattering of Christian and other Western figures interspersed with Islamic and Hindu types, probably as a representation of world religions.⁵² Their relationship to the mystical love poems they frame is distant; only rarely can a connection be drawn between the meaning of the verses and perhaps a few of the figures in the margins. One page (circa 1599–1604) in the Freer collection, by Aga Reza's workshop, includes an extraordinary number of identifiable Western figures, including God the Father from the *Sacrifice of Noah* by Crispin de Passe (1564–1637), an

allegory of geometry called *Geometria* by the Franciscan preacher Georg Pencz (1500–1550), an anonymous *Ship of the Church* printed in Rome in 1580 with an image of the young Christ as the *Salvator Mundi*, and an allegory of charity (*Charitas*)—shorn of her wings—also by Pencz (see p. 161).⁵³ Typically, the main block of text bears little affiliation with these enigmatic figural images.

*Oh King! May you be happy and fortunate on your day of Eid [Islamic festival at the end of Ramadan]! Like the lip of a cup, may wine put a smile on the mouth of your soul; The horseman of your realm is continually on the polo pony; May the celestial sphere be thrown like a ball in the curve of the polo mallet!*⁵⁴

Only the reference to the celestial sphere, held here by the Christ Child in his ship, could possibly connect with the text—although the figure does not hold the corresponding polo mallet.

Not merely interested in Western art, Akbar demonstrated an immediate fascination with the cultic properties of Christian altarpieces. The Jesuits described how he emulated the behavior of a Christian devotee, prostrating before



the altarpiece in the Jesuit chapel, and he mimicked the way in which the Jesuits used curtains, incense, and candles to enhance the spiritual power of their images. In 1581 a member of the royal family exhibited one of the Jesuits' altarpieces, draped with rich textiles, in Akbar's audience chamber to honor his victorious return from a campaign in Afghanistan. Akbar displayed the same picture on other state occasions as well as at the Christian feast of the Assumption, when he made his courtiers bow before it.⁵⁵

A fascinating chapter in the history of the Mughal mission began in 1587, when Jerome Xavier (a relative of Francis) wrote a series of catechisms in Persian, the court language. These editions of Gospel stories, lives of Christ and the Apostles, and lives of the saints constitute the first Catholic literature in the Persian language. One of them, titled *Mirāt al-Quds* (Mirror of Holiness, 1602), came out in several editions, with two of them being richly illustrated by court painters in a hybrid Mughal-Renaissance style and others only bearing elaborate frontispieces (see p. 160).⁵⁶ In a fascinating way this treatise reveals how much the Jesuits had learned in their struggle with Protestantism. Islam was not iconoclastic per se, but Muslims were wary of figural imagery in a religious context, and any arguments in favor of imagery had to be couched in terms similar to those used with Lutherans or Calvinists. The book begins with the story of Abgarus V, King of Edessa, a tale of a miraculous image used by John of Damascus in his defense of sacred imagery during the Iconoclast Controversy (fig. 12).⁵⁷ When stricken by a life-threatening disease, Abgarus sent his court artist to paint a likeness of Jesus. Unable to do justice to his subject, the distraught painter asked Jesus to imprint the likeness of his face onto a piece of cloth. This miraculous portrait, known as the Mandylinion, cured the king immediately. In giving this story such prominence, the Jesuits stressed the importance of the cult of images in Catholic life. Abgarus, however, was also a thinly veiled reference to Akbar himself, since he too was a king who sent embassies and artists far and wide to find Catholic devotional images, and the names Akbar and Abgar use the same four letters in Persian.⁵⁸ The sole surviving illustration to this text, in the Lahore Museum, carries this caption:

He found the honorable picture ['sūrat-i girāmī'] on the garment to be correct and without inconsistency [darast o bī tefāvot], and he was successful [cured] ['kāmiyāb']. He brought the presence of his God ['pīsh-i khodā'] before him and treated it with the greatest esteem and respect.⁵⁹

The new Western style and its Christian subject matter soon extended to jewelry, sculpture in the round, and furniture. The most extraordinary piece of furniture to survive from this encounter is a black wooden altar frontal (now converted into a table) inlaid with ivory, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum (see p. 205). Possibly commissioned for the Jesuit chapel in Lahore, the table was manufactured in the western part of the Mughal empire and incorporates an image of a monstrance surrounded by angels and the Portuguese inscription "Lovvado seja o Santissimo Sacramento" (Exalted is the Holy Sacrament) among figural and floral decoration in the Mughal style.⁶⁰

Fig. 12
'Abgarus, King of Edessa,' School of Manohar, ca. 1602. Lahore Museum.

Once Christian subject matter extended to monumental wall painting in Mughal palaces and tombs—a handful of them survive today—rumors circulated about the imminent conversion of the Muslim emperors. Hopeful Portuguese governors, English merchants, and Catholic clerics hurried to forge alliances with this new “Prester John” (a semi-mythical Asian Christian prince). Despite their cordiality, the Mughals were not interested in conversion and instead harnessed Catholic devotional imagery to serve their own ends. They capitalized upon links between Catholic iconography and Indian and Islamic symbols to communicate their message of divinely sanctioned kingship.⁶¹ This propagandistic use of Christian iconography is particularly apparent in the so-called Dream Pictures of Jahangir, an experimental and short-lived attempt to adapt the European Renaissance frontispiece to Imperial portraiture (see p. 184).⁶² These hybrid works by court painters Abu’l-Hasan (1585–1628) and Bichitr, who was active in the first half of the seventeenth century, incorporated elements from Catholic iconography and Elizabethan portraiture, yet they remained essentially Mughal and Islamic in content. Like Akbar’s early experiments in Christian image veneration, they demonstrate a keen understanding of the power of Catholic sacred iconography and of the ways in which it could be manipulated.

JAPAN

Japan was the site of the most flourishing Jesuit art workshop in Asia. Francis Xavier began the mission when he arrived in Kagoshima in 1549 with a trunk full of paintings and other devotional objects.⁶³ He and his companions wandered the streets, holding up paintings of the Virgin Mary or Christ the Savior on the end of a pole so they could be seen by the crowd, and he preached before them with the assistance of Japanese translators. Although the Jesuits initially had limited success on the main island of Honshu, spectacular conversions occurred in Kyushu, where, once the daimyo (feudal lord) accepted Christianity, his people usually followed suit. Soon the Jesuits gained a powerful patron in Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), the de facto shogun (military leader) of Honshu. By 1593 the Jesuits could boast of 215,000 Japanese converts. Most of them were organized into lay confraternity groups, which allowed them a measure of independence from the clergy and helped Christianity persevere after the Tokugawa government banned the religion in 1614.⁶⁴ Beginning in 1580, the Jesuits administered colleges in Japan that were popular not only with converts but also with the sons of non-Christian families. Numerous personal objects, such as crosses or ceramic bowls decorated with Christian imagery, attest to this Christian era in Japan.

Giovanni Niccolò (1563–1626), a Jesuit painter from Nola, a town near Naples, founded a Jesuit art school in Japan in 1583.⁶⁵ Documents of the period refer to it as the “Seminary of Painters,” and it was the only institution in Asia to rival the Jesuit art workshops of Spanish America, such as the Calera de Tango in Chile or those of the Reductions in Paraguay or Chiquitos (lowland Bolivia).⁶⁶ Although the academy did not initially set out to adopt Japanese styles to Christian

themes, the art produced by the school became increasingly hybrid as more Japanese and Chinese students swelled its ranks. By 1594 the Seminary of Painters employed more than twenty artists, a number that may have doubled two years later, when the Jesuit bishop of Japan boasted that the academy was “overflowing with boys and young men who were painters, every one of them with his picture in his hand, painting various images in oil.”⁶⁷ By 1603 most of the seventy students at the Nagasaki College were in some way involved with the burgeoning art school. Students at the Seminary of Painters created images in oil on copper, wood, and canvas, as well as watercolors on paper. Students used a printing press and foundry to cast copies of European bronze plaquettes, and the school also made musical instruments and clocks.

Typical of the work of the Seminary of Painters is a strangely disembodied painting on copper from the 1590s showing a “miraculous” image of Veronica’s veil. A brightly colored oil painting on copper of the *Salvator Mundi*, executed in 1597 by “Sacam Iacobus,” may be the sole dated work by Jacobo Niwa (1579–1635), a half-Japanese, half-Chinese Jesuit brother who later painted for Matteo Ricci in China and executed altarpieces in Macao. With its glowing reds and gold borders, the image conveys a fiery energy, and Niwa demonstrates a mature understanding of Western drawing techniques and chiaroscuro in his treatment of facial lines. Yet, if the face itself offers few traces of Japanese style, the colors are very Japanese. The gold borders on Christ’s robe recall the gold highlights that accent the armor in traditional samurai portraiture, an appropriate reference in a work of art redolent of Christian triumph. Other Christian images were transformed through the addition of indigenous decorative elements, costumes, or props that often give them a festive flavor. One of the most striking is a large painting (oil on wood panel) of St. Michael the Archangel in the Seminario de São José in Macao (see p. 234). Inspired by Jerome Wierix’s print *Quis Sicut Deus?*, Niwa or another exiled Japanese member of the Seminary of Painters (Luis Shiwozuka, Mancio João, Leonardo Kimura, or Mancio Tai-chiku) most likely painted it in Macao for the new Jesuit church of Nossa Senhora during the first half of the seventeenth century.⁶⁸ The archangel trades his lance for a Chinese *dadao* broadsword and wears a helmet and sleeves adorned with variations on the Chinese *lingzhi* fungus motif. As with the 1597 *Salvator Mundi*, the borders of the costume are outlined in bright gold, another hint of the figure’s warrior status. The warrior-like stance in an East Asian manner recalls not only samurai portraiture but also the martial arts stance of traditional images of Buddhist guardian kings in both Japan and China.

Many of the copper or wooden paintings produced by the Seminary are set into riotously decorated lacquered wood (*urushi*) triptych frames that close in front of the image for easy transportation. Known as “hanging shrines” or “traveling shrines,” these small altarpieces were executed in traditional black lacquer adorned with silver and gold dust (*maki-e*) and mother-of-pearl inlay (*raden*) (fig. 13). The frames were made in a separate workshop by presumably non-Christian Japanese



Fig 13
Portable altarpiece,
Japan, late 16th century.
Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Sardoal.

lacquer workers, but the patterns and styles differ from traditional Japanese lacquers, which do not use inlay but instead feature looser, more naturalistic ornamentation. Some of the frames incorporate overtly Christian motifs, such as Eucharist grapes or the monogram of Christ (IHS) seen in these two examples. A few of the paintings in these shrines are by the same hand, and they satisfy Japanese concepts of beauty, such as puckered, “bee-strung” lips, high foreheads and arched eyebrows, and small, distinctive ears. An occasional awkwardness is evident in the use of European foreshortening, most notably in the hands.⁶⁹ Lacquer workshops also produced utilitarian objects for a Christian clientele, including small tabernacles and lecterns as well as a Bible stand featuring a monogram of Christ and the three nails of Christ surrounded by flowering branches and birds. Lecterns were made in two pieces to fold together for easy transportation. They were sufficiently functional that similar pieces were used in Buddhist temples after the prohibition against Christianity.

The Seminary of Painters was surprisingly influential beyond the Japanese Christian community. Non-Christian painters, some from the celebrated Kanō school that had dominated Japanese painting since the fifteenth century, flocked there to learn European techniques of shading, coloring, and

perspective, and they helped to arouse a general fashion for a hybrid painting style. Especially prominent were large paper folding screens (*byōbu*) illustrating landscapes, bird’s-eye views of towns, maps, and European figures and animals in rich, vibrant colors. Certain details are typical of mainstream Japanese screen painting—notably the colors, technique, and interest in genre details—but the artists’ familiarity with Western modeling and draftsmanship set them apart. The screens were probably workshop efforts, with different painters being responsible for the figures and landscapes. Some of them used oil painting for the figures and Japanese watercolors for the backgrounds, while others employed thickened water-soluble pigments with a white body and glue binder to simulate the opacity of oil painting. The Western figures and landscapes were copied freely from engravings, atlases, and other printed sources. A splendid pair of five-panel screens depict a colorful map of the world and forty sets of exotic people from around the globe (including some of the earliest Japanese depictions of Native Americans), all rendered with European shading. Other screens contain hidden Christian meanings. Several depict the Good Shepherd, priests, or hermit figures in contemplative poses, which suggests Japanese Christians used the screens as a

tool for meditation. Many of them were painted by the Japanese Christian artists “Nobukata” (active circa 1591–1608) and Yamada Emonsaku (or Emosaku, circa 1570–1650s). Their works were popular with the samurai class, especially with the daimyo and their families, and many were executed in 1591 as part of the wedding dowry for the sister of a bodyguard of supreme warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598).

In a paradoxical tribute to the Seminary of Painters, the images produced by the atelier became the focus of the persecutions of the Tokugawa government after Catholics were formally expelled from Japan in 1614. That edict was repeated several times during the century, as a wooden notice dated 1682 indicates. As part of a ceremony initiated by the new regime in 1633, “foot-treading pictures” (*fumi-e*)—Christian paintings and bronze plaquettes made by the Seminary—were placed on the ground, and the citizens of Nagasaki were forced to walk upon them as a symbol of their abjuration from Christianity. Like the Byzantine iconoclasts or the Protestants, the Nagasaki police were unconsciously acknowledging the power of sacred imagery in their passion to eliminate Christianity. On the other hand, this same power helped keep the memory of Japanese Christianity alive. Contraband Christian iconography, hidden away in the houses of crypto-Christians in the islands west of Kyushu, inspired their owners to preserve Christianity—albeit in a very hybrid form—until the works were discovered by modern-day missionaries in the late nineteenth century.⁷⁰ Similarly, images of the martyrdom of Japanese Christians motivated generations of missionaries in Europe, Asia, and Latin America to continue what they saw as their battle against “paganism.” Within decades, paintings and sculptures of Japanese martyrs, as seen in the details of a gory Japanese watercolor—possibly an eyewitness depiction of the “Great Martyrdom” of Christians in Nagasaki in 1622—or in images of the 1597 martyrdom of Jesuits and Franciscans crucified together, appeared in Jesuit and Franciscan churches in places as widespread as Austria, Mexico, Bolivia, and Macao.

CHINA

Missionaries in China faced greater cultural challenges, particularly in the arts, than did their counterparts in Japan or South Asia. The Chinese emperor and literati tolerated missionary activity only if it adapted to Chinese tradition. This imperative also held true for the arts of the mission, which had to conform to Chinese taste—at least officially.⁷¹ In hopes of selling to the Christian market, non-Christian Chinese artists showed no hesitation in copying Christian imagery in a Western manner, as did Hindu sculptors in Goa. In December 1561, before the first Catholic mission was founded in China, a Portuguese nobleman became one of the first witnesses of the Chinese skill at imitating Western products in the name of trade.⁷² He described a Chinese workshop in which craftsmen, imitating the Flemish aesthetic style, mass-produced Christian devotional images, including a processional banner, ivory crucifixes, and canvas paintings. The nobleman wrote disdainfully that Chinese craftsmen “never lose an opportunity for profit, which is virtually their only aim,” yet this scorn did not prevent his countrymen from

purchasing thousands of Chinese-made Christian art objects over the next two centuries to supply their Asian missions and co-religionists in Latin America and Europe.⁷³ The Chinese craftsmen knew their market. A mere four years after the foundation of the first permanent European settlement in China at Macao, Chinese artisans already demonstrated a highly sophisticated knowledge of the specific iconographic needs of these foreigners.

Most Christian ivory carvings were manufactured in southeastern China, particularly in Zhangzhou in the province of Fujian. This was a short sea voyage from Macao and Spanish-held Manila, both important markets for ivories. In 1573, two years after the Spanish had taken Manila, junks arrived from Fujian with cargoes of native goods, including “images of crucifixes and very curious seals made like ours [the Spaniards’].”⁷⁴ The Fujian craftsmen—and the Chinese in Manila’s Parián (Chinatown) and Macao—followed European models but also blended Chinese style, motifs, physiognomy, and even iconography with the imported forms. Both Western and Chinese elements are evident in three ivories, one of them a Crucifixion scene with figures bearing Chinese facial features, and two of them carved plaques (similar to the Goan examples discussed above) but embellished with typically Chinese cloud motifs (see p. 217). The European models that inspired these works were almost exclusively engravings, either loose sheets or bound in books, produced in Antwerp by printmakers such as the Wierix brothers or Phillip Galle (1537–1612). One such model is an engraving by the Flemish printmaker Jerome Wierix of the revered icon of the Madonna and Child in Rome (see p. 163).



Fig. 14
'Christ at the Column,'
17th century. Museum of
Sacred Art, Church of
São Domingos, Macao.

Known as the *Salus Populi Romani* (Salvation of the Roman People), it became a favorite image among Jesuits throughout the world.⁷⁵ Chinese artisans did not restrict their work to Christian statues or plaques. Silversmiths produced also church furnishings, such as an engraved silver reliquary in the form of a monstrance in the Jesuits' church of São Roque in Lisbon (see p. 134).⁷⁶ Although in most respects it is European in style, particularly in the base, the sunrays surrounding the head of the monstrance resemble fish scales or fins. This suggests the maker may have been unfamiliar with the Western convention of the sunburst.

The Jesuits were the most active patrons of the arts in Macao, particularly when the Seminary of Painters moved there from Japan after 1614. Members of the Seminary continued to produce paintings and sculpture for several years after they were transferred to Macao. The only clue to the origin of a statue of Christ at the Column, now in the Sacred Art Museum at the church of São Domingos, is its hint of Asian physiognomy (fig. 14). As time went on, Asian painters incorporated more of their own styles into the works they produced for Macanese churches. A fragment of a mural painting (after 1622), for instance, recently discovered inside the Church of Our Lady of Guia, includes traditional Chinese rock-and-flower ornamentation (fig. 15).⁷⁷ The façade of the Jesuit church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção (more popularly known as St. Paul's, begun in 1601) is one of the most dramatic examples of an Asian *estilo mestiço* (fig. 16). Designed by the Italian Jesuits Carlo Spinola and Giovanni Niccolò, it follows late Italian Renaissance convention in its overall structure (as at Diu), with freestanding columns, statues in niches, and a pediment. The sculptural decoration of the façade, carved by Chinese and probably also Japanese sculptors, nevertheless tells a different story. Chinese temple lions, peering down as if on a Buddhist temple, support the obelisks at the very top of the facade. The drapery of the figures of Christ and the Virgin Mary has the beveled line and windswept quality of Buddhist sculpture, and motifs, such as Chinese cloud scrolls and carp, are adopted from traditional Chinese painting, porcelains, and other arts. The angels closely resemble a flying Buddhist deity known as an *apsaras*. Explanatory texts in Chinese characters—the first known in a Christian building—further emphasize the façade's Chinese identity. A recently discovered stone angel, possibly removed from the exterior of a church or some other ecclesiastical building in Macao, is similarly hybrid in form, with a gown and splayed feet that recall Northern Wei Buddhist sculpture (386–534 C.E.) and a delicately carved base of Chinese clouds (see p. 212).

The Jesuits established the first permanent Catholic mission on mainland China in 1580. Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), the most famous early missionary, was an Italian polyglot and intellectual who not only acquired an astonishing command of classical Chinese language and Confucian literature but also was himself a prolific author of philosophical, mathematical, and scientific works.⁷⁸ His decision to dress as a Confucian gentleman is immortalized in a portrait painted in Beijing by the Chinese Christian artist Emanuel Pereira (Yu Wenhui, 1575–1633) from Macao (see p. 164). Pereira had



earlier served as an artist to the Nanjing mission with Ricci—until his superior, dismayed with his “mediocre” abilities, replaced him with Jacobo Niwa.⁷⁹ The image merits interest since it exhibits some hybrid features. The sweeping, linear curve of the nose and eyebrows recalls Chinese painting conventions, and the figure's stiff three-quarters pose before a relatively blank background resembles traditional Chinese portraiture.

Ricci and his followers won the respect of the Chinese literati and soon founded missions along the coast in southern China and in the imperial capital of Beijing in 1601. Yet, like most Europeans of his era, Ricci was convinced of the superiority of

Fig. 15
Mural with Chinese rock-and-flower ornamentation, Church of Our Lady of Guia, Macao.



Fig. 16
Façade, Church
of Nossa Senhora da
Assunção, Macao.

Western art, and he dismissed Chinese painting traditions, a major error considering how deeply engrained painting was in Chinese literary life. To the Chinese literati, poetry, calligraphy, and painting were the “three perfections” (*sanjue*), and most scholars practiced each of them. Chinese painting was very calligraphic in style, and naturalism was not as esteemed as it was in Europe. Instead of learning how to paint landscapes with a Chinese brush, Ricci wrote to Rome asking for the finest Italian oil paintings the Society could afford. He hoped the naturalism of these works would dazzle the emperor and Chinese intellectuals. Instead, the Chinese saw them as competent but trivial endeavors, something best categorized as a craft. Even the Chinese Jesuit artist Wu Li (1632–1718), one of the most remarkable painters in the history of the Society of Jesus and the author of an entirely new genre of Chinese-Christian poetry, showed little interest in European art and continued to paint in the literati tradition until his death.⁸⁰

Just before Ricci’s death in 1610, the Jesuits changed their approach in the visual arts.⁸¹ This adaptation took place among both commoners and the elite. Most converts outside the privileged classes of the imperial court or the literati were receptive to devotional art. Pervasive Daoist and Buddhist traditions made these converts familiar with figural imagery, especially that in a domestic setting. As in Japan, Jesuit missionaries made widespread use of sacred imagery when they preached, and they distributed copper images, medallions, and rosaries to new converts. A few pieces of this mission art

have survived, especially in church sacristies in Europe, and they tend to be very Chinese in style.

While Chinese-style Christian imagery flourished on the popular level, the Jesuits tried once more to attract the literati, this time with greater success. The medium of choice was the woodblock print, an indigenous Chinese printing method that predated its use in Europe. It proved to be as useful among the Chinese as it had been with the Lutherans. To illustrate catechisms and Bible stories, missionaries hired Chinese woodblock printers to carve Christian scenes taken from a Flemish gospel of 1593 by Gerónimo Nadal.⁸² Pictures, such as an illustration of the Visitation, follow their Flemish models almost exactly in subject and composition, but virtually every line is transcribed into its Chinese stylistic equivalent, thus transforming physiognomy, costume, and architecture.

The most celebrated period of Jesuit artistic activity in China occurred during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century. Paradoxically, this production had little direct bearing on Jesuit missionary aims, since Jesuit artists and technicians from throughout Europe labored for the emperors as exalted domestic servants. Giovanni Castiglione (1688–1768), Denis Attiret (1702–1768), and Michel Benoist (1715–1787) were among the most famous of these artists. The Kangxi emperor (reigned 1662–1722) was the first to include Jesuits in his imperial workshops, followed by Yongcheng (reigned 1723–35) and Qianlong (reigned 1736–95), who pressed into service missionaries with any artistic skills to

manufacture everything from fountains and palace pavilions to painted portraits, enameled metalwork, ceramic ornaments, and clocks. The Jesuits only served under these conditions because their influence at court guaranteed protection for their now-flourishing mission on Chinese soil. Although the emperor was interested in enjoying the benefits of Western artistic technology, he had little regard for European style. Everything had to be done within traditional Chinese parameters. Writing about Father Attiret, a French priest commented bluntly in 1769, "It is necessary that he abandon his taste and his ideas in many aspects, so that he can accommodate to those of the country."⁸³ One of these artists, the French Jesuit Charles Belleville (1656–1730), moved to Brazil in 1708 or 1709, where he painted the magnificent sacristy ceiling at the Jesuit novitiate church of Belém de Cachoeira (fig. 17).⁸⁴ The wooden ceiling, with its rich seal reds, greens, and gold against a black lacquer background, and its Chinese motifs with floral decorations of fleshy peonies, chrysanthemums, lotus flowers, and gold geometrical ornamentation confirm Belleville still remembered how to paint in the Asian style years after he left China.

The pope, not the Chinese emperor, terminated the Jesuits' mission to China. Prodded by rival missionary groups, Pope Benedict XIV censured Ricci's Confucian interpretation of Christianity in 1742 at the conclusion of the notorious "Chinese Rites controversy." Nevertheless, by that time Christian imagery was already widespread in Chinese popular culture—and in a way that had nothing whatever to do with religion. Chinese society was increasingly becoming a "culture of curiosity," ever more spellbound by exotica in a manner

that recalled the European vogue for chinoiserie.⁸⁵ By serving as a conduit for Western art and science at a time when little information reached China by other means, the Society of Jesus left its legacy, albeit a secular one, in Chinese visual culture of the Qing dynasty.

The inglorious end of the Chinese Rites controversy, Goa's repeated pronouncements against Hindu sculptors of Christian art, and Jerome Xavier's carefully worded justification for imagery in his Persian catechisms all show that, despite the Catholic Church's triumphal approach to missionary work overseas, the Protestant accusations of satanic behavior made Catholic churchmen tread lightly when it came to adopting indigenous religious concepts or iconographies. A notable case in point is Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656), a celebrated Jesuit missionary who lived for forty years among the Tamils of southern India. He adopted their dress, food, and manner of living, and he wrote scholarly treatises in the Tamil vernacular. Although he wore the clothes of an Indian mystic, he was extremely wary of the idolatrous dangers present in trying to accommodate to the Hindu religion. In one of his treatises, *Nitya Jivana Callāpam* (Dialogue on Eternal Life), he devoted three chapters to idolatry, painstakingly rehearsing the arguments in favor of imagery as promulgated by the Council of Trent, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and other sources, but also making clear demarcations with the worship of idols.⁸⁶ De Nobili's experience shows that, while the Jesuits believed in the miraculous powers of imagery and were committed to using the visual arts to communicate with and convert the peoples of the world, they were determined to keep the Devil out of it.

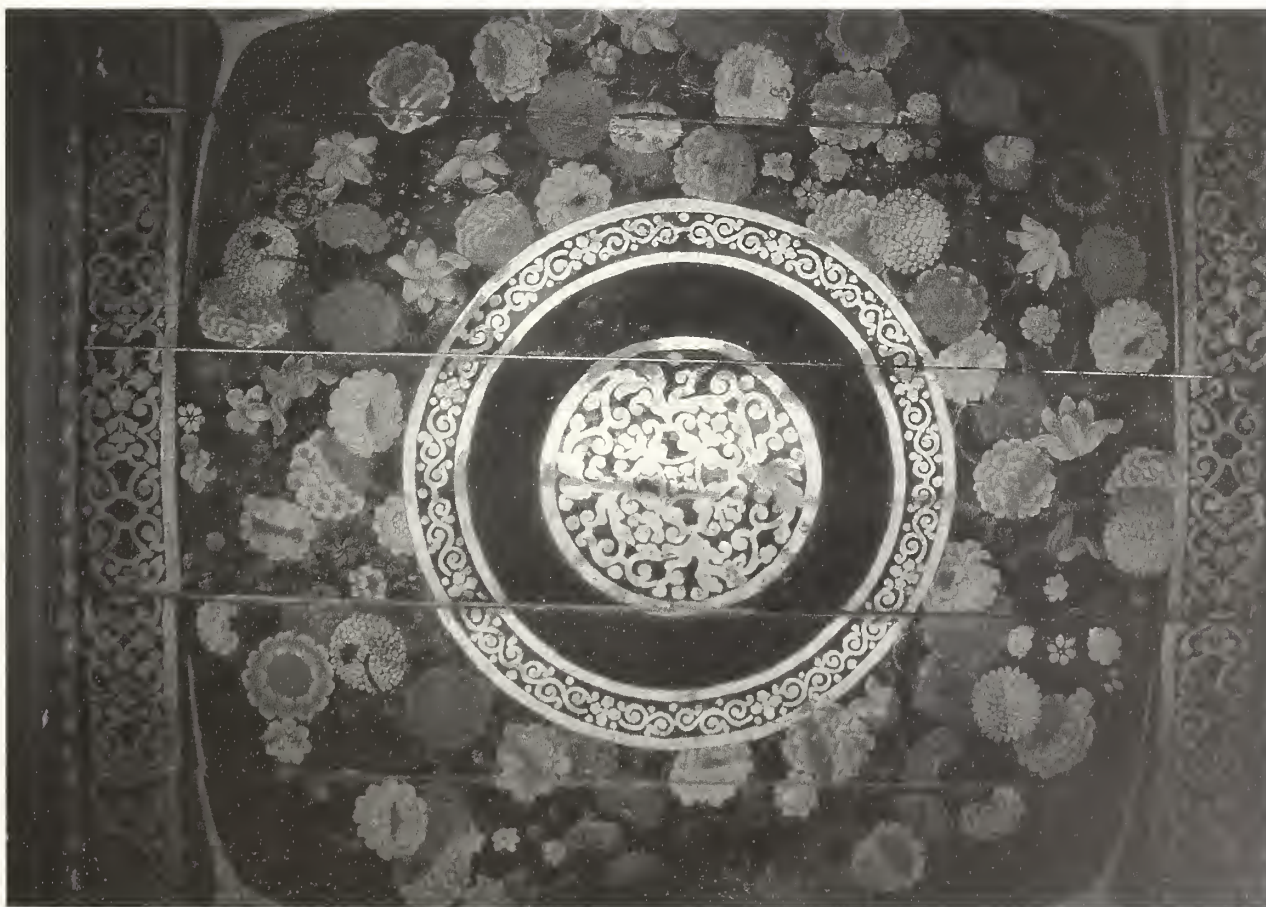


Fig. 17
Charles Belleville
(1656–1730), Chinese-
style ceiling in the
Church of Belém de
Cachoeira, Brazil.

پشاه جهانگیر غیاث شاه و شاه جوان بخت لاله
 بشاد کی شکوه مجسم بدولت نیند پهلوی تم



جهان دآباد از عدلشان بایشان سپوده جهان
 جویار و برادر هم دوزخ الهی دولت ز هم زجور

“THEY HAVE DISCOVERED US”

The Portuguese and the Trading World of the Indian Ocean

JORGE FLORES

On returning to Lisbon after his voyage to India in the summer of 1499, Vasco da Gama was questioned by Francisco de Portugal, count of Vimioso, who wanted to hear “what goods are available there to bring here, and what things they would like in exchange.” Finding out that Western gold and silver would be needed to obtain Eastern spices, the count made the following, deliciously sarcastic observation: “In the end, they are the ones who discovered us.”¹

From the beginning, the Portuguese faced a high degree of commercial and cultural sophistication in the Indian Ocean, though they were not truly prepared to deal with this reality. During his formal reception by the Samudri Raja on May 30, 1498—after being warned the previous day by two prominent Muslim officials that the gift he had brought “was not a thing to offer to a king”—Vasco da Gama was forced to listen to the ruler of Calicut bitterly declare, in front of a large group of courtiers, that Gama “came from a very rich kingdom, and yet had brought him nothing.”² After Pedro Álvares Cabral’s expedition in 1500–01 met with difficulties that Venetian observers would comment about for years, some in Portugal even called for the end of the voyages to India. Throughout the sixteenth century, there always seemed to be someone speaking out against Portuguese involvement in the Indian Ocean, with some skeptics calling for the dedication of resources to Portugal’s war in Morocco, and others in favor of developing markets in the South Atlantic. To this second group, who were primarily interested in trade, the Indian Ocean was potentially unprofitable. To the first group, representing the military interests of the nobility, India had the disadvantage of appearing to be a solely commercial enterprise.

Despite these perpetual doubts, King Manuel I (reigned 1495–1521) neither withdrew from Asia nor gave up the project of carving out a “Portuguese Asia,” which he began conceptualizing as early as 1499. That year, the Portuguese king declared himself “Lord of Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India,” a singular royal title that betrays his imperial project to transform the Indian Ocean from a geographical concept to a political and economic space for Portugal.³ Six years later, in 1505, the *Estado da Índia* was born as a peculiar kind of political and administrative entity. It was composed of fortresses, maritime cities, and other small coastal settlements, termed *povoações* and *bandeiras*,⁴ many of which were frequently in rebellion (either openly or tacitly) against Goa, which in 1510 became the capital of the Portuguese Empire in Asia. These sites quickly multiplied over an area stretching from East Africa to Japan,

creating an empire that held little territory and was spatially discontinuous, a floating domain principally supported by its control of the Indian Ocean trade routes.

While the creation of a “Portuguese Indian Ocean” was facilitated by military and naval superiority, Portugal’s success was very much dependent on gaining a profound understanding of the region and its material life—its goods and its commercial networks, its mercantile communities and its port cities. As such, King Manuel, who liked to present himself as “king of the sea,”⁵ was frequently forced to become a student, dedicating himself to understanding the economic and political geography of maritime Asia. Local informants were absolutely essential to the task, and the Portuguese monarch relied particularly on Jewish converts who were veterans of the Asian theater, such as Gaspar da Gama (also known as “Gaspar da Índia”) and Francisco de Albuquerque.⁶ At the same time, it was vital that the first generation of Portuguese active in the Indian Ocean quickly learn to observe and describe the complex world in which they were operating. Answering the call were men like Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, who were able to craft comprehensive descriptions of maritime Asia less than two decades after Vasco da Gama’s frosty reception in Calicut.⁷

The year 1498 did not necessarily mark the beginning of a new age in the history of the Indian Ocean; in many ways, the arrival of the Portuguese signified the entry of one more group of actors in a long, complex cast of characters pursuing different interests—sometimes as competitors, sometimes as partners. Far from a simple stage on which Portugal, followed by the other Western powers, would operate century after century without getting its hands dirty, the ocean was a dynamically evolving entity, with the presence of Europeans not always leading to obvious changes. The most interesting historical cases are those in which the newly arrived Europeans and indigenous societies were transformed together, without the Europeans necessarily constituting an active role nor their Asian counterparts consigned to a passive one. It is with this idea in mind—i.e., that Europeans were not the dominant force in the Indian Ocean during the early modern period—that the classic question of Portugal’s impact on the region should be considered.⁸

What sort of Indian Ocean did the Portuguese encounter? What did they hope to achieve? How did the Indian Ocean region and the Portuguese presence in Asia evolve during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? In geographical terms, my analysis centers on a broad western Indian Ocean, stretching

Fig. 1
‘Jahangir Entertains Shah Abbas, from the St. Petersburg Album,’ ca. 1620, Abu’l Hasan; borders by Muhammad Sadiq, 1747. Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

from the Swahili coast to the Ganges River delta, including Sri Lanka and the Maldives, navigational landmarks between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.

THE WESTERN INDIAN OCEAN IN THE EARLY MODERN ERA

When Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, maritime Asia was at the height of its so-called "Age of Commerce." The feverish mercantile and maritime activity associated with this label, commonly used by historians, derives in large measure from the expansion of Islam in Asia, which particularly affected the continent's coastal areas from the seventh and eighth centuries and again from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. During this period, communities of Muslim merchants established themselves along the coast of the Indian Ocean, especially in South Asia.⁹ These communities were responsible for the variety of commercial networks throughout the region as well as for the spread of the port city (specifically, the sultanate) as a political and economic model. Many modern scholars see the creation of an Islamic world-economy as inaugurating a new phase in the history of the Indian Ocean; their studies on this subject reflect a belief that Islam brought about a radical break with the past.¹⁰ This position is somewhat reductive; indeed, it is as problematic to speak of an "Islamic Era" in maritime Asia as it is to assert a "Vasco da Gama Era" for the region. While the arrival of Islam doubtlessly constituted a key moment in the history of the Indian Ocean, there are numerous problems associated with the concept of an "Islamic Era." For example, the consecration of Islam as the defining force minimizes other "identities" in

the region, from merchant communities and other coastal groups to different religions and cultures.¹¹

Whether or not one subscribes to the "Islamic Era" theory, most agree that this period in Asian maritime commerce was strongly influenced by the spice trade.¹² The Europeans' search for spices after 1500 earned the trade such a prominent place in the relevant historiography that Indian commercial history during the early modern era tends to be considered synonymous with the production and circulation of pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and nutmeg. In fact, a seemingly infinite number of other goods were transported and traded across maritime Asia during this period, linking well-known oceanic trade routes to smaller regional and local commercial networks. The long and eclectic list includes textiles, ivory, rice, sugar, horses, elephants, iron, saltpeter, pearls, precious stones, jewels, carpets, illuminated manuscripts, luxury furniture, aromatic plants, and intoxicating substances, among others. A detailed study of any one of the abovementioned commodities invariably would show that trade in maritime Asia was hardly static, with regular shifts in consumer tastes and markets leading to frequent changes in the goods offered for sale, as well as in the hierarchy of port cities. See, for example, the case of coffee, whose increasing consumption in the Ottoman and Safavid Empires around the turn of the seventeenth century helps to explain the concurrent rise of the Yemeni port of Mocha.¹³

Beyond its immediately economic dimension, this exchange of goods had cultural implications as well. Trade gives a society access to goods from other cultures, and thus inevitably molds people's daily lives, affects their tastes, and creates interesting opportunities for cultural exchange.¹⁴

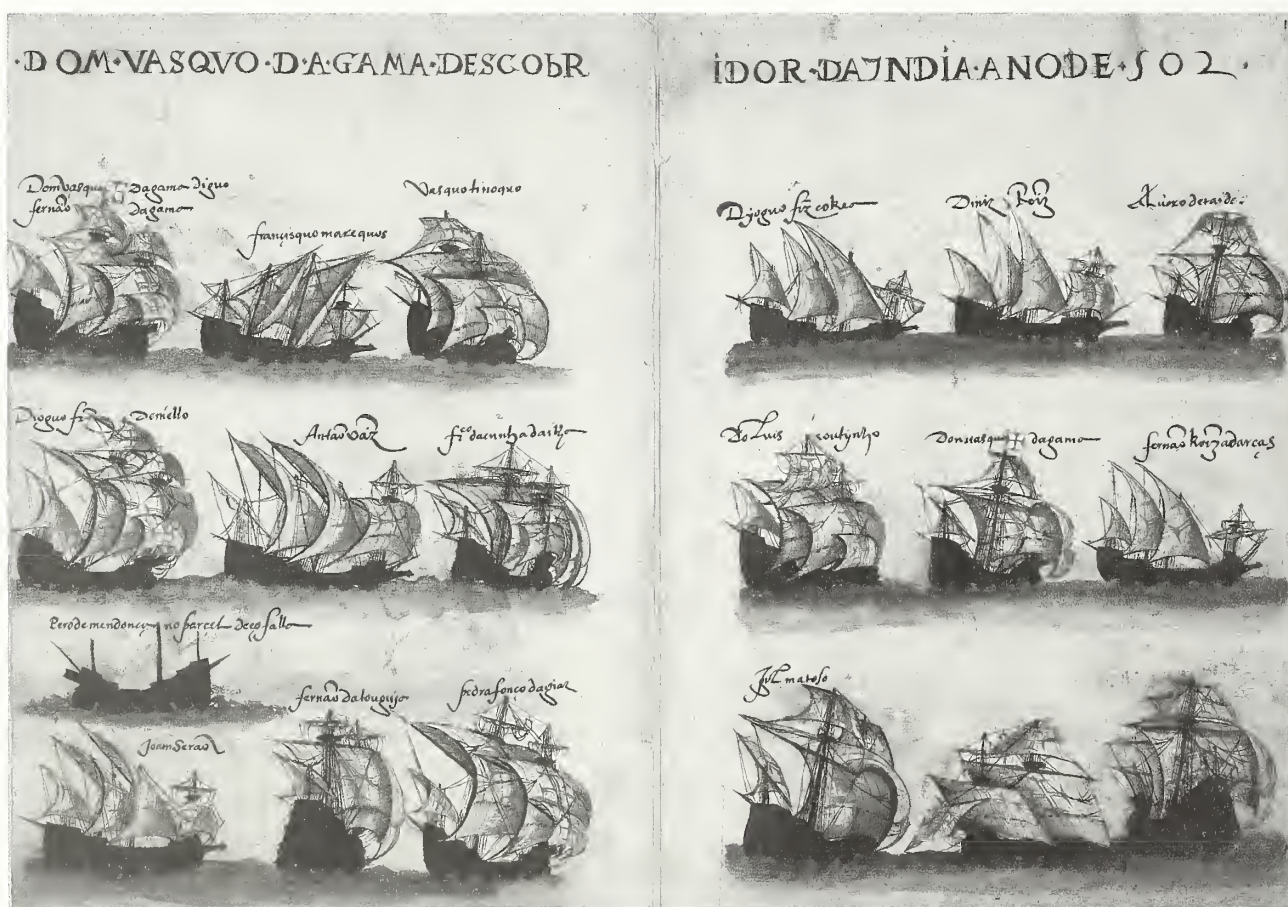


Fig. 2
'The second [1502]
fleet of Vasco da
Gama, from Livro de
Lisuarte de Abreu,'
Goa, India, 1558-64.
The Pierpont Morgan
Library, New York.

There are innumerable examples of forms of dress, habits, and artistic values and modes of production successfully “migrating” from one culture to another. In Hormuz (Jarun), for example, one could see sacred cows wandering through the streets much as they would in any city in India as well as people chewing betel as though they were in Calicut.¹⁵ And Narai (reigned 1656–88), the ruler of the Buddhist kingdom of Siam, dressed in the Iranian fashion influenced by the Persian presence in the realm, refusing to wear a turban solely because he found it uncomfortably heavy.¹⁶

The Portuguese quickly inserted themselves into the diversity of production and consumption habits that was maritime Asia and contributed significantly to the richness of the region. While in 1498 Vasco da Gama was concerned with rounding the Cape of Good Hope in pursuit of spices, just a few years later, by 1509–15, Afonso de Albuquerque was attempting to carve out a place for the Portuguese in inter-Asian commerce—the trade he suggestively described as *da Índia em Índia* (from India to India). Gaining control of Goa (1510) and Hormuz (1515), Albuquerque tried his hand at the trade in horses between the Persian Gulf and India, as lucrative as the spice trade, if not more so. Moreover, there are many other examples of Portuguese intervention in the regional economy that, while not considerably relevant to the financial situation of the *Estado da Índia*, were nonetheless particularly important where cross-cultural trade was concerned: officials purchasing Indian coverlets or tortoise-shell caskets, and adventurers wearing earrings and dressing in the Muslim fashion are cases in point. As recent arrivals to the region, the Portuguese were one of several groups of clients in the dynamic commercial environment of the Indian Ocean, acquiring and circulating a wide range of objects that often took on new forms, meanings, and functions in European hands.¹⁷

The early modern Indian Ocean was a space marked by unceasing mobility, with the movement of peoples and spreading of religions complementing the exchange of goods. The networks that spread Theravada Buddhism throughout maritime Asia were not merely routes of religious expansion but also axes of ideological, political, cultural, and material identity and proximity, as evidenced by the intense maritime contact between the Buddhist kingdoms of Sri Lanka and those of continental Southeast Asia.¹⁸ As for Islam, the massive pilgrimages of Muslims to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina resulted in cyclical ocean-going voyages of thousands of people, which utterly transformed the Indian Ocean world.¹⁹

Our reference to the *hajjis* compels us to take a closer look at the groups that gave life to the Indian Ocean during the early modern period. Not always understood or valorized by historians, these groups were true “workers of the sea,” making a living exclusively from the ocean and the opportunities it furnished.²⁰ The Noutaques operated in the Persian Gulf and were said to “sail the sea thieving all the way.”²¹ The Sidis were Indians of African origin (originally from Abyssinia) who controlled parts of the Konkan and Gujarat coasts from fortresses such as those at Danda and Janjira.²² The Malay world was home to the Orang Laut, “Sea Gypsies” who made their living by exploiting the many resources of the



Fig. 3
'Portrait of Vasco da Gama from Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu,' Goa, India, 1558–64. The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Straits of Malacca, and the Bugis, a group from South Sulawesi whose maritime expansion acquired a notable dimension during the last decades of the seventeenth century.

In addition to Muslim pilgrims, there were merchants (and merchant-pilgrims) who used the same ships and ports to transport their goods. The constant movement of traders in the Indian Ocean, with its attendant ethnic variety, has constituted a privileged topic for historians. In looking at the history of the Indian Ocean, it has been possible to chart the various mercantile diasporas that have affected the region. The idea of a “commercial diaspora,” however, is not without controversy; “diaspora” implies the complete autonomy of a merchant community, removed from the control of the state, which we know has infrequently been the case.²³ On the eve of Vasco da Gama’s arrival in the Indian Ocean, the region was witnessing the decline of groups that had dominated the commercial life of maritime Asia during the previous centuries. The most notable example is the Karimis, Egyptian merchants who began operating out of Cairo in the twelfth century. They maintained a vast network of agents from North Africa to China, which gave them control over a considerable segment of the Indian Ocean economy. Through their control of the caravan trade, the Karimis had been the principal providers of spices to the Venetians, and in this way had a profound effect on the Mediterranean and European spice trades,²⁴ but they had lost their stature mainly due to political pressure from the Mamluk rulers. Jewish merchants, who had played a crucial role in relations between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean, suffered a similar decline, with their influence diminishing at the hands of Muslim

merchants, particularly in ports in of the Malabar Coast.²⁵ That said, the network of Jewish communities operating in the western Indian Ocean was reinforced by Sephardic Jews (victims of the Iberian expulsions of 1492 and 1496), as well as the arrival of Portuguese *cristãos-novos* (New Christians) throughout the sixteenth century.²⁶

Among the groups that prospered in the early modern Indian Ocean were the Gujaratis, who operated in all of maritime Asia's important ports as merchants and ship-owners. A "forgotten thalassocracy," as Geneviève Bouchon accurately described them, this often neglected group was composed of Isma'ilis (Khojas and Bohras), Parsis, and Baniyas (Hindus and Jains), and expertly constructed a mosaic of commercial relationships from the Red Sea to the Far East.²⁷ Another group comprised the Muslim merchants from South India, who frequently acted as the Gujaratis' commercial partners. Muslim colonies located in southern India—like the Pardesis, Muslims from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf (identified as "moors from Mecca" in Portuguese texts)—were active in long-distance maritime trade and lived part of the year in Kerala. The Mapilas of Malabar brought together local and regional trade networks, both of which they dominated, and linked them to the Pardesis' long-distance trade. The Maraikkayars (Tamil Muslims) played the same role a little farther south, on the Fishery Coast and in South Coromandel.²⁸

Of course the prominence of the Gujaratis and Mapilas should not cause us to forget the many other mercantile groups that operated in the region. Among these are the Armenians, who unlike other merchant groups, had a substantial impact on both maritime and land-based trade, beginning in 1600,²⁹ and the Chulias (Tamil Muslims), Kelings (Tamil Hindus), and Tamil and Telugu Chettis, mostly based in coastal Coromandel, with Malacca (Melaka) and the ports of the Bay of Bengal constituting their principal markets.³⁰ And if one is interested in drawing comparisons between the western Indian Ocean and other areas of maritime Asia, it becomes imperative to look east and consider the emigration of the Chinese throughout southeast Asia, which was well underway by the early Ming dynasty.

In most cases, an individual or community's economic strength led to the acquisition of political influence, creating an interesting coupling of commerce and power, compatible with Subrahmanyam and Bayly's "portfolio capitalism" formula.³¹ There are innumerable examples of this phenomenon. Crossing paths with the Portuguese were the Brahmin Malik Gopi, a "portfolio capitalist" from Surat, and the Persian Khoja Shams-ud-din Gilani, a Pardesi merchant and political entrepreneur from Cannanore. Both were active during the first half of the sixteenth century, while the Persian Muhammad Sa'id (Mir Jumla of Golconda) and Citakkati, a Maraikkayar magnate of the Fishery Coast, operated during the seventeenth century. Frequently these commercial and political magnates exercised a third function—that of artistic and cultural patron.

Individuals and groups with political, military, commercial, and financial skills moved from place to place in the Indian Ocean and easily found jobs in foreign societies, even those of a different religion. Throughout early modern maritime Asia,

there was an active market for foreign elites with these skills. One could profit from one's expertise in maritime Asia independently of ethnic origin, social background, or religious belief. The main goal was to secure the collaboration of those who were most capable, whether in war, diplomacy, governance, or trade.³² It is precisely this phenomenon—quite common in the many states in early modern Asia with multiethnic decision-making structures—that explains how the *habshis* came to occupy a place in the inner circles of India's principal rulers during this period³³; how the Chinese frequently exercised important political functions in various southeast Asian sultanates; and how the Persians built an empire of influence throughout maritime Asia.³⁴

The careers of the various traders and magnates of maritime Asia cannot be properly understood without an examination of the ports where these men lived and conducted business. The Indian Ocean of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a region of port cities, which acted as economic engines and whose importance varied according to their geo-strategic locations and other political-cultural factors.³⁵ Despite the economic strength of these cities, they were vulnerable to all types of unpredictable events. For example, like any other living organism, the cities were exposed to innumerable sources of geographic transformation: The silting of a harbor could signal the death of a prosperous port—as occurred in Satgaon, in western Bengal, and in Thatta, in Sind—or help launch the career of a neighboring settlement. One example of the latter is Kayal, in the Tambraparni River delta, which was supplanted by Kayalpatnam and Punnaikayal in the sixteenth century.³⁶

In many cases, Indian Ocean ports developed into city-states that gained control of neighboring ports and became centers of true maritime empires. These cities were cosmopolitan and culturally tolerant places, known for the intermingling of large, fluctuating populations, composed of individuals from different religious, linguistic, ethnic, and "national" backgrounds. Such trading centers acted as microcosms of the cultural interactions that took place in the wider Asian world, anchored coastal societies that, despite their differences, were united by a set of common interests and similar ways of life. As spaces of rapid economic flexibility, they pioneered the development of maritime law and port regulations in Asia—necessary conditions for attracting merchants, increasing the number of transactions that took place locally, and extracting valuable customs duties.

This same paradigm was at work in East African port cities, which from the tenth century had experienced successive waves of emigration from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and became sites for the successful grafting of Arab and Persian elements onto a Bantu cultural stem. By the end of the fifteenth century, there were thirty to forty of these port cities, many of which acted as true laboratories of Swahili culture; the most important were Malindi, Mombassa, Kilwa, and Sofala, due to their better harbors and networks.³⁷ The close relations between the Swahili coast and maritime Asia have led some scholars to subvert "hierarchies" and speak of an "African Sea" instead of the Arabian Sea, or an "African Sea" rather than the Indian Ocean.³⁸

Aden and Hormuz dominated maritime commerce in the Middle East, respectively controlling the entrance to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. Strategic maritime location, however, was not the only advantage held by these and other commercial nodes in the “straits”: they also linked maritime and overland trade routes between the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean, connected shipping to caravans, and served as ports of call for both pilgrims and merchants. While Jiddah was central to those completing the *hajj* via the Red Sea, Basra was strategically placed along the route of pilgrims traveling from Safavid Iran to the holy cities of Islam.³⁹

Aden was in command of the coasts of Yemen, Hadramaut, and Eritrea and, as the key to the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, it was frequented by ships from all over Asia. Understandably, Aden was perpetually on the mind of the region’s powers—the Ayyubids, Rasulids, and Tahirids—who imposed high taxes on the city’s trade. Aden was essential to anyone who sought to control the western Indian Ocean.⁴⁰ The Portuguese, however, failed to take the city and were unable to transform the island of Soqatra (1507–11) into a second Aden. The Ottomans were more successful, capturing Aden in 1538 and using it as a launching pad for their imperial projects in maritime Asia, before they eventually discarded it in the 1630s, favoring instead the port of Mocha.

Hormuz had two good ports, and its authority extended not only to the islands of the Gulf (Qishm, Qays, Kharg, Bahrain), but also to the coast of Oman and its cities (Qalhat, Quryat, Sohar, Khurfakkan, and Muscat). The customs house (*bangsar*) contributed to the fortune of the city that, as a contemporary Portuguese observer noted, the Persians considered the precious stone embedded in the ring of the world.⁴¹ Situated at the crossroads of the Iranian, Arab, and Indian worlds, Hormuz was thoroughly cosmopolitan, bringing together merchants from a variety of geographic and religious backgrounds. Arabs, Persians, Indians, Jews, and Christians interacted with each other, which elicited the severe criticism of Catholic missionaries during the sixteenth century.⁴²

The coast of the Indian subcontinent occupies an extensive area between the Indus and Ganges rivers and was home to a series of port cities; many played a major role in the history of the early modern Indian Ocean.⁴³ Some specialized in oceanic traffic, receiving large ships and participating in long-distance trade. Gujarat’s principal coastal cities (Diu, Cambay, Surat, Rander), for example, exported the region’s prized textiles and were linked to ports in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, East Africa, the Bay of Bengal, and Southeast Asia. To the south lay the Hindu kingdoms of the Malabar Coast. Calicut, the most important of these in the sixteenth century, exported pepper along with other regional spices (ginger, cardamom) and was an obligatory stop for ships sailing from the Red Sea and Persian Gulf to Malacca.⁴⁴ Kerala was also the center of the local and regional trading routes (Kanara, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Coromandel) and mostly dealt in foodstuffs and local products. The Kerala-based trade was of interest to the kingdoms of Cannanore, Cochin, and Kollam, which were nearly always excluded from the lucrative long-distance commerce monopolized by Calicut.

Between the Gujarati and Malabar coasts were the port cities of the Konkan—Chaul and Dabhol, both textile exporters, though they were overtaken by Surat during the final decades of the sixteenth century. Farther south, the ports of Kanara were involved in the pepper trade, namely Bhatkal (the most prominent, controlled by the Vijayanagar Empire and closely linked to Red Sea markets) and Basrur (a mercantile republic controlled by Saraswat merchants that had a great deal of political autonomy).⁴⁵ Important coastal cities were on the other side of the Indian subcontinent, in the heart of the Coromandel Coast: São Tomé/Maylapur; Pulicat, Vijayanagar’s eastern “window,” with close ties to lower Burma and Malacca; and Masulipatnam, the sultanate of Golconda’s principal port and a key stop on the long Aceh–Jiddah trade route. Further to the north lay Bengal, whose maritime commerce depended primarily on the ports of Chittagong and Satgaon. Chittagong was the more important of the two, though Satgaon would take the lead in the final decades of the sixteenth century, before being supplanted in turn by Hughli. These coastal settlements would give structure to Bengal’s trade along with the markets of the western and central Indian Ocean. Furthermore, Bengal maintained very strong ties to the ports of the eastern Indian Ocean, from Burma to the sultanates of northern Sumatra (Pasai, Pidie) and Malacca.⁴⁶

Other areas of coastal India played a more local and less prominent role in maritime Asian trade. Examples include Thatta and Lahori Bandar, maritime settlements of Sind that connected markets in the Persian Gulf with those in northwestern India. The ports of Orissa played a role in the coastal traffic between Coromandel and Bengal, though for the better part of the sixteenth century they were no more

Fig. 4
‘Salver with African
and Asian motifs,’
Portugal, late 16th or
early 17th century.
Palácio Nacional da
Ajuda, Lisbon.





Fig. 5
'View of Goa,'
José Pinhão de Matos,
18th century. Museu
Nacional de Arte
Antiga, Lisbon.

than secondary ports, which did not change until the rise of Pipli and Balasore at the turn of the seventeenth century. Between Cape Comorin and Nagapattinam were a chain of "minor" ports that, despite their lesser status, were quite dynamic; they were associated with the pearl-diving industry of the Gulf of Mannar, the coastal trade linking the two sides of southern India, and the economic life of Sri Lanka.

Sri Lanka, the island whose contours give form to the strategic Sea of Ceylon, had always functioned as a lock between the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.⁴⁷ Kotte was the preeminent Sri Lankan kingdom at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It controlled the principal ports of the island's southeastern coast—Galle, but especially Colombo and its satellite ports—which allowed the kingdom to provide Indian markets with cinnamon, precious stones, and elephants. The complex of cities comprising coastal Sri Lanka maintained close ties to the Indian world (playing an important role in trade occurring along the Malabar–Fishery Coast–Coromandel axis) and served as a stopover for ships and merchants traveling between Malacca–Bengal and the Red Sea.⁴⁸

The Maldives lacked Sri Lanka's resources and were in almost every respect dependent on external trade. Their economic fortunes were tied to their unique position in the Indian Ocean, with the local sultan guaranteeing his position through a monopoly on export products (such as amber) and through the tribute he demanded from his vassals and the traders who frequented the islands. The Maldives' principal commercial ties were with Gujarat, Bengal, and the southeast Asian sultanates.⁴⁹

BETWEEN PORT AND PALACE

The port cities of the Indian Ocean and the merchant communities that gave life to these settlements inspire a number of questions for which satisfactory answers are not always available. Were the relationships within the network of port cities more important than the connections between each port and its inland region? While the answer varies depending on the particular port city in question, historians of the Indian Ocean often emphasize coastal-interior relations and avoid classifying

the coast as a world entirely distinct from the interior.

Did the Indian Ocean merchants constitute a kind of "brotherhood"? Regardless of their religious, ethnic, and cultural differences, did they speak a common "language" that could not be understood or learned by those inland? Not really. Asian maritime merchants were an extremely diverse group, with some simultaneously acting as spin doctors, intellectuals, and landowners. Should such multitasking encourage us to reassess the theory that the worlds of commerce and statecraft operate independently? Here, too, simplistic responses that insist on profound ideological, religious, and other deeper, more essential differences between port and palace are giving way to analyses that emphasize the connections between ruling elites and maritime commerce, between merchants and sovereigns, between coastal cities and agrarian empires. It is well-known that the great states of continental Asia were not averse to maritime commerce: Vijayanagar was greatly preoccupied with the revenues from its principal port cities (Bhatkal and Pulicat), and the last three great Islamic empires—the Ottomans, Safavids, and Mughals—though territorial and agrarian in composition, were nonetheless active in maritime trade.⁵⁰ The Ottomans went as far as to even developed an imperial strategy for the Indian Ocean while, from the reign of Shah 'Abbas I (reigned 1587–1629), the Safavid regime paid considerable attention to sea-going trade.⁵¹ Furthermore, we cannot classify the Mughals as hostile to maritime involvement when most of the Mughal emperors—as well as their families and the empire's political elite—had ships at their disposal, governed maritime provinces, and maintained an "army" of merchant-functionaries who held key positions in the management of ports.⁵²

States like Hormuz, Calicut, and Kotte were financially dependent on commerce and customs duties, though they were neither directly involved in maritime affairs nor in possession of mercantile fleets. While ports like Aden and Hormuz met their demise due to the economic and political strategies of the states that ruled them (their governing powers favored the ports of Mocha and Bandar Abbas, respectively), others were able to maintain a considerable level of autonomy despite the pressure exerted by continental giants.

Basrur, which perpetually eluded Vijayanagar's control, serves as an example, as does Basra, which managed to follow its own path despite being wedged between the Ottomans and the Safavids.⁵³ In sum, the variations to be seen in port-palace relations are numerous and rich.⁵⁴

ASSESSING THE PORTUGUESE IMPACT

What impact did the Portuguese have on the Indian Ocean? Was it the mark of an empire that dominated and transformed or of an empire concerned with integration and foundation? The answer is both.

The *Estado da Índia* was the manifestation of an expansionist project developed by an early modern European state; it was "written" in the political and diplomatic language of legitimization through war and peace,⁵⁵ but also was concerned with mechanisms of economic domination and social control. The officials in charge of the Portuguese Empire were quite willing to use violence either to persuade or force others to submit. Within this context, the Portuguese managed, in certain regions and during defined time periods, to influence greatly circulation and trade within the Indian Ocean region, deploying armadas and granting safe conducts (in the form of *cartazes*) to their allies while denying them to their enemies.⁵⁶ The empire established monopolies on commercial routes and commodities, blockaded ports and built fortresses, demanded tribute (*páreas*), and instituted old systems of vassalage.

The Muslims—whom the Portuguese had not "seen" since their war in Morocco—as well as the prevailing opposition between Christianity and Islam, influenced the strategy for the *Estado da Índia*. One of the many Portuguese anti-Islamic voices from the period, though one whose Islamophobia may be difficult to understand, was Gaspar da Índia. This former Jew was an "old India hand" accustomed to operating in "multicultural" societies. Nonetheless, he made the following declaration to King Manuel: "[I]t seems to me, Gaspar da Índia, that it would be to the benefit of Your Highness in this world and in the next that we kill the moors and take their riches, and that we make it so that no moors and only Portuguese Christians may enter into the sea of India, so that in this way the sea of India and India itself might be wiped clean of the moors."⁵⁷ Gaspar da Índia's words, however, should not be taken at face value. Rather than issuing from the religious fervor of a recent convert, the radical course proposed by Gaspar da Índia suggests the enthusiasm of a new royal advisor who considered himself indispensable to the achievement of Portugal's project in Asia and who did not wish to pass up an opportunity to "court" King Manuel. In reality, there would continue to be "moors" in India and in the Indian Ocean, and it is unwise to interpret the "triumph of the West" after 1498 as bringing about an absolute rupture. This is not because, as Steensgard claims, the West's apparent "triumph" would be reserved for the "modern" protagonists of the second phase of European expansion in the region—the Dutch and the English—who allegedly were responsible for "productive enterprises," while the *Estado da Índia* was no more than a quasi-medieval "redistributive enterprise."⁵⁸ Rather, we insist on continuity over rupture. First, the differences between the

various European groups involved in the Indian Ocean were not as pronounced as Steensgard claims. Second, the impact of foreigners on the Indian Ocean was not as absolute as some would imply, whether they speak in terms of an "Age of Partnership" or an "Age of Contained Conflict."⁵⁹

In contesting the theory of rupture, we should begin by examining the basis for the Europeans' purported exceptionalism and by questioning whether the Portuguese impact on maritime Asia was really more profound than that of earlier and contemporary non-European empires. Take, for example, the Ming expansion of the early fifteenth century, which imposed vassalage throughout the region. Or consider the Ottomans, who were as invested as the Portuguese in "discovering" the Indian Ocean.⁶⁰ Like the *Estado da Índia*, the Ottoman Empire conquered coastal cities, deployed commercial agents, imposed monopolies, extracted customs duties,⁶¹ and managed to extend its political and military influence as far as western Indonesia.

Finally, we should not overlook the maritime merchant powers that were indigenous to the Indian Ocean, and affected, even dismantled, Portuguese influence in certain areas. The Portuguese impact on the commercial networks controlled by the Mapilas of Malabar seems to have led these merchants to become warriors; they, in turn, used the central Indian Ocean as their stronghold and adopted a strategy of resistance against the *Estado da Índia* that had ramifications from the Red Sea to southeast Asia. During the first decades of the sixteenth century, Mamale, magnate of Cannanore, built a maritime empire centered in the Maldives with the goal of contesting Portuguese interests in the Indian Ocean. Farther south, the Marakkar used Ponnani, Porakkad, and other ports in the area of Calicut and Cochin to fight the Portuguese for control of the strategic Sea of Ceylon. Throughout the second half of the sixteenth century, both the Ali Rajas of Cannanore and the Kunjalis of Calicut asserted their strength as merchant-princes, using their naval power to contest the political authority of the Hindu rajas of Kerala.⁶² The Marathas offer another example; their kingdom emerged from Maharashtra during the second half of the seventeenth century, competing for territorial influence with the Mughals and the sultanate of Bijapur and developing maritime and mercantile capacities along the way. The kingdom's sea power became apparent during the reign of Shivaji (1630–1680), who dedicated himself to naval construction, increasing commercial activity, and controlling Konkan ports like Chaul, Dabhol, Vengurla, and Kalyan. Shivaji's investments allowed the Marathas to take on the Mughals, Portuguese, and Sidis, earning them some important naval victories (Surat, 1664; Basrur, 1664).⁶³ Of all the thalassocracies, however, the Omanis merit the most of our attention. At the end of the seventeenth century and under the Yárubí dynasty, the Omanis built a fleet that took Muscat in 1650, sacked Diu in 1668, and carved out a maritime empire in the "Afrasian Sea" that the Omanis extended as far as Kilwa after taking Pate (1689) and Mombassa (1698) from the Portuguese.⁶⁴

The "response" of local societies and powers to the *Estado* cannot be reduced to a simple anti-Western reaction. It demon-

strates that Indian Ocean societies continually developed strategies for reacting to the Portuguese. Ports and trade routes were developed throughout the region with the aim of circumventing Portugal's blockades, monopolies, and prohibitions. Surat's importance from the mid-sixteenth century is due in part to a local reaction to the Portuguese control of Diu. Likewise, the port of Masulipatnam may not have gained the importance it did in the final decades of the sixteenth century if not for the trade route linking the sultanate of Aceh to the Red Sea, which also was developed in reaction to the Portuguese.⁶⁵ Of course, there are examples of ports and groups whose role in the commercial and social life of the Indian Ocean were greatly enhanced due to their alliance with the newcomers. Good relations with the *Estado da Índia* allowed Cochin to escape from the control of Calicut. The Parava fishing community of the Fishery Coast not only threw off the control of the (Muslim) Maraikkayars after converting *en masse* to Christianity, but moreover—through an interesting process of social and economic ascent neither controlled nor even anticipated by the Portuguese—transformed itself into a largely mercantile community.⁶⁶

To avoid overstating the Portuguese influence, we must acknowledge that Portugal's Indian Ocean project always depended on local collaboration and relationships⁶⁷; and the newly arrived Europeans were not always the party that dictated the terms of the partnership. This was as true in trade as it was in politics, with Portuguese interaction with local groups involving a mass of merchants, sailors, interpreters, and advisors. The *Santa Maria do Monte*, a Portuguese *nau* that sailed between Goa and Hormuz in 1520, shows the importance of these "workers of the sea": of the one hundred forty people on board, the Portuguese numbered no more than a dozen, the "Portuguese" captain of the ship was actually Italian, and the vast majority of the crew was Muslim. The ship itself, which the Portuguese had confiscated, was in less-than-good condition,⁶⁸ a far cry from the Portuguese ships that imposed blockades and granted *cartazes* at their discretion. The diverse nature of the empire itself explains much about the Portuguese activities in Asia as well as their dependence on maritime "workers." The empire was made up of both viceroys and renegades; bureaucrats in Goa and adventurers in Chittagong; the *Estado da Índia* and a "Shadow Empire"; the formal empire and an "Improvised Empire."⁶⁹ In short, the many facets of the Portuguese presence in the early modern Indian Ocean world do not lend themselves to linear analyses of "impacts" and "responses."

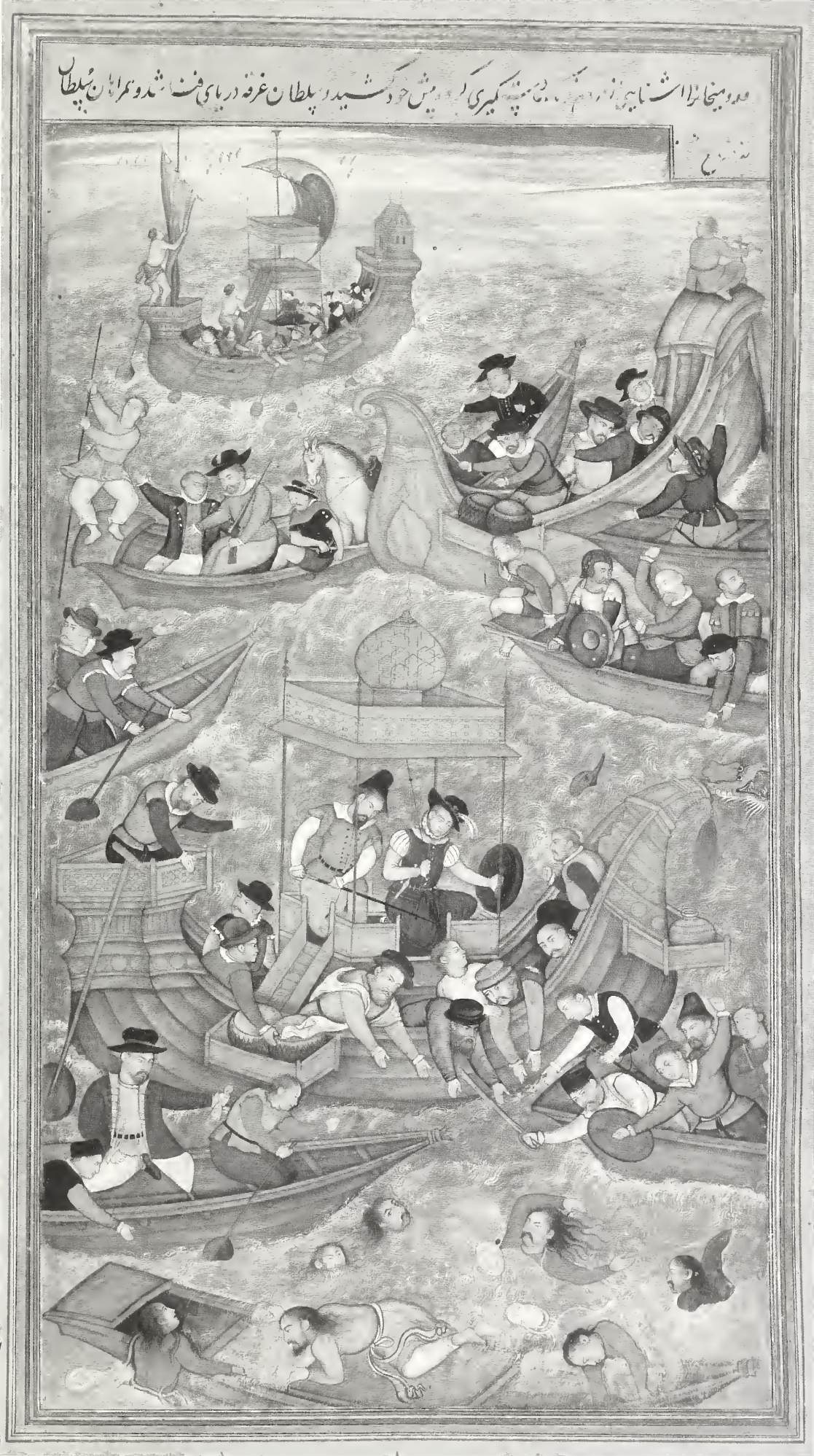
Portugal's Asian empire was built by others as much as by the Portuguese themselves. It constituted another—i.e., European, Catholic—stratum of life in the complex world of the Indian Ocean, contributing in turn to the urban, mercantile, social, and religious networks that characterized the region around 1500 and beyond. Portuguese involvement led to the decline of some ports, but it made others more prominent. The Portuguese brought more powerful ships and cannons to the Indian Ocean, but they quickly complemented these with local techniques and tools of war. They converted thousands to Christianity, though they also learned of the advantages of

multiethnic societies. In an Indian Ocean more accustomed to incorporation than to expulsion, the Portuguese contributed to the region's mix of merchants, political magnates, pilgrims, travelers, and pirates and other "sea gypsies" constantly traveling through the seas of Asia. The reactions the Portuguese inspired among Asians, with understandable variations from the Red Sea to China, effectively illustrates the region's difficult balancing act between impact and integration, which created the seemingly paradoxical condition of a group, like the Portuguese, appearing simultaneously strange and familiar. In the following paragraphs we will briefly consider some of these reactions.⁷⁰

The maritime war with the "infidels" is the favorite topic of many Muslim-authored accounts about the Portuguese, with religion and the rhetoric of *jihad* featuring prominently in these texts. That said, most descriptions of the Portuguese written by Asians do not necessarily deal with the "war of religions." Centering on Portuguese control of the sea, these texts often have an anthropological "flavor" and usually are dedicated simply to describing what is "exotic" or culturally inferior about the Europeans. There are images of ships and cannons, armor and "iron hats," bread and wine, Portuguese clothing and domesticated dogs, manners and hygiene (or rather the lack thereof). The seemingly invincible Portuguese maritime empire was not immune to weaknesses, at least in the eyes of its Asian observers. Cristóvão Vieira, one of the captive members of Tomé Pires's diplomatic mission to Beijing, noted in Canton in 1534 that the Chinese described the Portuguese as "like fish that if taken out of water or the sea will quickly die."⁷¹ Nearly a century and a half later, in 1666, the governor (*zongdu*) of Guangdong/Guangxi noted in an account of Macao "that the Portuguese did not possess lands, and even if they did, they would not know how to cultivate them."⁷² These fish, even if they were sharks, would never become farmers.

On the other hand, there are certain Asian accounts of the Portuguese for which the idea of a European "other" does not make sense. For instance, some Chinese were said to believe that the Portuguese came from a land near Malacca, while others thought that they were members of a Buddhist sect.⁷³ And in Malacca the Portuguese were taken for "white Bengalis," while the Japanese thought they were Indians. These descriptions are signs of the "Asianization" of the recently arrived Europeans, effectively illustrating the Indian Ocean's capacity for accommodating difference and categorizing the unfamiliar within the region's civilizing framework. Even more interesting and paradoxical are the frequent cases of Portuguese individuals in Sri Lanka and southeast Asia achieving the status of local deities, invested with magical powers and being worshipped—even as they were understood by locals to be strange and even hostile. Constantino de Sá de Noronha, who served as captain-general of Ceylon until he was killed in combat in 1630, was worshipped as a deity thereafter.⁷⁴ Ultimately this confusion of identities and "roles" played by each individual or group within the region underscores the accuracy of the count of Vimioso's observation about the Portuguese "discovery" of the Indian Ocean: we cannot say with certainty who discovered whom.

Fig. 6
'The Drowning
of Bahadur Shah,'
La'l, Agra, India,
ca. 1602–4. The British
Library. During a naval
battle, Bahadur Shah,
the sultan of Gujarat,
drew his sword; the
surrounding Portuguese
vessels closed in and he
jumped into the sea
and drowned.



GOVERNADOR AFFONCO D'ALBOVERQUE. SUCEDEO NA INDIA
A DOM FRANCISCO D'ALMEIDA EM NOVENBRO DE
1509 TOMOU DAS VEZES A CIDADE DE GOA E A SEU MALA
E TORVZEFEZ FORIAEZ A ECALCVTEFOIA PERCIAEAO
ESTRETO DE ORMUZ E MAR ROXO



MUSCAT AND THE PORTUGUESE IN OMAN

ENRICO D'ERRICO

Muscat, along with the other coastal cities of Oman, has played an important role in Indian Ocean trade since the days of the earliest seagoing routes. The circumnavigation of Cape of Good Hope by Vasco da Gama in 1497 led to the discovery that Asia could be reached by sea, leading to a new relationship between East and West and spurring Spain and Portugal to develop their great oceanic fleets. Due to its location and the security of its port, Muscat became a vital commercial center for traders and sailors, equal to the ports of India, China, and Malaysia.

Arabs of the Gulf had conducted trade in the Indian Ocean for centuries. Indeed, it was an Omani pilot, traditionally identified as Ahmad bin Majid, the author of well-known treatises on navigation, who guided Vasco da Gama on his journey to Asia, an event that first connected the Omanis and the Portuguese. While Muscat, with its freshwater wells in Tuyan, became an important port of call for the Europeans, the Portuguese never intended to colonize Oman. Nor did they seek to assert their influence in the surrounding or interior territory, with the exception of a few strongholds on the Omani coast—described by Ant3nio Bocarro in the 1635 *Livro das Plantas de todas as fortalezas, cidades e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, which includes a report on the major Portuguese forts in Oman.

The Portuguese first arrived in Oman in early 1507, with forces consisting of seven ships and five hundred men under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque. They landed at the city of Qalat and signed a treaty of alliance with the local regent who was subject to the khan (king) of Hormuz. The amicable nature of this initial contact had disappeared by the time Albuquerque's fleet returned to Qalat in August 2008. The city was attacked and razed to the ground to prevent the local regent from making an alliance with the Persians and thus weaken the Portuguese control of the Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

In September 1508, approximately one year later, the Portuguese and the khan signed a peace treaty that endorsed Portuguese hegemony in the Gulf as well as in Malacca (Melaka) and Goa. Qalat, Julfar (Ras al-Qaima), Bahrain, and Khor Fakkan, the main Gulf ports under the khan's jurisdiction, became Portuguese tributaries. The Portuguese also established a dominant role in Muscat and the cities of Sohan, Barca, Dibba, Qassab, and Queixom on the Persian coast, characterized at various times by temporary losses and recapture of territory. Major rebellions occurred between 1522 and 1650 on an ongoing basis.

It is important to keep in mind that the Portuguese always lacked sufficient human resources; their military recruitment was based on a three- to seven-year period that saw very few bombardments and artillery attacks. Commanded by a limited number of officers, the *fidalgos* (Portuguese gentlemen), who depended in turn on locally recruited auxiliaries called *lascarins*, the Portuguese in Oman did not have an expansionist plan. They sought only to protect their established commercial monopoly in the Indian Ocean, which lasted for one hundred and fifty years.

During that period, Muscat served as a naval base and enabled Portugal to maintain the security of its seagoing traffic to the East Indies. Without a doubt, Muscat remained the most strongly fortified base on the Arabian peninsula. It became even more important as the Portuguese began to fight the rising naval forces of the Dutch, English, and Turks, and particularly after the Persians seized control of Hormuz in 1622. The fight began with the conquest of the fortress Queixome on the Persian coast; then an Anglo-Persian fleet, strengthened by three thousand Persian infantrymen, attacked and conquered the bridgehead of Hormuz on February 20, 1622. Aware of the numeric inferiority of the forces he had available, Admiral Rui Freire de Andrada retreated to Muscat, where he planned to reinforce the defense system.

While the Portuguese attempts to recapture their strategic position at the entrance to the Gulf were useless and fruitless, Muscat remained under the control of Rui Freire de Andrada, who would die there and be buried at the Convent of the Brothers of Saint Augustine in September 1633. The city maintained a firm presence in the commercial trade between Portugal and its Asian possessions. After the May 1622 arrival of approximately two thousand Portuguese refugees, who had fled when Hormuz fell, Muscat grew in size and became a major port. As a result, it was subject to many ground and sea-based attacks by foreign forces seeking commercial supremacy in the Gulf; threats came from the Turks and Persians and, increasingly, the Dutch and English.

To protect the town from external attack, the Portuguese reinforced its forts—Fort Mirani (formerly Fort Capitão) and Fort Jalali—by constructing a wall around the city's boundaries and watch towers on the hills, as described by the Italian traveler Pietro della Valle in his letter dated January 19, 1625. These efforts were taken more to guarantee security against assaults from the Turks, Europeans, and occasionally the Persian khan of Hormuz, than to protect the Portuguese from the neighboring populations of Kalbou,

Fig. 1
Afonso de Albuquerque,
Goa, India, 16th century.
Museu Nacional de Arte
Antiga, Lisbon.



Fig. 2
Portuguese Dining
in Hormuz, India,
16th century. Biblioteca
Casanatense, Rome.

Muttrah and Sidab. In 1633–35, a peace treaty with the Anglo-Persians marked the beginning of the decline of Portugal's commercial control of the Gulf. Finally, on January 23, 1650, due to the increased power of the al-Ya'ruba dynasty, Muscat was recaptured by the Omani population and reunited with the rest of Oman.

This reunion did not alter the Portuguese layout of Muscat: it remained a walled-in city controlled by rich merchants and open to the cultures of Africa, India, China, and indeed Portugal. Until the the early 1970s, the town plan visibly

matched the representation described by Pedro Barreto de Resende in his 1646 map in *Livro . . . do Estado da Índia Oriental*. Due to the limited availability of the land within the walled city, most of the central area was occupied by commercial enterprises, which remained in use until the early 1970s, and by elegant palaces that served as residences for the families of wealthy traders. We know from the reports of chroniclers that the presence of the Portuguese was limited to a few officers and the commander of Fort Mirani, whose family lived in the fort itself. A few priests and monks were



loded in two churches and at the Saint Augustine convent—later transformed into a mosque, most probably the Zawabi Mosque, its bell tower, now a minaret, still visible. Also extant, though under restoration, are the two buildings of Bait Muzna and Bait Nader represented in Resende map, whose colonial architecture is visible in the column elements and barrel arches at ground level.

Primary sources for the history of the Portuguese and Oman include the memoirs of Albuquerque, the writings of Duarte Barbosa, and Bocarro's valuable accounts of fortresses

and cities on the Omani coast. Certainly, some accounts of sieges, battles, and other events that occur in these sources must be interpreted as fanciful descriptions, and distorted Omani toponyms do occur in the chronicles, where Sur becomes Char, Qalhar beomes Calarate, and Tiwi Terue, Sohar Coquiar, to name a few examples. However, these accounts also display the remarkable geographic knowledge that was obtained by the Portuguese. There is no doubt that when the Portuguese landed in Muscat on their way to the East, they began a fateful period in their history.

Fig. 3
Map of Muscat
in 'Livro do Estado
da Índia Oriental,'
Pedro Barreto
de Resende, 1635.
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.

MOSTRAC DE QVEM HE



DIVS AMOR POSTQVAM IMPVRVM SVBIECIT AMOREM
FREGIT ET INSTYGLIS SPICVIA NATA PIAGIS
IMBVT INNOCVAS REDIVIVO FONTE SAGITTAS
VIVIFICQV IETV CORDA FERIRE PARAT
PANDE SINVS PIA TVRBA DEOSACRA VULNERA PERFER
VIVERE ET ODISCAS SAVCIA VT ANTEMORI

EXPORT ART FROM PORTUGUESE INDIA

NUNO VASSALLO E SILVA

*Muytos damascos da China,
Cofres de rede dourados,
Mesas lectos marchetados,
E muy rica prata fina
De bestiães bem lavrados:
E quanto aljofar tem,
Quanta seda de lá vem?
Que policias tam polidas?
Riquezas, cousas sabidas, que antes nã sobe ninguem.*

*Many damasks from China,
Golden filigree coffers,
Tables, bedsteads, all inlaid,
And so much fine silver
In well-worked reliefs:
And how many pearls do they have,
How much silk comes from there?
Which customs so refined?
Riches, things now known, that no one knew before.*

Garcia de Resende, 'Miscelânia' (1554)

The French navigator François Pyrard of Laval (1578–1621) visited Goa from 1608 to 1610, where he was impressed by the city's exceptionally rich market. He was particularly taken by the luxury items and rarities Goa received each year from India and the East en route to Europe. Years after his Goan sojourn, the French traveler confirmed Garcia de Resende's observations, contained in the verses above, in these terms: "So it is that a man who has been at Goa, can assure himself of having seen the greatest curiosities of the Indies, that town being the most famous and renowned for the traffic of all the Indian nations. For they carry thither all that their own country can produce, as well manufactures as produce and others commodities, all which are to be found there in plenteous store."¹

Goa was an important artistic center from the mid-sixteenth century onward, controlling the principal commercial routes for Asian goods, receiving commissions and sending them on to diverse production centers and then transporting the finished goods to a European continent hungry for novelty. With the arrival of the body of the Jesuit saint Francis Xavier (Francisco Xavier in Portuguese), and with the help of the missionary campaign conducted by the Society of Jesus, Goa was transformed into a pilgrimage center. Artist workshops specializing in religious objects sprang up around the Sanctuary of Bom Jesus. Little by little, the art produced by these numerous workshops spread throughout the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, which extended from the island of Mozambique, off the East African coast, to the Chinese port of Macao.

As the Portuguese built their empire in Asia, they brought from Portugal numerous objects that were destined for use in the kingdom's new fortresses and churches in the East. These consisted primarily of brass decorative pieces, many originally from northern Europe, and works for church ornamentation and religious worship, with the list of items running from vestments to silver trays. The Portuguese-made silverwork, riding gear, and weapons, as well as the European and Eastern textiles that the Portuguese offered to local rulers, were of greater artistic value. Gifts distributed to local potentates were described in detail in the chronicles of expansion. During Vasco da Gama's second voyage in India in 1502, the Portuguese admiral and his companions presented two carpets and two tapestries to the king of Cochin, an important ally. The first of the carpets was probably Persian in origin, and the Portuguese most likely imported the tapestries from Flanders, as was customary during the period.²

This West-to-East traffic slowly began to change direction with the inauguration in Portuguese India of artistic production intended for European export, with locally made items shipped to Europe along the Goa–Lisbon trade and transportation route. In addition to briefly describing this production and its principal characteristics, this article examines export art from Portuguese India, which for many years remained a forgotten area of art history scholarship. Study of it gained prominence during the last few decades of the twentieth century, and today it provides new directions for scholarly interpretation.

The geographical situation of the island of Goa, which links Gujarat's coastal markets to those of southern India, played a decisive role in its development. Goa continued to occupy an important place in coastal India after its conquest by Portugal in 1510. In fact, Portuguese rule may have increased Goa's geographical importance by stimulating trade in luxury goods. Some items were produced locally, and some were ordered from other parts of India. This second group includes weavings from Bengal and Cambay, and lacquered furniture from Bengal, Cambay, and Cochin. Mother-of-pearl was brought to Goa from the north, and ivory was shipped from Mozambique to be used in Goa in furniture and carved religious images. Pearls and precious stones were imported from the Persian Gulf, the Decan, Ceylon, Pegu (Burma), and China. Chinese weavings and porcelain came by way of Macao, as did Japanese lacquered goods (mainly small pieces of furniture). Even though various goods shipped from Macao are not addressed here, their importance to the Goan economy should not be underestimated. In terms of production, Goa was primarily focused on luxury

*Fig. 1
'Divine and profane
love,' Sri Lanka,
16th century. Museu
Municipal de Viana
do Castelo.*

goods, becoming one of the most important centers for these in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³

Just as Goa imported raw materials from a variety of sources, so did it attract artisans from a broad geographical area, from Europe to eastern Asia, with an understandable preponderance from Portugal and India. Goa was rightly considered a true emporium for luxury goods, although it was equally important as a center of production during this period. From the beginning of their presence in Goa, the Portuguese entered into contracts with the various artisan workshops on the island. Goan goldsmiths, possessing a long tradition of superior skill and playing an important role in the local economy, were the first to work for the Portuguese. Shortly after leading the Portuguese conquest of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque (1562–1611) founded a *Casa da Moeda*, or mint, where Goan goldsmiths were responsible for producing the first Portuguese coins in India. One such goldsmith, Rauluchtantim, the “chief of the goldsmiths” during his time, lived in Lisbon from 1515 to 1519, where he produced pieces for King Manuel (1469–1521) “in the Indian mode and style.” When Rauluchtantim returned to Goa, he was honored with titles and privileges granted by the king. The Goan goldsmith later sent various jeweled pieces to Manuel’s son, João III. Rauluchtantim’s time in Lisbon coincided with a period of European fascination with Indian craftsmanship, gold or precious stones, and much more. In 1511, for instance, Afonso de Albuquerque sent a group of female weavers from Goa to Portugal to work for Queen Maria. Tragically, these women never reached Lisbon: their ship the *Flor de la Mar*, laden with precious items, sank off the coast of the island of Samatra.

Significantly, the first goods that the Portuguese sent back to Europe from their Eastern voyages were of Indian origin. Their exquisite materials and the exceptional quality of their execution astounded Europeans. For the most part the Portuguese acquired these works in local Indian markets, and the presence of this new group of clients stimulated further production. Europeans could not resist these pieces due to the value and beauty of their gems and gold mounts. Crafted with Indian tastes in mind, these intriguing works were without parallel in Europe or in any of the areas previously explored by the Portuguese.

SUPPLY AREAS FOR THE PORTUGUESE MARKET

As the political and economic capital of the *Estado da Índia*, Goa naturally became the principal market for artistic and luxury goods as well as a center for importing necessities were not produced locally from other areas under Portuguese control. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1562–1611), who stayed in Goa for five years, from 1583 to 1588, effectively described the cosmopolitan nature of the market, with its merchants and goods from the most diverse corners of the East.

The heathenish Indians that dwell in Goa are verie rich Marchants, and traffique much, there is one stréete [within the town] that is full of shops [kept] by those Heathenish Indians, that not onely sell all kindes of Silkes, Sattins, Damaskes, and curious works of Porselyne from China and other places, but all manner of wares of velvet, Silk, Sattin, and such like, [brought] out of Portingall, wich by meanes of their Brokers they buy by

*the great, and sell them againe by the péece or elles, wherein they are verie cunning, and natural subtile. They are in the same stréet on the other side, that have all kindes of linen, and shirts, with [other] clothes ready made for all sortes of persons, as well slaves as Portingales, and of all other linen worke that may bee desires. There are Heathens that sell all kindes of womens clothes, and such like wares, with thousand sorts of clothes and cottons, wich are like Canuas for sayles and sackes. There is also another street where the Benianes of Cambaia dwell, that have all kinds of wares out of Cambaia, and all sortes of precious stones, and they verie subtile [and cunning] to bore [and make holes in] all kind of stones, pearles, and coralls, on the other side of the same street dwell other heathens, which sell all sortes of bedstéedes, stooles and such like stuffe, very cunningly covered over with Lacke, most pleasant to behold, and they can turne the Lacke into any colour that you will desire. There is also a stréet full of gold and Silver Smiths [that are] Heathens, wich make all kinde of workes, also divers other handicrafts men, as Coppersmiths, Carpenters, and such like [occupations] with are all heathens, and every one a stréet by themselves.*⁴

Purchases were made in Goa on its most important commercial artery, the Rua Direita, with Linschoten and other travelers attesting to the street’s cosmopolitan atmosphere. Shops were located on the bottom floors of the buildings facing the street. These buildings were rarely taller than two or three stories and had steep, four-sided tiled roofs described as *telhados de quatro águas* (literally, roofs of four waters), with two triangular and two trapezoidal sides above the building’s rectangular base. Examples can still be found in Goa. Gold and silver could be purchased on the Rua dos Ourives, not far from the Rua Direita.

Aside from the shops, a *Leilão*, or auction, was held on the Rua Direita every day, except for Sundays and holidays. The auction, which occurred during the early morning hours before the heat of the day became unbearable, featured a wide variety of things for sale, including items that belonged to deceased Portuguese and goods confiscated by the authorities, as well as those taken from shipwrecks without claim or whose ownership could not be proved. These items aside, the auction, which Linschoten pronounced “wonderfull to see,” derived its importance from the jewels, precious stones, spices, medicinal substances, horses, carpets, and curiosities imported from Cambay, the Sind, Bengal, and China.⁵

It is worth considering the social context that surrounded the acquisition of export art in Portuguese India. Contrary to what is sometimes assumed, art objects of Indian origin were enormously popular across all classes of Portuguese society, not just among the elite. Detailed inventories ordered by authorities of the Inquisition, an institution that reached the whole of Portuguese society, confirm the large quantity of goods, particularly furniture, that both rural and urban households imported from India by during the seventeenth century.⁶ While many of these pieces were purchased by Portuguese customers, numerous others were sent back to Europe by family members serving the Portuguese empire overseas as functionaries, soldiers, or sailors.

RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL PRODUCTION

From very early on, the Portuguese were attracted to the work of Indian gold- and silversmiths. From the beginning of the Portuguese presence in India, pieces that from a European

perspective appeared to be typically local in character were sent to Portugal. The list of Indian jewels that King Manuel's daughter, Beatriz, took with her to Savoy in her trousseau in 1522 attests to this. This extensive inventory, one of the oldest documents available on Indian gems, offers a detailed description of an area of jewelry production that has completely disappeared, with the gems since remounted in new jewels.

In 1514 a silver monstrance was made for the viceroy of India. This date represents the high point of Indian artistic production for the Portuguese market. During this period the majority of the export art from Portuguese India was destined for churches in Portugal. Only a small fraction remained in India or reached Macao, where some examples can still be found.

One of the most interesting and learned collections of Indian art objects is the *Tesouro do Carmo da Vidigueira*, which Father André Coutinho (died 1597) commissioned in Goa between 1578 and 1582. He took the collection with him when he returned to Portugal in 1583 after thirty years of residence in the East, where he had lived as a prosperous merchant before entering the priesthood toward the end of his life. Several pieces in silver survive from Coutinho's collection and can now be found in Portugal's Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga: a pax in filigree, a missal stand, and an oratory-reliquary. These pieces make use of a sophisticated late Renaissance ornamental vocabulary, one similar to the ornamentation on Jesuit buildings in India and clearly inspired by the ornamental decoration of printed works.

The majority of pieces that arrived in Europe via Lisbon were luxury commercial goods destined for a lay market and were easily exportable to the rest of the continent. Some extant examples include tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl chests with gold or silver filigree. Among the most notable pieces from the late sixteenth century are two tortoiseshell and silver chests from the reliquary of the Estoril monastery, both acquired in Lisbon and donated by King Felipe II, and a large chest from the church in Montijo, Portugal, from the same era and made from the same materials.

During this period, mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell pieces were produced in Gujarat and were sent from Diu to Goa, where they were sometimes enriched with silver mounts. Alternately, they might be sent to various European courts, where local smiths substituted the original brass fittings with more opulent ones.

At Schloss Ambras in Austria, for example, is a chest plated with mother-of-pearl, with the original Indian brass hinges and lock still in place.⁷ Of all the European mounts applied to Portuguese Indian pieces, the most impressive are undoubtedly the mother-of-pearl fittings that Pierre Mangot applied to a Gujarati chest in Paris in 1532 and 1533, probably for his parron, the French king François I. The Louvre Museum recently acquired this piece.⁸ Additional mention should be made of two chests, the first from the Lisbon Sé cathedral and the second from the Church of St. Peter in Munich. Both are covered in mother-of-pearl with silver fittings and are unparalleled in size.⁹

While these art objects were produced for secular use, it is worth noting that most were adapted for use as reliquaries

and consequently were stored in church sanctuaries, a fact that has afforded them protection down to the present. In this way the pieces, produced in maritime Asia for civil and later religious use, signal the conversion of distant cultures to Christianity.

The idea that Indian chests should be put to religious use was not, however, shared by the Protestant electors of Saxony. They ordered such works at the court of Dresden to be transformed into elegant "necessaries," or medicine chests, sumptuous pieces without any practical purpose. The variety of materials used—shells for cups and boxes, mother-of-pearl for cutlery handles, and ornamental depictions of small animals—lend these pieces an even more exotic appearance than they would have had if left unadorned. The electors must have shared this impression, as they used the chests to hold the fantastic and exotic objects—corals, coconuts, and ostrich eggs—that they liked to display during public ceremonies.¹⁰ Other pieces in mother-of-pearl and tortoiseshell, including plates, cups, and pitchers, were likewise adorned with whimsical, late Renaissance-style mounts suggesting the wonders of nature. Brought from the most distant lands, these curiosities were transformed by human hands through the genius of craftsmen.

A number of pieces in gold and silver filigree (no doubt introduced to India by the Portuguese, given their later involvement in areas of the Deccan around Goa) have been preserved.¹¹ While some of these works are religious in character, such as the Lisbon diocese's large reliquary or the monstrance in the Sequeira Pinto collection in Porto, most are secular in use. Notably, many of these pieces have inlays made of bezoar, which was in great demand in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries as a remedy for melancholy and depression in general. Bezoars were brought from several places, particularly Persia, before being richly encased in filigree in Goa. Examples are found in the Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig. 2). Various documents from the Portuguese archives attest to Goan goldsmiths' lucrative practice of adorning diverse medicinal "stones," including bezoars and *pedras de porco espinho* (porcupine stones), in rich filigree. This



Fig. 2
'Bezoar with gold filigree
mounts,' Goa, India,
16th century. Kunst-
historisches Museum,
Schloss Ambras.

Fig. 3 (top left)
'Christ Child,'
Sri Lanka, ca. 1600.
Távora Sequeira Pinto
Collection.



Fig. 4 (top center)
'Christ Child,'
Sri Lanka, 17th–18th
century. Staatliche
Kunstsammlungen
Dresden, Grünes
Gewölbe.



Fig. 5 (top right)
'Christ Child,'
Sri Lanka, 1550–1660.
Peabody Essex
Museum, Salem.



Fig. 6
'Salt container,'
Sri Lanka, 17th century.
The Burghley House
Collection, Stamford.

practice allowed them to be preserved in the open air and sent to the market in Lisbon.

Among the many treasures that the Portuguese exported to India, special mention should be made of the goods produced on the island of Sri Lanka, which the Portuguese called *Ceilão* (Ceylon). In 1542 a Sri Lankan delegation arrived in Lisbon, bringing with them valuable gifts and an ivory "coronation chest." Max Fugger's agents for the Archduke Albrecht V of Bavaria subsequently purchased the chest in Lisbon, and it is now preserved with its original mounts of gold and precious stones in the Residenz in Munich. Shortly thereafter, in 1545, Queen Catherine sent her jeweler Diogo Vaz to Sri Lanka to acquire precious materials and to oversee the production of various pieces destined for her treasury. Sri Radaraska Pandita, the king of Kotte, placed the workshops of several goldsmiths at Vaz's disposal, inaugurating a production process that lasted nearly a century. Until the end of the Portuguese presence in Sri Lanka, numerous pieces in ivory, rock crystal, gold, and precious stones were exported from the island. During the 1560s, the purchase of these small "trickles from India and Ceylon" (especially combs, thimbles, necklaces, and earrings) represented a profitable line of business.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, pieces that were characteristically European in style began to supplant Indian-style pieces among export products. Notable among these for their devotional character is a series of images of the Child Jesus, carved in rock crystal and decorated with inlays of gold and precious stones. Produced in both Sri

Lanka and Goa, such works were then sent to Europe (figs. 3, 4, 5). A saltcellar from Burghley House, a typically Iberian piece, dates from the same period (fig. 6), as do two oval-shaped Sri Lankan pendants in rock crystal and inlaid with gold and gems, which were crafted in the tradition of late Renaissance Iberian jewelry.¹² I believe, and future studies may well will prove, that this production of small luxury items in Sri Lanka came to an end with Portugal's retreat from the island in the mid-17th century.

If decorative items and gold pieces featured among the first objects exported from Portuguese India, textiles are most significant in art historical terms. According to Father Nicolau de Oliveira, each ship making the return trip to Lisbon from India brought with it no fewer than four hundred embroidered bedcovers. Among the oldest written accounts of Indian

textiles is a 1509 inventory for the Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in Lisbon. This document registers innumerable *panos de Calecute* (pieces of Calicut cloth), a generic term then used primarily to designate silk and cotton textiles, along with some polychrome pieces adapted for religious vestments.¹³ Members of the royal family received many of these textiles, which they then donated to monasteries and convents throughout the kingdom. For instance, various Indian cotton textiles with painted decoration, known as *pintados*, arrived in Lisbon in 1511. That same year King Manuel donated four *pintados* to the Madre Deus Convent near Lisbon, and in 1512 he offered twelve to the Mosteiro da Pena in Sintra for the monastery faithful to use as altar coverings.

These textiles, among the first exported to Portugal, were no doubt acquired at the Indian textiles market in Cochin,

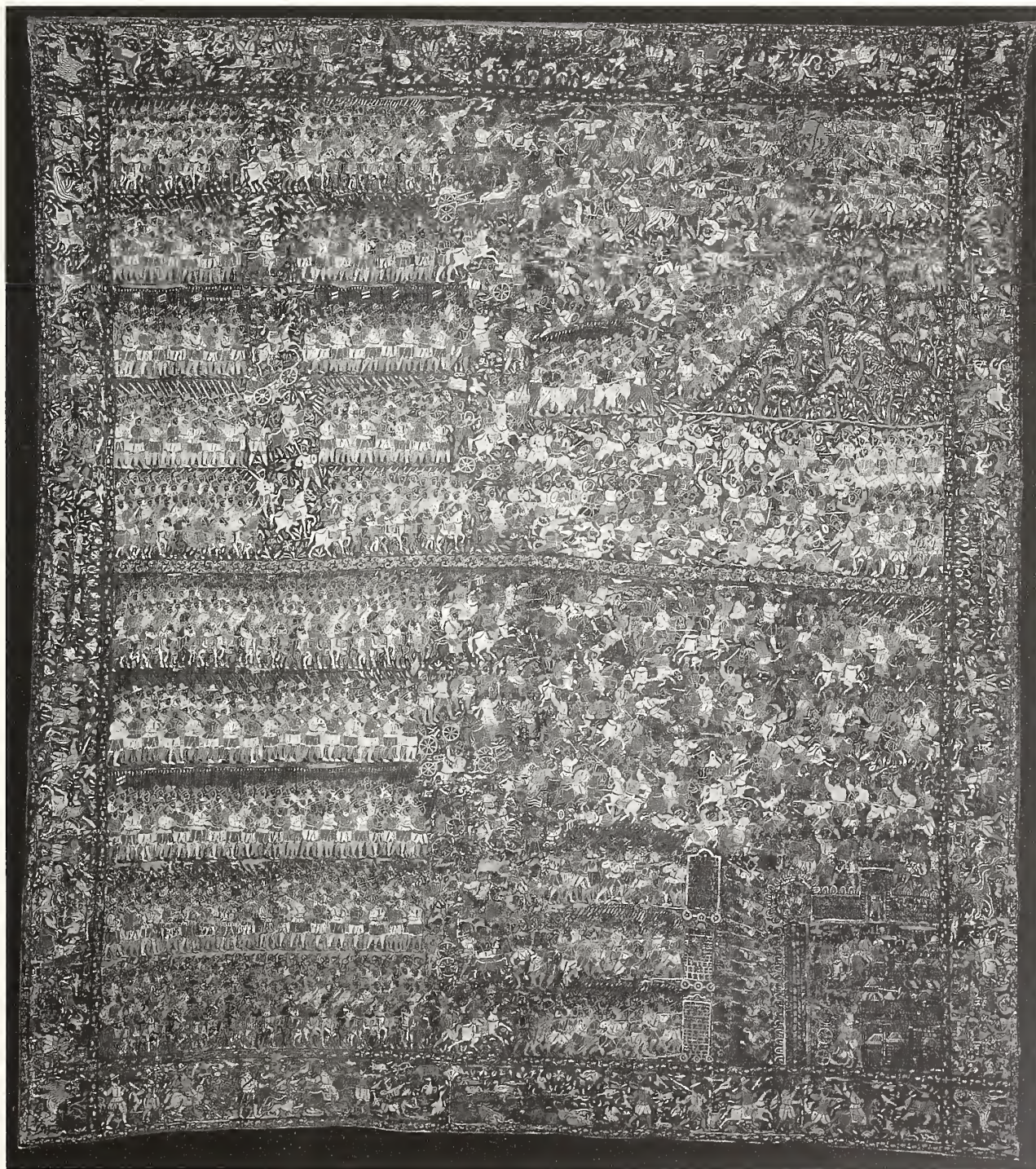


Fig. 7
'Bedcover,'
16th–18th century.
Museu Nacional de
Arte Antiga, Lisbon.

where the Portuguese had maintained an important *feitoria*, or commercial establishment, since 1501. Produced for the local market, these pieces were not created with the new Portuguese clients in mind. Judging by their quality, the textiles presumably were produced in Cambay, which was known for its bedcovers. Duarte Barbosa described the textile production in Cambay in 1518.¹⁴ On this point, an inventory of King Manuel's clothing from 1522 refers to a white brocade suit from "Índia da Guzarate," or Gujarat.

Among the other important production centers for textiles in northern India were Chaul and the Malabar Coast. These areas are best known for seventeenth-century pieces, generally monochrome textiles in yellow or straw-colored wild silk over light cotton. In the mid-sixteenth century, João de Barros wrote in his monumental chronicle, the *Décadas da Ásia*, that the Bengalis were the best in the world in needlework, as could be seen in the "rich bedcovers and other things from their country."¹⁵ The most common decorative features of these bedcovers were European (and more specifically, Portuguese) figures hunting or engaged in battle, with a great deal of attention paid to their clothing. Other bedcovers were decorated with mythological or Old Testament scenes, with the "Judgment of Solomon" being one of the most recurrent themes. Zodiac symbols, linked to figures from Greco-Roman mythology, were also common, as

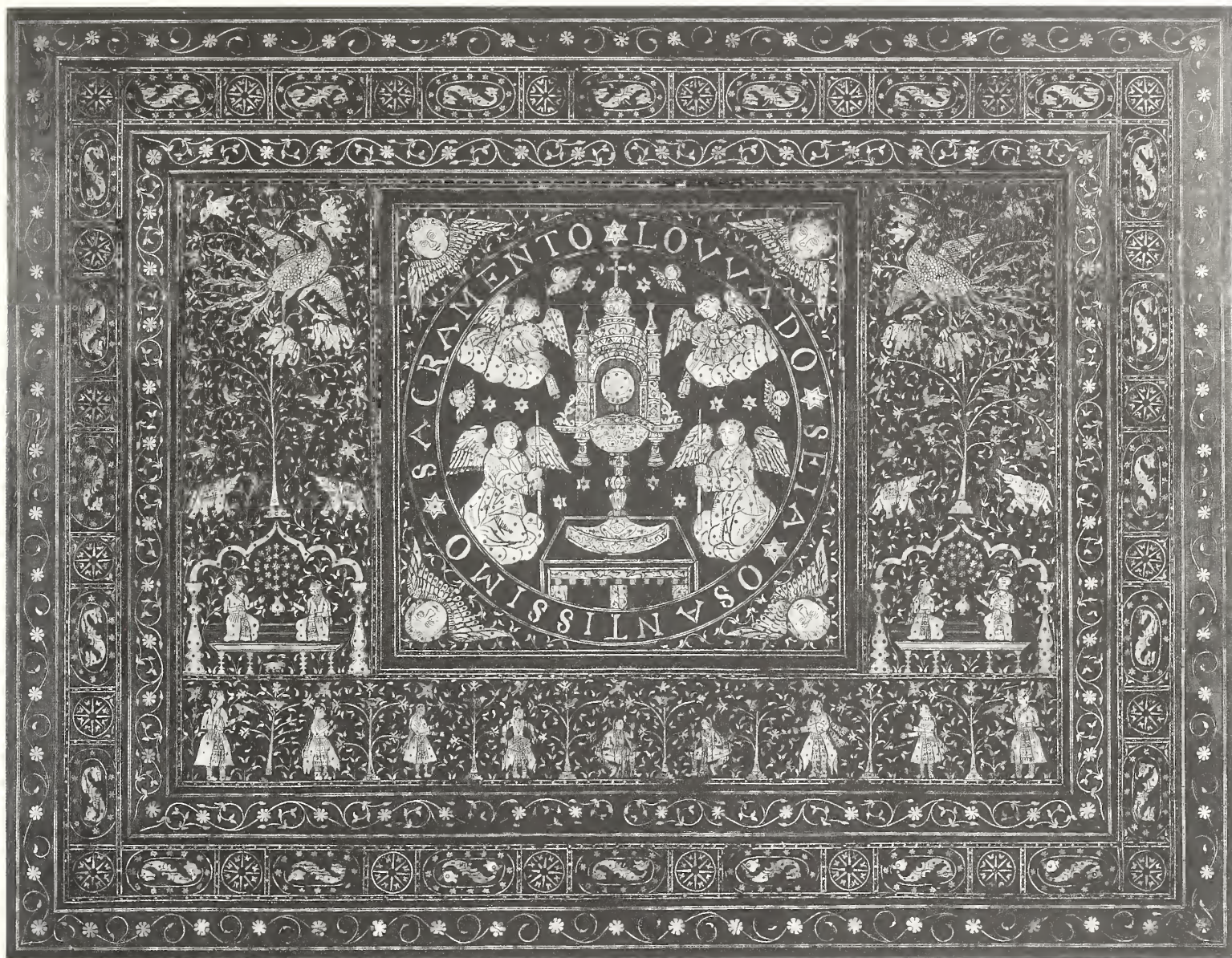
seen in a bedcover preserved at the Misericórdia de Serúbal.¹⁶ Finally, in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston is a bedcover decorated with a reproduction of an engraving from a 1622 text, representing the arch erected by the Flemish to celebrate the entrance of Felipe II of Portugal into Lisbon.¹⁷

Throughout the seventeenth century, embroidered bedcovers featured the heraldic arms of noble families serving the *Estado da Índia*. One bedcover displaying the arms of Vasco de Mascarenhas, viceroy of India in 1652 and 1653, now belongs to the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga in Lisbon (fig. 7). In terms of clothing, some embroidered capes appeared during the 1600s, which makes sense given the common use of the cape in Iberia at the time. One exceptional example is a cape from Felipe II's royal collection that now belongs to the Escorial monastery. Embroidered in polychrome silk, it features vegetable motifs and representations of small birds (fig. 8).¹⁸

The most varied and celebrated segment of Portuguese Indian artist production is found in the category of furniture. Its importance is heightened by the fact that prior to the arrival of the Europeans, furniture was seldom used in the subcontinent. Given the nature of these pieces as export products (Portuguese and other Europeans brought pieces back with them to Europe), it makes sense that few examples produced before the eighteenth century remain in the former

Fig. 8
'Cape,' India, late 16th century, tailored in Europe. Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid.





Portuguese-dominated areas of India. Moreover, Portuguese viceroys customarily took the contents of their palaces back with them to Europe after their service ended, thus requiring successors to provide their own replacement furniture.¹⁹ Among the few examples remaining in Goa are the great chests held in church sacristies, which cannot easily be transported due to their weight and large size. The most important of these chests can be seen in Goa at the Cathedral's sacristy and at the Basilica do Bom Jesus.

As Pedro Dias observed, the furniture produced in Goa tended to be made of woods of various colors, whereas the furniture produced farther south, in Cochin, inclined to be more utilitarian in character, such as the plain chests made from *angelim* wood. The more luxurious pieces were executed in northern India and were richly inlaid with wood, ivory, and mother-of-pearl in whimsical designs.²⁰ François Pyrard of Laval, a French traveler, noted that "cabinets in the German style, inlaid with pieces of mother-of-pearl, ivory, gold, silver and little cabinets, cofferes and boxes of tortoise-shell" were produced in Cambay and Surat.²¹

Among the early examples of Indian art objects exported to Portugal were desks and other utilitarian pieces. Portuguese

navigators introduced a style of desk to India that was later produced locally before being sent on to Europe. The tops and interior drawers of these desks made them immensely popular, particularly in the Iberian Peninsula. Their various surfaces, such as the underside of the desktop and the drawer exteriors, allowed for ornamentation, with a high level of adornment enlivening the better examples of the form. Various surviving desks have been attributed to Goan workshops, due to the certain sense of sobriety and the elegant use of differently colored woods that characterize them. Northern India, however, continued to constitute the center of this production. Desks made there were frequently adorned with ivory, revealing the clear influence of Islamic art. In some cases, these desks more or less directly transcribe features of Mughal art. Among the best examples are the large *contador* (a kind of dresser with small drawers) featuring representations of humans, lions, and elephants on its drawers and the mythological *gaja-simhas* (elephant lions) at the base of its doors (now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, see p. 147), and the luxurious hardwood altar frontal, subsequently used as a communion table, in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 9).²²

Fig. 9
'Hardwood altar frontal inlaid in ivory with Christian and Indian motifs,' Gujarat or Sind, India, 1600–10. Victoria and Albert Museum.



Fig. 10
'Oratory,' Goa,
India, 18th century.
Museu de Évora.

More recent examples of Indian art exported to Portugal include desks, tables, drawers, and *contadores* whose surfaces are decorated with small geometric designs in ebony and ivory over an almost gold-colored teak base. Most of these pieces feature mythological figures. Unlike the more common desks, these chests were strictly luxury goods displayed in the homes of the Portuguese nobility to affirm the family's involvement in the administration of the empire.

One final variety of religiously oriented export art from Portuguese India was closely related to the carved wood sculptures that served as altarpieces in churches in Goa. These objects, always of carved, painted, and gilded wood, have an eminently sculpted character, as seen in an oratory from the Museu de Évora (fig. 10). Taking the form of a miniature temple, the oratory's doors are carved with the images of saints in a clear imitation of the great Mannerist altars found in Goan churches. The most notable of these is the altar in the main chapel of the cathedral in Old Goa (*Velha-Goa* in Portuguese).

The production of lacquered furniture in India has elicited a great deal of attention in recent years. From the beginning of the seventeenth century European travelers noted the presence of lacquered furniture in India, particularly in the areas of Baçaim and Mumbai.²³ While a typological and technical study of these pieces has yet to be completed, many of them may have been produced in Cochin. The *mesa do Cardeal*, or "cardinal's table," is one of the oldest of these pieces, dating from the second half of the sixteenth century. Once part of the Austrian imperial collection, this "table" is actually a retractable tabletop covered with plant and animal motifs in gold over a black surface, making it a veritable transposition of decorative techniques developed in textile production.²⁴

Several writing desks built from *angelim* wood and with lacquered ornamentation resemble the "cardinal's table." The desks' exterior surfaces are either smooth or richly ornamented with sculptural motifs covered in black lacquer. A common feature of the desks is the interior surface of the desktop, which is always decorated in golden and black lacquer

to make these pieces appear extremely luxurious. Interestingly, nearly all the ornamental motifs used on these desks derived from sixteenth-century European prints. For example, the desk held in the Fernando Moncada collection in Lisbon features the fifteenth-century images of the “Triumphus Cupidinis,” or triumphs of love. The cover of another writing desk in this group, part of the Pedro Aguiar Branco Collection in Oporto, features two male figures as allegories of labor and rest, along with poems that appear to be written on tablets. The center features interlaced flowers presented in relief and designed in a classically inspired manner (fig. 11).

Curiously, one of these desks is represented in the folio depicting “The Capture of Hoogly” from the *Padshahnama*, created around 1634.²⁵ This lacquer production is one of the first examples of Renaissance artistic production outside Europe created for a learned audience, doubtlessly Portuguese noblemen occupying administrative positions in the overseas empire.²⁶ An interesting representation of the daily life of these *fidalgos*, or noblemen, appears in a teak *contador* currently held by the Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis. Dating from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, it is completely covered with images of Portuguese noblemen, with its



Fig. 11
'Writing box,'
16th century. Pedro
Aguiar Branco
Collection, Oporto.

exterior depictions protected by thin tortoise-shell plates.²⁷

As with the Indian textiles that were produced for the Portuguese market, the coats of arms of Portuguese noble families are a common presence in Indian-made furniture. An early example is a desk in the Távora Sequeira Pinto collection, whose desktop features the arms of the Freire de Andrade family inlaid in teak.²⁸ The lacquered decoration (added later) of a chest in the David Collection in Copenhagen presents the arms of a Portuguese family. Other pieces feature the arms of religious orders that were important patrons of Indian craftsmen. While pieces created for the Jesuits are the best known, furniture often featured the arms of the Dominican order. Three pieces in particular—the aforementioned oratory held by the Museu de Évora, the dresser-desk belonging to the Fundação Medeiros e Almeida in Lisbon, and the desk in the collection of the Museu do Caramulo—feature distinct decorative schemes: the chromatic interplay of teak, ebony, and other woods (Caramulo), the use of ivory inlays (Lisbon), and carved polychrome wood (Évora).

Ivory represented another important area of Indian artistic production, this time directed at both the *Estado da Índia* and the export market. The Portuguese traditionally supervised the local production of ivory objects, specifically in coastal East Africa and Sri Lanka. They extended this practice to Goa at the dawn of the seventeenth century and continued it in their Indian holdings until the beginning of the twentieth century.



Fig. 12
'The Bagpiper,' 1514,
Albrecht Dürer. The
Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York.

A significant part of the ivory that the Portuguese received in Mozambique and sent to Goa was used to create carved religious images. These small devotional works were in high demand due to Portuguese pilgrims and travelers to India who brought them back to Europe on their return voyage. Indeed, a large body of documentation attests to the export of carved ivory from Goa to Portugal. A cursory look at the holdings of Portuguese churches reveals the near-universal presence of Goan ivory among their treasures. Goan ivory was commonly used for images of the crucified Christ, as well as for ivory figurines intended for teak Calvary scenes that also featured ornamentation in *tombac* (gilded brass). Catholic proselytizing in the Portuguese territories in India fueled the large-scale production of these images—themselves a public manifestation of religious faith—mainly by Hindu (or more broadly, non-Christian) artisans. This opposed the orders of religious authorities, whose edicts could not triumph over the laws of supply and demand. One of the more interesting aspects of this production is the manner in which local artists remained faithful to the stylistic norms of the sculptures (many of them being quite large) that appeared in Goan churches, while at the same time they managed to be innovative by accentuating the expressive character of the figures represented. Another important point is that religious sculpture from Portuguese India, both in terms of altarpieces and larger sculptures, was not intended for export.

Naturally, images of Christ and the Virgin dominate Portuguese Indian religious sculpture. In 1615, *Nossa Senhora da Luz*, a Portuguese *nau* (ship) returning from India, was shipwrecked off the island of Faial in the Azores. Ivory pieces were recovered from a box that washed from the ship onto the island. Among them were two images of the crucified Christ (one large and one small), four combs, and three fans.²⁹ A few years later, in 1628, Viceroy Francisco da Gama (Vasco da Gama's grandson) brought numerous pieces, "all in ivory," back to Portugal, including a large crucified Christ and two images of the Child Jesus.³⁰ No less popular than the crucified Christ and the Virgin were images of a young Jesus as the Good Shepherd, posing with great melancholy on a rocky outcropping. While some have drawn parallels between this image of the Good Shepherd and those of the Buddha or Krishna, its source was in fact European in origin, with its Portuguese Indian representations in ivory drawing directly on a series of devotional prints by Diana Ghisi dating to 1577.

Due to the extent of the production of ivory pieces for religious ends, the strongest influence of European printmaking becomes obvious here. For example, Albrecht Dürer's print *The Bagpiper Player* (fig. 12) is reproduced on two Sri Lankan chests, both dating from the 1540s. The first is the "Robinson casket" in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the second is held in a private collection (fig. 13). Faithful reproductions of prints by Lucas van Leyden decorate the sides of this second chest. Additionally, the creators of a large lumber of ivory plates produced in Sri Lanka and later in Goa looked to European prints for decorative inspiration. Some faithfully reproduced their source material and others assumed a certain level of creative liberty. Significantly, many of these reproductions from



Portuguese India give the prints a sense of volume that they did not originally possess. The Flemish allegory of 'Divine and Profane Love,' for example, is twice represented on ivory plaques from Sri Lanka (fig. 1).

In addition to elephant ivory, craftsmen from Portuguese India made use of rhinoceros horn, importing them from both Africa and the rest of India. Western art historians have not sufficiently explored this area of production due to the fact that Chinese artisans were responsible for the vast majority of work with this material. Nonetheless, at least two known pieces were crafted in India for Portuguese clients. The first, from the former Austrian imperial collections, was commissioned by Antão Vaz Freire, the Portuguese overseer in Sri Lanka, during the first decades of the seventeenth century. It is decorated with the arms of the Vaz Freire family, along with representations of the *dragoeiro*, a tree (*dracaena draco*) commonly found on the coast of the Gulf of Mannar.³⁰ The second piece is from the collections of the princess of Parma, Maria of Portugal (1538–1577), and is currently in the Galeria Capodimonte in Naples. It is decorated with motifs taken from the ornamental prints that Hans Collaert the Elder

made for jewelers and published in Antwerp in 1582. The piece's silver mounts are from the seventeenth century and were added by a Spanish silversmith.³²

The Portuguese conquest of Goa in 1510 began a new chapter in the history of Indian decorative arts. For more than three hundred years, Goa acted as an important export center for luxury goods and art objects, supplying the principal markets in the *Estado da Índia* and in Europe. From the beginning, Europeans appreciated these "exotic" products that evinced local aesthetic tastes. In time, however, artisans from Portuguese India began producing pieces that responded to the aesthetic preferences and particular needs of European clients. Notwithstanding this shift, Portuguese society continued to value pieces made in India, even after Portugal's industrialization in the nineteenth century. The prestige accorded to export art from Portuguese India has been justified by the longevity of its production, as well as its enduring scholarly interest. Even today it continues to provide new elements for discovery.

Essay translated by Robert Patrick Newcomb;
poem translated by Liam Brockey

Fig. 13
'Casket,' Sri Lanka,
1540–50. Private
collection.



Frontier City and Maritime Trading Center

RUI MANUEL LOUREIRO

IN SEARCH OF THE “LAND OF THE CHINS”

The great Portuguese maritime voyages of the fifteenth century culminated in the opening of a sea route to India, which allowed Europe to establish direct relations with then-remote eastern lands—connections that have endured to the present day. Direct contact between Europe and the East brought about important changes in the circulation of people and goods and also had a deep impact on ways of life and forms of thought. Firsthand accounts by Portuguese travelers completely reshaped Europe’s geographical understanding, effecting profound changes in the way Europeans saw the world. Vasco da Gama (1469–1524) and his successors not only brought exotic goods (spices, medicines, silk, porcelain) back to Europe on their return voyages from India, but also communicated thus far unknown information about eastern civilizations and geography, including news of China, a remote and mysterious Asian kingdom that early on generated high expectations.

The so-called *planisfério de Cantino*, a world map of Portuguese origin created in 1502, presented Europeans with their first minimally realistic depiction of the lands recently visited by explorers (see p. 17). The *planisfério* made reference to the *Terra dos Chins* (land of the *Chins*), an intriguing land in the Far East where “pearls and musk and fine porcelains and many other goods” could be found.¹ These indications of China’s wealth inspired the Portuguese to begin a wide-ranging, systematic survey of eastern lands and seas in the first years of the sixteenth century. The Portuguese were eager to find and eventually establish privileged relations with regions of the greatest commercial interest. In 1509, during a voyage of exploration to the Malay Peninsula, Captain Diogo Lopes de Sequeira made contact with Chinese junk crews docked at Malacca (Melaka), a state in modern Malaysia. This first Luso-Chinese encounter, which according to the Portuguese was quite friendly, revealed a number of apparent similarities between the two peoples. In addition to being “fair-skinned and good-tempered men,” with long black hair and light beards, dressed in the European style, the “chins” had very polished manners, ate their meals at the table, and enjoyed all manner of foods, with their diet free from any religious interdiction.² These initial, positive impressions were confirmed two years later, when Afonso de Albuquerque, the governor of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* (State of India), led Portugal’s conquest of Malacca. This was one step in Albuquerque’s imperial project to establish

Portuguese bases, connected by powerful naval fleets, at strategic points throughout the Indian Ocean. After securing Malacca as their base of operations, the Portuguese fraternized anew with the Chinese merchants who were docked at the seaport.

The Portuguese also promptly began exploring maritime routes that would take them farther than they had traveled up to that point. They sent expeditions to the East’s most important production and distribution centers for luxury goods, making use of local navigators and cartographic instruments of eastern origin, which accounts for their speed in reaching Siam, the Moluccas (Maluku), Timor, Cambodia, and China. According to a 1512 account, the Portuguese were aware that China was an important exporter of silk and porcelain as well as musk, rhubarb, seed pearl, camphor, and alum. Furthermore, they knew that Chinese merchants regularly purchased large quantities of pepper and incense. Based on this information, the Portuguese crown devised a plan for systematic intervention in the Far East, with a special focus on the Celestial Kingdom, which from the earliest accounts appeared to the Portuguese as a possible, and potentially lucrative, trading partner.

The first Portuguese explorers to reach China were Jorge Álvares in 1513 and Rafael Perestrelo two years later. Sailing on Malay ships, these men reached the Canton (Guangzhou) region, docking at Tamão (Lintin Island), also known as the *ilha da veniaga* (island of trade), not far from the peninsula where Macao would be established later in the century. Here the Portuguese traded profitably, in an atmosphere characterized by genuine cordiality. To the Europeans’ surprise, it soon became clear that trade with China was at least as profitable as the *carreira da Índia* (India route), that linked Cochin (Kochi, on the west coast of India) to Lisbon. Moreover, China required notably lower levels of investment, both in material and temporal terms. While the trip from Portugal to India would last between six and eight months, the China trade required a mere twenty to thirty days at sea, the distance between Malacca and Canton Bay. The Portuguese quickly took note of the extraordinary potential of inter-Asian trade routes and aggressively exploited this potential in the decades that followed. The China trade was likewise important in establishing a vast commercial network between Portugal and the most remote Asian ports, which inaugurated a new era of East-West relations—thanks to Portuguese mediation.

Fig. 1
‘Sculpture of an archangel,’ probably Macao, China, 17th century.
Private collection.

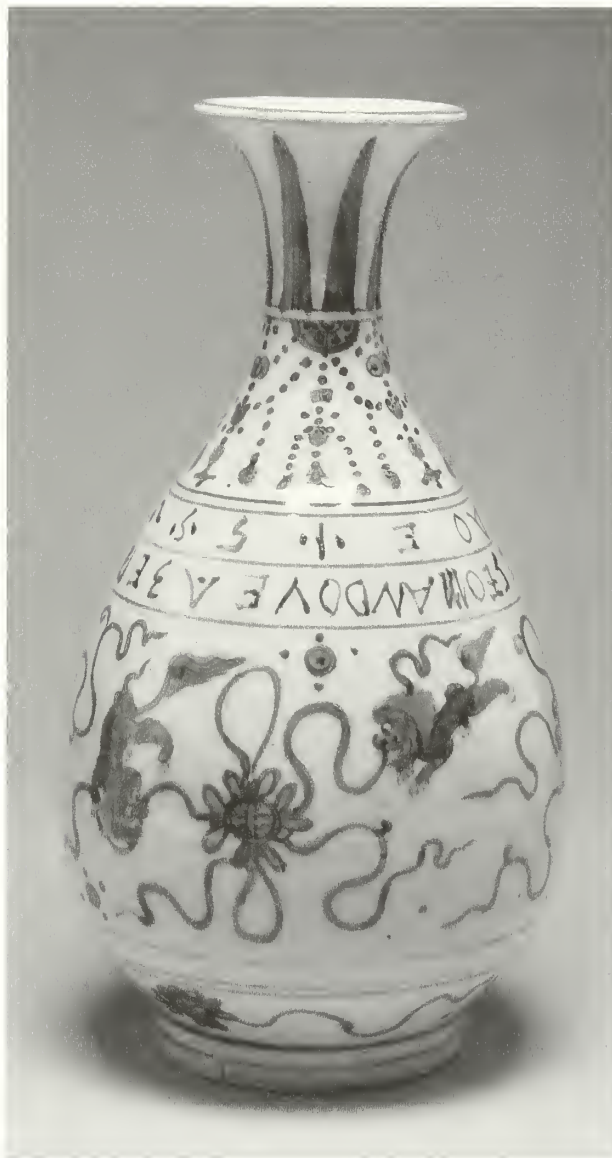


Fig. 2
Bottle with a
Portuguese name,
Western date, and
Buddhist lions. China,
Ming dynasty; dated
1552. The Walters Art
Museum, Baltimore.

IMPERIAL PROJECTS, DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, AND CONTRABAND

Portuguese explorers' enthusiastic accounts of China's commercial potential led the strategists at the court of King Manuel I (1469–1521) to draw up an ambitious plan for an ongoing Portuguese presence on the Chinese coast. This plan, which called for the construction of fortresses and the establishment of a permanent naval presence, was quite similar to the strategy already in place at Portuguese strongholds in the Persian Gulf, India's west coast, and the westernmost portion of the Malay Peninsula. In this way Portugal prepared for a concerted intervention in the lively commerce that linked the Chinese coast to Southeast Asia's principal port cities. Notably, enthusiastic accounts of the Portuguese voyages in the Far East were reaching Spain regularly by this time. King Manuel and his advisors, in delineating their strategy, hoped to counteract Spain's pretensions toward active political and economic involvement in the Far East, which these reports only encouraged.

In 1515, a large fleet, captained by Fernão Peres de Andrade, was assembled in Lisbon. Andrade's task was to send a diplomatic mission to China, headed by Tomé Pires (circa 1468–circa 1527), a pharmacist and merchant based in India.

Pires was chosen for the position of ambassador, despite his modest origins, because he was an eminent scholar of the East. He had recently completed the *Suma Oriental* (Goa, India, 1515), a vast repository of geographical and ethnographical information on maritime Asia. But despite the extraordinary commercial success of the first large Portuguese expedition to China in 1517–18, King Manuel's project to establish a permanent presence in coastal China was a failure. This was due to a number of events that had a negative impact on the Portuguese. Pires reached Peking (Beijing) in 1520, but his diplomatic mission was expelled the following year because the Portuguese (diplomats and coastal traders, alike) repeatedly violated the protocols that governed the behavior of foreigners in China. Several factors account for the failure of the embassy. First, emissaries from the former sultanate of Malacca denounced the Portuguese to the Chinese as violent conquerors. The Portuguese had lied about their origins, pretending to be Siamese in an attempt to counteract a Chinese custom prohibiting the reception of emissaries from unknown nations. Second, in accordance with typical European practice, the Portuguese diplomats addressed the Chinese emperor as an equal to King Manuel. Furthermore, the Portuguese offended Chinese customs officials by attempting to construct a fortified *feitoria*, or trading post, on one of the islands near Tamão. And finally, in accordance with the practice they had followed in other Asian nations, the Portuguese bought young Chinese women, leading to a rumor that they were cannibals. The repeated abuses committed by the Portuguese, which unfortunately coincided with the death of the emperor Zheng De, resulted in their alienation from the Chinese bureaucracy.

The members of Tomé Pires's mission were imprisoned in Canton, along with other Portuguese captured during a series of confrontations between the China's imperial navy and the various Portuguese ships operating among the islands of the Pearl River estuary. Under circumstances that are still unclear, these captives subsequently disappeared within the Chinese penal system. From this point, after 1522, the Portuguese were formally prohibited from trading in Chinese ports and Chinese merchants were discouraged from traveling abroad. It is clear that the failure of this first European embassy to China was due as much to the poor impression made by the Portuguese as it was to the Middle Kingdom's isolationist policy. The strategy followed by the Portuguese in their approach to China, which had been so successful in less developed and less centralized areas of Asia, ultimately revealed itself as utterly inappropriate to the Chinese context. Without question, the underlying cause of the failure of this first attempt to establish Luso-Chinese relations was the total lack of information about China and its customs available to the Portuguese; such information would have helped them avoid numerous offenses and misunderstandings.

In subsequent years, the Portuguese retreated from China to regions where Chinese products could still be acquired, courtesy of junks from Canton and Fujian that traded in Malaysian and Indonesian ports. However, both Portuguese and Chinese commercial interests were too

strong to allow either party to passively accept the Chinese imperial court's prohibition on trade. In 1527 the Portuguese made their first attempts, organized by a Portuguese captain from Malacca named Jorge Cabral, to reconnect with southern Chinese ports. Earlier that year the captain had welcomed "two junks from Chinchéu [Quanzhou], a tributary kingdom of the King of China." In the spirit of reestablishing friendly commercial relations, Cabral paid in advance for "some pieces" of porcelain. To the great surprise of the Portuguese, the Chinese traders, who were based in Fujian, returned to Malacca the following year with the porcelain, inspiring Cabral to send off the following message to Portugal: "these *chins* that come to Malacca are trustworthy, for we ordered goods and they returned with them."³

Aside from making a whole range of valuable merchandise available to the Portuguese, the newly reestablished trade with China had the immediate effect of attracting Portuguese ships to Chinese ports. This time, however, contact would be made more cautiously. For one, King João III (1502–1557), more realistic and better informed than his predecessor, had abandoned the idea of establishing a fortified base on Chinese territory, favoring instead a purely commercial relationship. For their part, Portuguese traders based in Malacca, thanks to a better understanding of the workings of Chinese foreign policy, adopted a more discrete, conciliatory stance, putting commercial concerns above all other interests. Powerful commercial interests were likewise at work on the Chinese side, particularly in the coastal regions. These interests sought to regularize China's trade with foreign ports in the South China Sea.

Around 1533, Portuguese ships were back on the Chinese coast, making regular visits and discovering, as a notable chronicler reported a few years later, "more than fifty ports

that are better than those of Canton."⁴ This period of Luso-Chinese relations is little understood: due to the lack of formal agreements between the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* and the authorities in Peking, trade assumed a clandestine character. We do know, courtesy of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* (Lisbon, 1614), that Portuguese maritime trade and involvement with local Chinese collaborators was quite intense during this period, extending from the island of Hainan to the area of the great city of Nanking. The Portuguese established semi-permanent settlements at certain points along the Chinese coast, which suggests they had the complicity of local authorities. The most celebrated of these settlements was found at Liampó (Ningbo). Maps produced in Portugal in subsequent years confirm these close contacts, as representations of the Chinese coast are marked with names that are unquestionably Portuguese in origin.

Compensating for the lack of relevant documents are a number of artifacts that attest to the intensity and regularity of Luso-Chinese contacts. For example, various porringers in blue-and-white porcelain featuring Portuguese inscriptions were commissioned by Portuguese individuals, who gave them to Chinese intermediaries. A phrase inscribed on some of these pieces, "In the time of Pêro de Faria in 1541,"⁵ suggests that relations with China had settled into a routine during Faria's governorship of Malacca (1539–42), though this did not necessarily imply legal recognition. Immediately after the China trade reopened, Faria, António de Abreu, Jorge Álvares, and other Portuguese merchants and officials based in Malacca added Chinese porcelain to the list of lucrative commercial goods they sought to buy. They took advantage of their time in East Asia to obtain goods (particularly porcelain) that were already of high value in Portugal and that achieved even greater prestige when personalized.



Fig. 3
Bowl with 'Ave Maria'
inscription. China, Ming
dynasty, second or third
quarter, 16th century.
Private collection.

A Dominican missionary who traveled to Canton recorded his impressions of the voyage. In the celebrated *Tratado das cousas da China* (Évora, Portugal, 1570), he provided a detailed description of the illicit traffic in which the Portuguese were involved. They sold their goods—pepper, sandalwood, aloe, incense, ivory, and amber—on the uninhabited islands off the Chinese coast in exchange for silk, porcelain, rhubarb, china root, camphor, and other rare goods sold by Chinese merchants. Local officials in turn “benefited greatly from this trade [by pocketing] large customs duties from one and all, and from those who they allowed to import and export goods.”⁶

THE AGE OF COMPROMISE ON THE CHINESE COAST

Luso-Chinese trade continued in relative harmony until 1542 or 1543, when the Portuguese reached Japan for the first time. The political situation in the Japanese archipelago offered the Portuguese extraordinary commercial opportunities. For many years the Land of the Rising Sun had been engulfed in a long and destabilizing period of civil war, which led to the formation of innumerable armed groups known as *wo-kou*. These groups made regular predatory incursions into Chinese coastal territory; in response, the authorities in Peking cut off formal diplomatic and trade relations with Japan. The Japanese had a great demand for Chinese silks and had also started to mine their own seemingly inexhaustible reserves of silver, which was a highly sought-after metal in China. Portuguese adventurers quickly moved to exploit this singular and unmet market and became indispensable intermediaries in Sino-Japanese trade within a few short years.

Portuguese expeditions to Japan multiplied after 1544–45 and a lucrative triangular trade was soon established between Malacca, coastal China, and Japan, based on the exchange of Indonesian pepper for Chinese silk, which was traded in turn for Japanese silver. The full range of traded goods was certainly broader, with sulfur, saltpeter, mercury, musk, arms, fans, and many other products exchanged as well, though pepper, silk, and silver predominated in quantitative terms. The South China Sea, frequented by private merchants as well as naval vessels, took on an extraordinary importance for the Portuguese in their Asian expansion. The incessant movement of men and ships, regularly docking at Chinese and Japanese ports, would soon have two important consequences. First, the physical realities of navigating between Malacca and the Japanese archipelago caused the Portuguese to view a safe harbor on Chinese territory as a necessity. At such a secure port, Portuguese merchants could wait for favorable winds and make necessary transactions, free from the exigencies of a rigid navigational calendar. Second, regular and intense contact with China and Japan fueled the constant production of texts, which were responsible for the dissemination in Portugal and the rest of Europe of an increasingly accurate and nuanced understanding of previously unknown geographic areas.

The choice of the Cantonese coast as the site for a permanent Portuguese settlement was made in response to internal

conditions in China. While in other more northerly regions foreigners were violently chased off by Chinese local officials, authorities in Guangdong province adopted a more open attitude toward Portuguese merchants, allowing them to use certain islands to conduct trade. There was an annual fair in Sanchoão (Shangchuan Island), where the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (Francisco Xavier in Portuguese) died in 1522 while attempting to gain entrance to China to carry out missionary activities. Soon after, the Portuguese base of operations was transferred to Lampacao (Langbajiao) as the result of an informal accord established in 1554 between the Portuguese captain Leonel de Sousa and Cantonese officials. After many years of maritime involvement with China, the Portuguese had learned to adjust their behavior to the rigid norms that governed the Middle Kingdom. They now presented themselves as peaceful merchants, interested exclusively in trading with the coastal populations and willing to pay the appropriate customs duties. They managed to distinguish themselves from other foreign merchants by cooperating with local officials and through very selective use of the impressive military power that they had at their disposal. In 1557, three years after the first Luso-Chinese accord, Chinese officials authorized an ongoing Portuguese presence on the Macao peninsula, initiating an “age of compromise” in the relations between Portugal and China.

A mere decade later, a curious incident contributed to the consolidation of the Portuguese settlement in Macao. In 1564 a Chinese fleet, returning from a campaign against foreign piracy on the coast of Fujian, rebelled against the Cantonese authorities, apparently over a question of payment. This placed Canton in a difficult position; panicked local officials took the unprecedented step of asking the foreigners in Macao for help. With their advanced military technology, the Portuguese quickly put down the uprising. Their willingness to come to the aid of Chinese officials, as well as the effectiveness they displayed in this “pirate episode,” significantly contributed to the reinforcement of the informal territorial rights that the Portuguese had obtained in Macao. This trading settlement had been founded on the initiative of Portuguese *fidalgos* (noblemen) and merchants, eager to exploit the Sino-Japanese trade. Its growth was such that by 1564 the settlement boasted a population of eight hundred Portuguese and had transformed itself into a first-rate maritime trading center. The Portuguese monarchy quickly realized Macao’s strategic importance and worked to gain influence over the settlement by giving a royal title and an annual salary to the captain in charge of the Japan trade. Despite these moves by the Portuguese crown, Macao retained relative autonomy, as the captain was only there for part of the year, during the season between the monsoons that ruled navigation between Malacca and the Japanese islands.

FRONTIER CITY AND MARITIME TRADING CENTER

By the early 1580s the Portuguese were firmly established in Macao, thanks to the complicity of local officials and the tacit approval of Emperor Wan Li, who regularly received



Fig. 4 (left)
'Madonna on a crescent
with angels,' Macao,
China (?), 16th century.
Távora Sequeira Pinto
Collection, Porto.



Fig. 5 (right)
'Virgin and Child
crowned by angels,'
Macao, China, end of
the 16th century (?).
Távora Sequeira Pinto
Collection, Porto.

news from Guangdong Province about the *folangji*, or foreign barbarians. By this time Macao also had achieved relative autonomy vis-à-vis the Cantonese government. A manuscript prepared in 1582, the *Livro de Cidades e Fortalezas* (Book of cities and fortresses), declared that there was "a large population of Portuguese" in Macao, supplemented by a transient population of more than two thousand. According to the anonymous author, the land on which Macao was built belonged to the "king of China," although "the laws and decrees of the kingdom of Portugal" governed the city's residents.⁷ In 1583 the residents of Macao asserted their relative level of independence, electing a senate that would be recognized in the coming years by the Portuguese central authority. The enormous distance separating Macao from Goa, capital of the *Estado da Índia*, justified the moves of the *macaenses* (Macaense) toward autonomy. An additional factor was the ascension of the Spanish king, Phillip II, to the Portuguese throne, a disruptive event in Portugal that would allow Macao, the *Cidade do Nome de Deus* (City of the Name of God), to assert its independence from the nearby Philippines, where the Spanish had settled since 1565.

Portuguese commercial relations with Canton progressed to a stage where customs duties were minimized, though a contemporary account notes that the Portuguese paid "each year five hundred *taéis* in tribute" in exchange for authorization to reside in Macao.⁸ This was undoubtedly the celebrated *foro-do-chão* (land rent), which is mentioned in Portuguese

documents from at least 1584. From the entrepôt's earliest days, its inhabitants were quite aware of the precariousness of their position, which was only guaranteed thanks to the goodwill of Macao's powerful Chinese neighbors. While Macao had achieved a level of autonomy, the settlement was not self-sufficient and had to import a variety of goods from the surrounding region. A Chinese embargo against Macao would immediately call into question the viability of a permanent Portuguese presence in the region. As such, to maintain the city's semi-autonomous status, it was necessary for the Portuguese to adopt a subservient attitude. In subsequent years, this status would allow Macao to prosper as part of a vast trade network operating throughout the South China Sea and neighboring regions.

Trade with Japan gradually increased through the end of the sixteenth century, strongly contributing to Macao's growth. Each year, the *grande nau* (great ship) would sail from Goa to Macao and continue to the port of Nagasaki, where the Portuguese enjoyed trade and residential rights after 1571, thanks to the mediation of Jesuit missionaries active in Japan since 1549. The great ship and the smaller Portuguese vessels that accompanied it were filled primarily with silks and porcelain, which were to be sold in Japanese markets. The ships would carry essentially the same products to the Portuguese base of operations on the Pearl River. From there they would be shipped to the Indian coast and transferred to ships making the *carreira da Índia* and would in this way reach

faraway Europe. A ship's manifest from around 1600 identifies the following as the principal products taken on at Macao: gold, brass, musk, mercury, sugar, china root, camphor, porcelain, golden beds, blankets, and curtains.⁹

Macao's commercial prosperity was not due solely to the Sino-Japanese trade. From the 1580s on, the Macanese sailed to other ports. They acquired valuable woods and ivory on the coast of Cochin China (in modern Vietnam), picked up lacquer and incense in Siam (modern Thailand), acquired pepper in the westernmost islands of the Indonesian archipelago, and sailed to Solor and Timor in search of aromatic sandalwood. Manila was a regular port of call, particularly during the Iberian Union (1580–1640), when Spanish kings also ruled Portugal. In Manila, Macanese merchants were primarily interested in acquiring silver from mines in the New World. The merchants' long trade routes and the variety of their far-flung ports of call contributed to Macao's steady growth. By the end of the sixteenth century the city was celebrated as one of maritime Asia's greatest commercial centers. Macao and its inhabitants maintained a tenuous relationship with the government of the *Estado da Índia*, in the person of the *capitão-mor* (captain general) who oversaw the Japan trade, but the regional circumstances and the links to Canton had the greatest impact on the city's fortunes. If

Macao's senate had a large amount of room to maneuver in its relations with the Portuguese central authority, this was compensated by the constraints placed on it by the constant vigilance of Chinese provincial authorities. From its inception, Macao was a true frontier city, located between two worlds. The Macanese quickly learned how to reap the commercial benefits offered by this position.

THE SPIRITUAL CONQUEST OF CHINA

Francis Xavier's death in 1552 on the island of Sanchoão, as he tried to gain access to China, increased his reputation as a saint in the eyes of his Jesuit colleagues and helped surround the Middle Kingdom with a mysterious aura of impenetrability. Already held in high esteem by Portuguese travelers, China became an even more desirable missionary destination for the Society of Jesus, which had been operating in the East since 1542. First, the Jesuits' patron had died trying to open the kingdom to Christianity. Second, its rigid closure from the outside world allowed them to dream of mass conversions in China. In December 1554, Father Melchior Nunes Barreto took up the "Chinese cause," writing to Rome that he desired to follow in the footsteps of the "most fortunate Francisco." It seemed to him that "where the captain died is where we must concentrate our forces."¹⁰ In the years that followed, the Jesuits' obsession with China transformed them into privileged observers of the Chinese scene; their efficient system of correspondence circulated increasingly detailed and reliable accounts of the Middle Kingdom. If Francis Xavier's attempt to open China met with failure, due to unfavorable circumstances and his own unsubtle methods, his death in Sanchoão contributed to the increased interest in China on the part of the Portuguese operating in East Asia.

The Society had found great success with its missionary campaign in Japan, which operated out of Macao. By the time the Portuguese settled in Macao, the number of Japanese converts was skyrocketing. Christianity's advance in the Japanese islands appears directly proportional to the volume of Luso-Japanese trade. But the Jesuits never forgot about China, though their various missions had not been effective, with imperial officials obstinately refusing to let European religious men onto Chinese territory. The motives for this policy were made clear in 1565, when Cantonese provincial authorities explicitly invoked the Jesuits' collective ignorance of the Chinese language as the reason for their refusal to grant Father Francisco Perez entry into China.

Revealing a great deal of pragmatism, the Jesuits decided to alter their Chinese missionary strategy. Following his 1577–78 stay in Macao, Father Alessandro Valignano, the Jesuit representative in the Far East, delineated a strategy more in keeping with the local situation. He suggested that missionaries receive prior training in Chinese language and customs, writing that it would be "a quite desirable thing if some of us were to learn Mandarin," and adding that two of the priests stationed at Macao were dedicating themselves to precisely this task.¹¹ The Jesuits' newfound emphasis on cultural adaptation quickly yielded positive results. By 1583 the

Fig. 6
'Cope,' China, Ming
dynasty, late 16th
or early 17th century;
Russia, ca. 1700–20
(tailoring). State
Hermitage Museum,
St. Petersburg.



Jesuits residing in Macao were granted authorization to establish themselves in Zhaoqing, an important city in Guangdong Province. In 1601 Father Matteo Ricci, a pioneer in Chinese studies, reached Peking and established the ground conditions for a Jesuit mission in that city. The mission would soon enjoy moderate success among Chinese men of letters, due to the Jesuits' continued commitment to acculturation, which entailed the observance of Chinese customs and familiarization with the language. Suddenly it seemed as if Francis Xavier's dream had become a reality, with the doors of the Middle Kingdom now open to Catholic missionary activity.

From its inception, the Jesuit mission to imperial China relied upon its strategic alignment with Macanese interests. While the Portuguese had established the Macao outpost for predominantly economic reasons, it quickly assumed an important role in the Jesuits' missionary efforts, both in Japan and in the Middle Kingdom. In fact, Macao was indispensable to the activities of the Society of Jesus. The progress of Catholic evangelization in East Asia depended on the continued survival and prosperity of the Portuguese trading center at the Pearl River estuary. With their deep knowledge of the local language, culture, and imperial politics, the Jesuits residing in Peking and other Chinese urban centers became privileged mediators between Chinese authorities and the Macanese senate and helped resolve a number of Luso-Chinese tensions and conflicts. Perhaps the architecturally imposing *Igreja de São Paulo* (Church of Saint Paul) is the best representation of the curious alliance of commercial and religious interests that used Macao as a principal theater of operation.

SURVIVAL IN TIMES OF CRISIS

During the course of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese maintained their monopoly on the *rota do Cabo*, the European trade with Asia that depended on rounding the Cape of Good Hope. This monopoly allowed Lisbon to play the profitable role of Europe's supply depot for exotic Eastern goods. During the 1580–1640 Iberian Union, however, Portugal was drawn into Spain's complex European conflicts, and its ability to prevent European competitors from reaching Asian waters was weakened. A few years after the Spanish Philip II ascended the Portuguese throne, he closed Portuguese ports first to English ships and then to the Dutch. This had grave consequences for Portuguese interests, causing the rising economic and naval powers of England and Holland to redouble their efforts to gain direct access to the East Indies, which had been the exclusive domain of Portugal. Between 1591 and 1594 merchant and navigator James Lancaster led an English maritime expedition around the Indian Ocean and reached some of the western islands of the Indonesian archipelago. In future years the English would focus their attention on establishing closer contacts with India. In 1595 and 1596 a Dutch armada under the command of Cornelius de Houtman reached the island of Java, planting the seeds for a firm Dutch presence in Southeast Asia. These voyages marked the beginning of a period of profound setbacks for Portuguese interests in Asia,

with northern European ships contesting Portuguese hegemony over the principal inter-Asian trade routes and the most strategic port cities.

The Dutch voyages to the East Indies were preceded by a period of detailed research carried out by a number of Dutch agents in Goa and Lisbon. Cornelius de Houtman visited Lisbon before his 1595–96 voyage to East Asia. Another agent, the traveler Jan Huygen van Linschoten, lived in Goa between 1583 and 1589, where he feverishly collected information on the sources and circulation of the most valuable eastern goods. In his *Itinerario* (Amsterdam, 1596) Linschoten described the Indonesian archipelago as the most favorable location for Dutch settlement, because it possessed various valuable spices and was divided into numerous rival potentates, some of which would be eager to ally themselves with Holland. He added that the Portuguese presence in the islands was less dense than in other eastern regions, with Malacca representing the only solid Portuguese settlement besides the fortresses in Tidore, Ambon, and Solor, three small islands in eastern Indonesia. Notably, these points of Portuguese influence were separated by enormous distances and surrounded by sometimes-hostile neighbors.

As a result, the first decades of the seventeenth century witnessed the progressive decline of Malacca. The Portuguese settlement faced both Dutch competition from the Javanese port of Batavia and continual aggression from Malacca's neighbor in northern Sumatra, the sultanate of Aceh, which had united the forces of Muslim opposition to the Europeans. Malacca's importance in supporting the Portuguese settlements in East Asia accounts for many of their difficulties from this period. Macao did not escape; its maritime links to Goa ceased to function with any degree of regularity due to the naval blockades imposed by Portugal's European competitors. The Dutch, aware of Macao's commercial importance in the South China Sea, began to attack the city repeatedly, beginning in 1601. Macao always managed to resist the Dutch assaults, the most serious of which occurred in 1622, when the city's armed inhabitants repelled a powerful Dutch force. Perhaps in response to that attack, Francisco de Mascarenhas, Macao's first *capitão* appointed directly by the Portuguese crown, arrived in the city the following year. Despite the monarchy's attempt to exercise direct control over the city, the senate would maintain its role as the dominant force in Macanese politics for many years to come.

In East Asia the times were definitely characterized by change. In 1639, after nearly a century of mutually beneficial Luso-Japanese commerce, the Portuguese were formally prohibited from trading in Japanese ports. Here, the alliance of Portuguese commercial and religious influences had decidedly negative consequences. While Portuguese merchants, many of whom were based in Macao, were engaging in routine commerce in Nagasaki, Jesuit missionaries were converting larger and larger numbers of Japanese, involving the Society of Jesus in the complex, conflict-ridden world of Japanese politics. The introduction of Christianity contributed to the fracturing of Japan's rigidly hierarchical social structure, which hindered



Fig. 7
 'Plate with Dutch coat
 of arms,' Japan, early
 Edo period, 1615–1716.
 Private collection.

the efforts of local authorities to unite the entire archipelago. For this reason Japanese authorities erected ever-greater barriers to Catholic missionary intrusion. With their commercial and religious interests so closely entwined, the Portuguese were neither willing nor able to separate the two. The Jesuits' expulsion led to the forced removal of Portuguese merchants. Notably, Dutch merchants did not suffer the same fate; more pragmatic and largely unconcerned with proselytizing, the Dutch had established themselves in Hirado, a city near Nagasaki. They began providing the Japanese with goods and services previously under Portuguese monopoly.

The end of Portuguese trade with Japan came as a painful shock to Macao, though it would not be the last shock the city would suffer. Only two years later, in 1641, the Dutch finally took Malacca, placing powerful long-term barriers to Portuguese shipping between India and East Asia. At roughly the same time, news reached Macao of the restoration of Portugal's independence and the ascension of King João IV (1603–1656) to the throne. The patriotic satisfaction of

Macao's inhabitants was mitigated by the strong barriers to trade with Manila that were imposed after the end of the union with Spain. In a few short years, Macao's situation in the South China Sea changed radically; the old period of prosperity came to a definite end. In the face of this formidable challenge, Macao's Luso-Chinese establishment would find new ways to survive, reorienting its trade routes toward the South China Sea, an area whose richness in resources was coupled with political fragmentation and ethnic diversity. Macao's ships would increasingly direct their trade toward Vietnamese and Siamese ports as well as to a variety of islands on the Indonesian archipelago. From this point, Banjarmasin, on the western side of Borneo, and Macassar in Sulawesi—both of which had important Portuguese communities—would become regular destinations for Macanese merchants. That was true, too, of the islands of Solor and Timor, which provided seemingly endless quantities of valuable white sandalwood. At the same time, Macao's merchants willingly established alliances with the English, beginning in 1643, and

even with Dutch, after 1661. These two European powers were investing considerable resources in India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), which allowed the Portuguese greater maneuvering room in the Far Eastern seas.

Meanwhile, China's Ming dynasty was threatened by the Manchu's successive challenges on the empire's northern border. At the insistence of Jesuit missionaries, Macao sent military assistance to Peking in the form of artillery and related personnel. Despite the Portuguese aid, the Manchu took the capital in 1644 and installed Shun Zhi as emperor. The dynastic transition was particularly drawn-out in China's southern provinces, where Yung Li led the Ming dynasty's final efforts at resistance. Manchu control, however, would quickly extend to the whole of China, with Canton taken in 1650. Curiously, Macao did not suffer reprisals from the newly installed Qing dynasty, which quickly recognized the small merchant city's autonomy, despite Macao's earlier hostility to the Manchu. How could this have occurred? For one, the Jesuits in Peking quickly became friendly to the Manchu, which must have worked in Macao's favor. What is more, in previous years Macao had managed to take on the role, particularly regarding the provincial authorities in Guangdong, of an indispensable partner in China's relations with the outside world or at least with its southern neighbors.

AN EXEMPLARY ENCOUNTER

Macao enjoyed exclusive access to China for many years: the Macanese were the only foreign merchants allowed to operate in the markets of Canton, and Jesuit merchants destined for China made an obligatory stop at the Luso-Chinese city before continuing on to the Middle Kingdom. Many Chinese merchants, particularly those sailing from Fujian, traded in the Philippines and in certain Indonesian and Malaysian ports. However, most Chinese exports were sent to the European market through a route that began in Macao, moved through India, around the Cape of Good Hope, and ended in Europe. The same was true for information; a large volume of news collected by the Jesuits in the Chinese interior flowed to their colleagues in Macao, who transmitted it in turn to the outside world. If Macao enjoyed the privileged position as the intermediary between China and the West, the same status applied to Portugal, through which East Asian goods, news, trends, technology, and ideas passed on their way to the rest of Europe. In 1685 Emperor Kangxi authorized the opening of the city of Canton to other foreigners, breaking the Macanese monopoly on local trade. Regardless, Macao retained its status as the primary port of entry to China for many years to come.

A variety of Eastern goods entered Europe through Lisbon's Casa da Índia (Royal Customs House). In addition to large quantities of silk and innumerable boxes of porcelain, one could find in the "India House" numerous shipments of carved wood, fine ivory fans, musk-based perfumes, useful medicinal plants and herbs like rhubarb and tea leaves, delicious Eastern fruits like mandarin oranges, curious books filled with exotic characters and many, many other treasures. In addition to these goods, the ships making the return por-

tion of the *carreira da Índia* took with them regular shipments of letters, accounts, and treatises written by Jesuit priests stationed in the Chinese interior and Macao. These firsthand accounts offered an educated European public its first glimpses of Chinese history and culture. Importantly, this East-West cultural exchange did not move in one direction only. It was through Macao that little by little, the Middle Kingdom learned about Europe and the wider world, thanks again to the mediation of the Jesuits. Through Portuguese initiative, foods like peanuts, sweet potatoes, and corn entered the Chinese diet. Exotic substances like betel and tobacco became part of Chinese habits and social life and European intellectual innovations in mathematics, astronomy, medicine, and mechanics were incorporated into China's collective knowledge base. Finally, the cartographical and geographic discoveries that accompanied the Portuguese engagement with the Far East—once again, primarily the work of the Jesuits—helped transform the Chinese vision of the world.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Portugal engaged in a long relationship with China that can be understood in three dimensions. First, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to establish maritime relations with coastal China, doing so in 1513. Portugal's closest competitors, the Spanish, were able to establish an ongoing link between Mexico and the Philippines after 1565. The direct relationship between Portugal and the Middle Kingdom, which relied on Macao's intermediary role, inundated Europe with previously unimaginable quantities of silk, porcelain, and other Chinese goods. Second, the Portuguese played a fundamental role in Europe's discovery of Chinese civilization. Not acting merely as merchants, the Portuguese were concerned with the systematic collection and registration of detailed information on all aspects of China. The information the Portuguese collected on Chinese language, history, customs, practices, and social and religious mores would be extensively distributed in Europe in the form of treatises, written accounts, maps, and travel diaries. Third, this enormous mass of information contributed to the uniformly positive image enjoyed by China in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese culture. For decades, the Celestial Kingdom was considered a model civilization, and was used as a point of reference for Europeans to critique their own society.

The most extraordinary consequence of the Luso-Chinese relationship, however, is the foundation and development of Macao as a unique frontier city and an almost otherworldly point of contact and cross-pollination between peoples and cultures. Through the centuries, Portuguese, Chinese, and a variety of other Asian peoples maintained an exemplary relationship in the City of the Name of God. This relationship was no doubt based on a great confluence of material interests, though it was also the product of enormous mutual respect and a broad tolerance for difference. The social model developed in Macao continues to the present day, having weathered all manner of historical conditions, in a categorical demonstration of its enduring vitality.



FROM MARCO POLO TO MANUEL I

The European Fascination with Chinese Porcelain

JEAN MICHEL MASSING

The exotic world of the Far East, which tantalized Christopher Columbus during the years he spent organizing his “Enterprise of the Indies,” is the setting for Marco Polo’s famous narrative. Polo and several other European travelers who reached China in the years of Mongol dominance—before the borders were again closed to Westerners in the second half of the fourteenth century—left vivid accounts of their experiences. These have remained, nearly two hundred years later, the best available sources of information about the Far East.

One extraordinary historical and artistic document, the so-called *Catalan Atlas*, integrates the information provided by the travel accounts with medieval geographical knowledge and lore into a complete view of the then-known world, stretching from the newly discovered Atlantic islands to the China Sea (fig. 2).¹ It is an indispensable summary of late medieval Europe’s geographical knowledge, one of the last great *mappae mundi* (maps of the world) created prior to the rediscovery of Ptolemy’s *Geography* in the early fifteenth century, and the closest we have to an image of Columbus’s Cathay. The *Catalan Atlas* was drawn in 1375 by a Majorcan mapmaker, probably Abraham Cresques. By November 9, 1380, it had entered the library of King Charles V of France.² The world map itself combines the basic form of a sea chart of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea³ with a traditional *mappa mundi*.⁴ The origin of portolan (sea) charts is still obscure, but they seem to have appeared at the end of the thirteenth century. Portolan charts have rightly been considered one of the most important developments in the history of mapmaking, providing a relatively accurate image of the Mediterranean based on firsthand navigational knowledge, in effect “a living record of Mediterranean self-knowledge undergoing constant modification” in the interest of greater accuracy.⁵ As in most portolans, the rendering of the Mediterranean is especially accurate: the harbors are clearly indicated and almost always placed in the right order, at least in the best-known areas. Flags specify, although not always correctly, the political allegiances of the various towns; crescents often are used for Muslim cities. However, the farther the detail is from the coast, the less reliable the rendering becomes—portolan charts are, after all, navigational maps. This is especially true for areas outside the Mediterranean, even for northern Europe. The empiricism of the sea chart contrasts strongly with the medieval tradition of world mapping, which relied mainly on biblical, classical, and medieval lore known through literary sources. At the center of the world is Jerusalem, more or less in the tradition of medieval

mappae mundi.⁶ But in contrast with the *mappae mundi*, Europe and the Mediterranean form only the western half of the world. To the east is an enormous region whose importance is clearly understood but whose exact form is to a large extent still unknown. This is the world of spices, precious wares, silver, and gold that Marco Polo so tantalizingly described. This is the world that Columbus had in mind when he conceived his “Enterprise of the Indies,” and that he set out to reach by the western route.

The Indian powers are represented on the *Catalan Atlas* by the sultan of Delhi and the Hindu king of Vijayanagar, incorrectly identified as a Christian.⁷ Farther north appear the Three Wise Men on their way to Bethlehem⁸ and at the top (or bottom) of the map, a caravan (fig. 3); all of the latter figures are drawn upside down, as the map probably was meant to be laid horizontally and viewed from both sides. In central Asia, camels laden with goods are followed by their drivers; behind them are various people, one of them asleep, on horses (“This caravan set out from the Empire of Sarra to go to China”). Next to this group is a mass of fascinating information based on Marco Polo’s travel account: “You must know that those who wish to cross this desert remain and lodge for one whole week in a town named Lop, where they and their beasts can rest. Then they lay in all the provisions they need for seven months.” Further on we read that “when it happens that a man falls asleep on his camel during a night-ride, or he wanders away and loses his companions for some other reason, it often happens that he hears the voices of devils which are like the voices of his companions and they call him by his name and lead him in all directions through the desert, so that he can never find his companions again. A thousand tales are told about this desert.”⁹ The scene clearly refers to the Silk Road, the overland route to China. The caravan is crossing the Sinkiang desert through the Tarim Basin. The province and town of Lop mentioned by Marco Polo can be connected with the modern town of Ruoqiang (Charkhlik), south of Lop Nor.¹⁰

For more than a thousand years trade with the Far East had been conducted not only by the sea route but also, whenever possible, overland. The Greeks traveled as far as India, while the Romans developed economic relations with the Chinese empire.¹¹ The land road linked Europe directly to China but was more prone to political turmoil. The Mongol conquest, which united large areas of central Asia in the mid thirteenth-century, led to the reopening of the route from the Black Sea to the Far East and China, especially after 1264

Fig. 1
‘Katzenelnbogen
bowl,’ Hessisches
Landesmuseum,
Staatliche Kunst-
sammlungen, Kassel.



when Kublai Khan moved his capital to Beijing. Marco Polo's father and uncle, Nicolo and Maffeo, must have been among the very first Europeans to take advantage of this development when, sometime after 1260, they set out for Cathay, where they were received by Kublai Khan. They returned to Europe in 1269 but revisited China only two years later with the young Marco. Written in 1298–99, Marco Polo's *Description of the World* (also called *Il Milione*) is the most comprehensive account of China written by a Westerner before the sixteenth century; he described in great detail his life and travels in the service of Kublai Khan. Marco Polo left China in 1292, returning by the sea route from Zhangzhou to Sumatra, Ceylon, and India, and providing a firsthand account of these countries.¹² The *Catalan Atlas*, in fact, presents the Far East as he described it, but without much geographical accuracy. Historically, it illustrates the political disintegration of the Il Khanid state after the death of Genghis Khan (Chingiz-Khan), with Jani-Beg (here called Kaniebek) ruling the Golden Horde from 1340 until his death in 1357, Kebek Khan leading the Middle Horde from 1318 to 1326, and Kublai Khan (1215–1294), who founded the Yuan dynasty, reigning over China.¹³ In the areas that these rulers controlled and their bordering lands, towns and cities are not often correctly located; towns such as Bukhara and Samarkand in western Turkestan, for example, are shown south rather than west of the caravan. Cities are often located simply in the order in

which they appear in lists rather than according to their relative geographic position.

Farther south, the supreme ruler of China (CATAYO on the map) is identified as Kublai Khan, grandson of Genghis Khan: "The most powerful prince of all the Tartars is named Holubeim [i.e., Kublai Khan], which means Chief Khan. The emperor is far wealthier than any other monarch in the whole world. This emperor is guarded by 12,000 horsemen".¹⁴ The *Catalan Atlas* contains the names of various towns placed apparently at random, some of them mentioned twice; this reflects the fact that the map was evidently composed with the help of various sources. It emphasizes the importance of the capital Chanbalik, the modern Beijing, in an account once more based on Marco Polo's text: "This town [Beijing] has an extent of 24 miles, is surrounded by a very thick outer wall and has a square ground-plan. Each side has a length of six miles, the wall is 20 paces high and 10 paces thick, has twelve gateways and a large tower, in which hangs a great bell, which rings at the hour of first sleep or earlier. When it has finished ringing, no one may pass through the town, and at each gate a thousand men are on guard—not out of fear but in honor of the sovereign." The description emphasizes the richness and urbanity of the Chinese capital at the edge of the civilized world.¹⁵ This contrasts strongly with the people of the islands farther east who are described as savages living naked, eating raw fish,

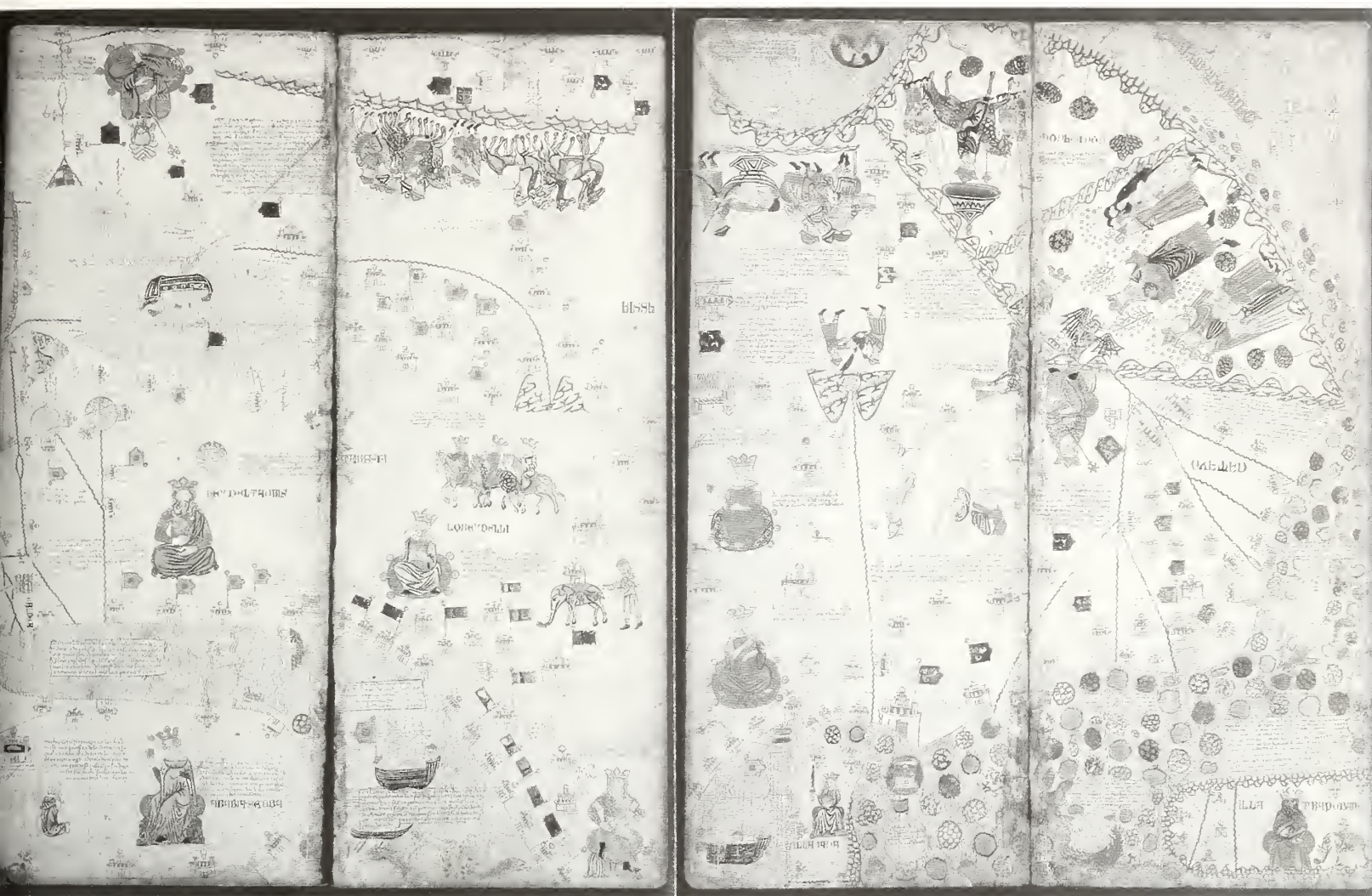


Fig. 2 (above)
Abraham Cresques,
'Catalan Atlas,' 1375.
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.



Fig. 3 (left)
'Central Asian Caravan,'
from Abraham Cresques,
Catalan Atlas, 1375.
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.



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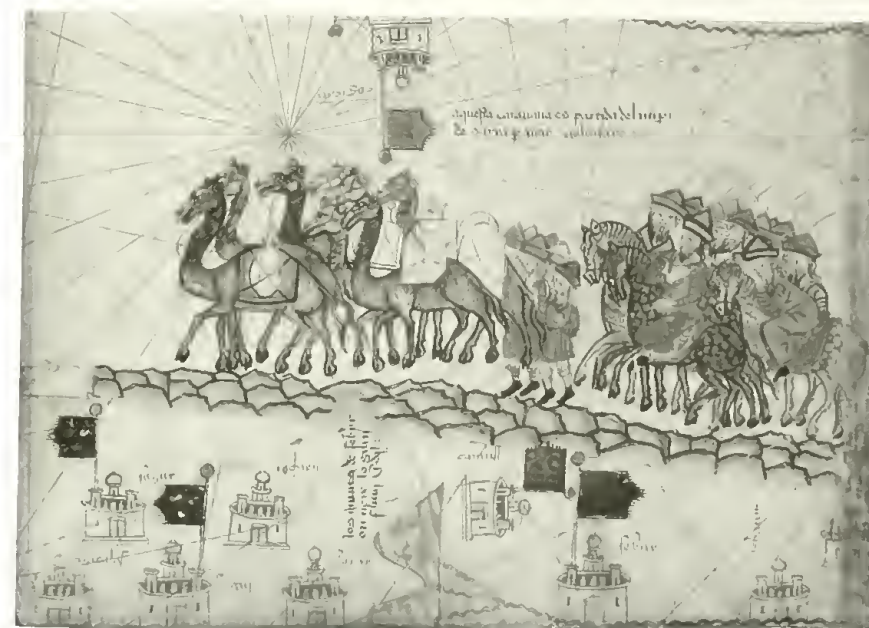


Fig. 2 (above)
Abraham Cresques,
'Catalan Atlas,' 1375
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.

Fig. 3 (left)
'Central Asian Caravan',
from Abraham Cresques,
Catalan Atlas, 1375
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.

and drinking sea water.¹⁶ They are obviously to be identified with the Ichthyophagi (Fish Eaters), one of the fabulous races traditionally placed in Asia or Africa.¹⁷

In his *Description of the World* Marco Polo provided the first substantial account of Chinese porcelain to reach the European educated public: "And . . . I tell you that the most beautiful vessels and plates of porcelain, large and small, that one could describe are made in great quantity . . . in a city, which is called Tingiu [Tongan, near Quanzhou], more beautiful than can be found in any other city. And . . . from there they are carried to many places throughout the world. And there is plenty there and a great sale, so great that for one Venetian groat you would actually have three bowls so beautiful that none would know how to devise them better."¹⁸

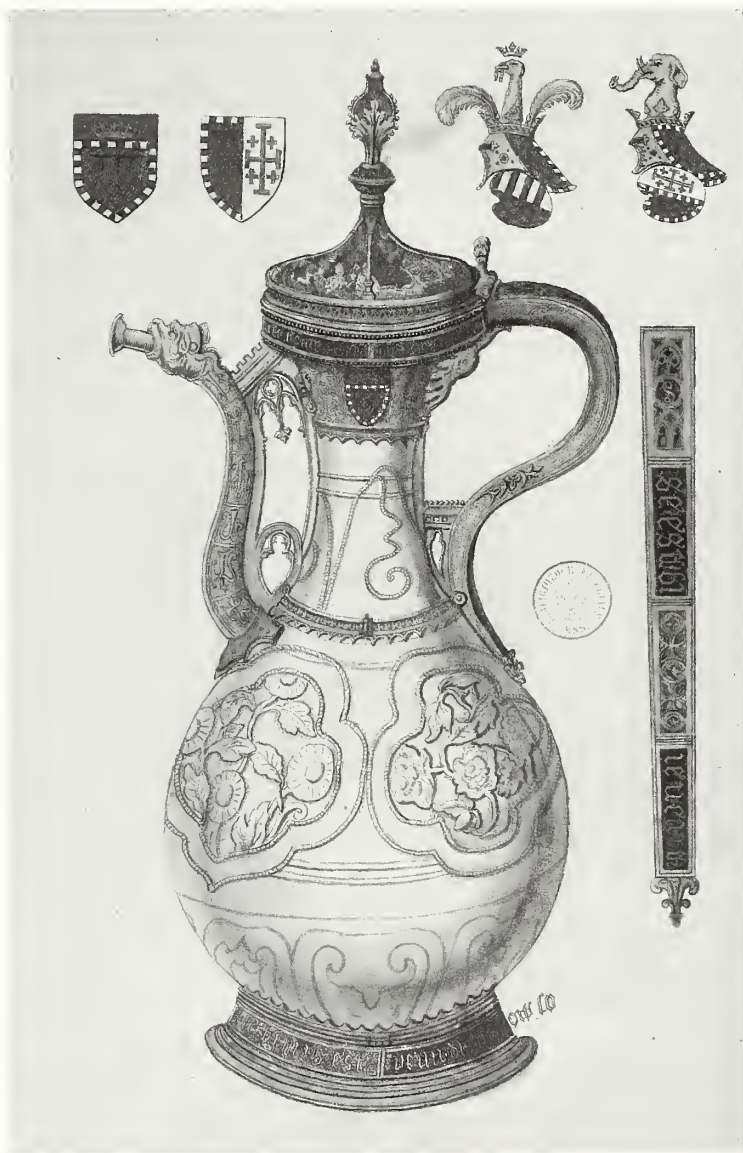
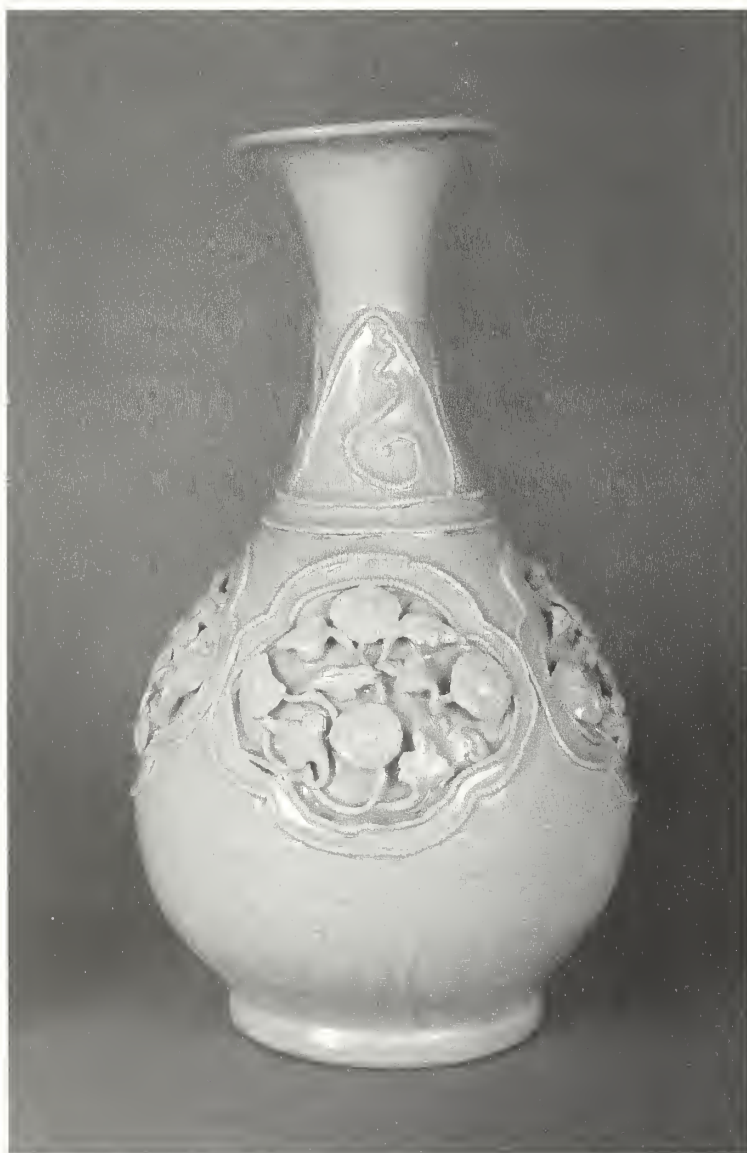
In the Islamic world, Chinese porcelain was first described by Suleymān, an Arabian traveler of the ninth century, and recent excavations in Sirāf have revealed that large quantities of porcelain were reaching the Persian Gulf before 820. Rulers like Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–806) in Baghdad and the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansir (1036–1094) had large collections of Chinese porcelains. Chinese silks, as well as other Chinese objects, had already found their way to Europe as early as the Roman period.

The oldest reference to actual examples of porcelain in a European collection seems to be in the 1323 will of Queen Maria of Naples and Sicily, but material from an archaeological excavation of the royal residence in Lucera in Puglia indicates that Chinese porcelain reached Europe before the fourteenth century. The evidence suggests, however, that porcelain must have been exceedingly rare, acquired in diplomatic gifts from Asian rulers or, in a few instances, brought back from the East by travelers.¹⁹

The Gaignières-Fonthill vase (Dublin, National Museum of Ireland) is a bluish-white glazed Yuan-dynasty porcelain, 28.3 centimeters high. It had certainly reached Europe by 1381, when it was set in a now lost silver gilt and enameled mount (fig. 4). Based on various inscriptions, heraldic evidence, and the style of the mount, the ewer can be dated 1381, the year it was given by the Hungarian king, Louis the Great, to Charles III of Anjou-Sicily to celebrate the latter's accession to the kingdom of Naples. The bottle is made of a hard, white *qingbai* (blue-white, also sometimes referred to as *yingqing*) porcelain with a pale bluish-green glaze and can be dated circa 1320–40. A drawing made for Roger de Gaignières in 1713 represents the bottle still mounted as a ewer (fig. 5). Four manuscript pages bound with the drawing de-

Fig. 4 (left)
'Gaignières-Fonthill
Vase.' National Museum
of Ireland, Dublin.

Fig. 5 (right)
Roger de Gaignières,
'Drawing of Gaignières-
Fonthill Vase,' 1713.
Bibliothèque nationale
de France, Paris.



scribe its mounting at the time, when it was in the collection of M. de Caumartin. It had previously belonged to the dauphin and was recorded in a royal inventory of 1689. The ewer, which later came into the possession of William Beckford at Fonthill Abbey, was sold in 1822 to John Farquhar and resold by him a year later. When it reappeared in the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882, it had been stripped of its fourteenth-century mount to become, again, a simple "pear-shaped bottle"; today only the hole pierced for the spout testifies to the European additions.²⁰

The Katzenelnbogen bowl (Kassel, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen), a late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century celadon bowl, is first mentioned in a 1483 inventory of the possessions of Landgrave (Count) Heinrich III, where it is described as a gilt cup with cover and identified as an Asian ceramic (*ein vergolde-ter Pokal mit Deckel, genannt die Erde von Indien*; "Indian" in this case simply means Asian) (fig. 1). An inventory of 1594 states that the cup was brought back from Asia by one of the Katzenelnbogen counts (*ein Graff von Catzenelnbogen auss Orient Mitt sich in diese Landte brachtt*). The bowl is a typical example of Chinese celadon ware, probably from Longquan, of the late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century. It probably was purchased by Philip the Elder, count of Katzenelnbogen, during his pilgrimage to the Holy Land from July 24, 1433, to May 3, 1434; this would correspond to the information in the 1594 inventory. He may have bought it in Acre; an account of his life, written by an anonymous author and later turned into verse, explains that merchants from all over the world could be found there.²¹ Chinese wares were relatively easy to obtain in the Near East, for they had been exported there for centuries.²² In western Europe they were still of the utmost rarity. To set off his "Indian" treasure, Count Philip had it enhanced with a silver gilt mount, partly enameled by a silversmith in a Rhenish workshop as a cup with a broad stem and a six-lobed foot, with cover, 20.6 centimeters high; the cover was decorated with an enameled acorn, held by foliage, which originally (as we know from descriptions of the piece in two inventories of 1500 and 1502) was completely blue and surmounted by a pearl. The pearl has now disappeared. The enameled coats of arms have been identified as those of Philip von Katzenelnbogen before he became count of Dietz in 1453. The Gaignières-Fonthill vase, the Katzenelnbogen bowl, and another dish in Longquan celadon ware that was given by the sultan of Egypt Qā'it Bāy to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1487²³ are the only Chinese ceramics known today that were taken to Europe before 1500. The so-called Marco Polo Jar in the Treasury of San Marco in Venice may well have come to Europe at a later date.²⁴

In medieval times, Chinese porcelains were believed to offer protection from poisons. So were the "serpent's tongue" table ornaments (in German *Natterzungenbäume*, in French *espreuves* or *languiers*), which still summon a vivid image of the luxury of table decorations in the late Middle Ages.²⁵ A splendid silver gilt piece, 27 centimeters high, done by a craftsman from Nuremberg circa 1450 and now in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches



Museum, Sammlung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe) has fossilized sharks' teeth, then called "serpents' tongues," mounted as a bouquet (fig. 6). Part of the crowning can be removed by lifting the topaz; this allowed the sharks' teeth to be dipped in wine or food to test for poison, for according to legend the teeth would sweat and change color upon contact with toxins. The piece is first recorded in 1526, among the possessions of the deceased Emperor Maximilian I, as a gilt table ornament with "serpents' tongues" mounted as a tree (*ain vergulte credenz*

Fig. 6
Table decoration. Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Kunstammer, Vienna.

mit viel natterzungen in gestalt wie ain paumb).²⁶ The oldest reference to *languiers* is in the inventory of goods made at the death of Odo, count of Nevers, in 1266. Under Pope Boniface VIII in 1295 the Holy See had fifteen “branches or trees with serpents’ tongues.” In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they appear in many inventories; for example, in 1318 Pope John XXII received from Philip the Long “a beautiful *languier* of gold, covered with rubies and emeralds and fine pearls, with six serpents’ tongues.”²⁷ *Natterzungenbäume* are extremely rare today. Only two other medieval specimens are extant, one in the Schatzkammer des Deutschen Ordens in Vienna²⁸ and another in the Grünes Gewölbe in Dresden.²⁹ To these examples, which have been preserved intact, can be added a few individually mounted teeth that, if they did not originally hang on a *languier*, must have been worn as amulets to protect against poison, plague, and epilepsy.³⁰

The triangular teeth come from chondrichthyes (*Lamna*, *Odontaspis*, etc.), which are marine fish with cartilaginous skeletons, such as sharks, rays, and skates. Since prehistoric times they have been prized for their shiny enameled surfaces, often stained by different minerals, which gave them a variety of hues: milk-white, yellowish-brown, bluish-gray, and green.³¹ In the Middle Ages they were known as *glossopetrae* (tongue-stones) or serpents’ tongues. In 1558 the Swiss zoologist Conrad Gesner became the first to notice their resemblance to sharks’ teeth.³² While the identification with serpents’ tongues can be explained by a simple process of visual association, the notion that the teeth have apotropaic power is rooted in sympathetic magic, though in the legend the idea has been given a religious rationale.³³ In the thirteenth century, Arnald of Villanova wrote in his *Breviarium* that “certain nobles and barons, when they eat, keep on the table the horn or else the tongue of a serpent in a vessel on a piece of bread, and it is said that if any poison is set before it on the table, it at once begins to sweat.”³⁴ Narwhal horns served a similar function on the medieval table. Around 398 B.C.E. the Greek physician Cresias—the first to describe the unicorn, this mythical creature from whom the horn was said to come—wrote that “those who drink from these horns, made into drinking vessels, are not subject, they say, either to convulsions or to falling sickness. Indeed they are immune even to poisons if, either before or after, they drink wine, water or anything else from these beakers.”³⁵ The belief that Chinese ceramics also detected poisons is reflected in the *Libellus de notitia orbis* (On knowledge of the world) of 1402: “Noblemen eat and drink from these vessels. Porcelain is said to be effective against poison, and whatever there may be inside, poison or anything drinkable, it absorbs all the impurities, etc. of the poison and purifies it entirely.”³⁶ In the inventory, dated 1532, of Florimond Robertet’s collection, chinaware is described as “so sound that if some evil people should soil it with poison to harm anybody it would instantly break of itself and fall into pieces rather than tolerate the evil beverage which was meant to injure our inside.”³⁷

Chinese ware remained rare in Europe until the end of the fifteenth century. Only after Vasco da Gama opened the new maritime route to the Middle East and the Far East in 1498

did porcelain become more common in European countries. The name itself, porcelain (in old French “pourcelaine” and “porcelaine”), had different meanings, standing, of course, for chinaware but also for cowries. The reason for this homonymy is probably that the shining surface of white porcelain must have reminded Europeans of cowry shells (Latin: *cypraea*), leading to the conclusion that the ware was made out of these shells.³⁸ The technique for making Chinese porcelain remained unknown in Europe until it was discovered by Johann Böttger, who successfully made white porcelain on January 15, 1709. By that time porcelain had been made in China for more than a thousand years.³⁹ This is partly because the secret relating to its manufacture had been well kept. Marco Polo, for example, thought that porcelain was made of “mud and rotten earth” left in great mounds “in the wind, in the rain, and in the sun, for thirty and forty years.”⁴⁰ Another “recipe” is found, for example, in the anonymous *Libellus de notitia orbis* of 1402, which mentions that it is necessary that “the clay lie forty years before the vessels are made, and that it . . . should mature. Fathers begin and sons finish, and they make various vessels.” The text also states that if porcelain is broken, “it is repaired by means of goat milk boiled underneath.”⁴¹ According to the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa who wrote circa 1518, the Chinese made porcelain “from the shells of fish ground fine, from eggshells and the white of eggs and other materials. From these they made a paste which they place under the ground for eighty and a hundred years. . . . And when the time is fulfilled they fashion it in many styles and manners, some coarse, some fine, and after it is shaped they glaze and paint it.”⁴² Even then not much was known about the manufacture of the ware.

A new stage in world history—an important step towards globalization—came in 1498, when Vasco de Gama circumnavigated Africa and sailed to Calicut, thus linking the two main trading areas, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, the latter being already navigated from East Africa to South China.⁴³ In commercial terms, this meant that boats could sail from the Moluccas and even China directly to Portugal, returning fully loaded with goods and spices. The impact was immediate, as porcelain was already widely traded in the Indian Ocean, as far as the East African coast.⁴⁴ This is confirmed by the text of Álvaro Velho’s *Roteiro da Primeira Viagem* (The Log of the First Voyage) and the anonymous *Certa enformaçāo do mais que na Índia e Província della ha* (A certain information of that which exists in India and its provinces), recounting the success of Pedro Álvares Cabral’s travel to the East—both mention porcelain.⁴⁵ On returning to Portugal in 1499, Vasco de Gama handed to Manuel “. . . a porcelain pot [with] fifty pouches of musk, six porcelain bowls as large as large drinking vessels, . . . and six deep porcelain containers, each of which can hold 10 *canadas* [approximately 15 liters] of water,”⁴⁶ all gifts from the King of Calicut. He also ordered Nicolau Coelho to bring to the queen “and showed on the Queen’s dais the necklaces and jewels, the clothes from the kings of Cananore and Melindi and the letters written on sheets of gold and the piece of amber, which the queen most appreciated and also

the musk and benzoin and porcelain which was bought in Calicut.”⁴⁷ The inventory of Manuel’s goods taken after his death on February 3, 1522, in which items were sometimes identified as coming from Morocco, Turkey, Persia, India, or China, included “four Chinese porcelains in white silver with wicker on the outside. . . .” In 1512 the king gave twelve pieces of porcelain out of a set of twenty to the Jerónimos monastery in Lisbon, and, a year later, he gave 156 pieces, “small and big,” to his wife, Queen Maria of Castille.⁴⁸ From February 1511 to April 1514, João da Sã, treasurer of spices at the Casa da India in Lisbon, registered the entry of 692 pieces of porcelain into the royal warehouse, together with thousands of rare and exotic items.⁴⁹

Princess Beatriz, King Manuel I’s mother, who died in 1507, also owned several pieces of porcelain, which she kept in a Flemish chest.⁵⁰ A Portuguese connection is recorded in the posthumous inventory of Isabella, the Catholic queen of Spain who died in 1505. The inventory mentions that a large blue-and-white basin was handed over to Violante de Albion, the queen’s lady in waiting, in Medina del Campo on April 26, 1504, as a gift from Maria of Castille. Four days later Isabella was given a smaller, octagonal basin, decorated with violet flowers (*de una flores cardenas*), by a Venetian ambassador. To the Portuguese rulers, porcelain was clearly an appreciated and rare gift, as it was, of course, for Isabella.⁵¹ However, not everybody was partial to porcelain: the famous Afonso de Albuquerque, chief architect of Portuguese India, asked Manuel I for a service in silver, as the porcelain service he had on his boat was so easily breakable.⁵² People, of course, knew that the porcelain they bought in India was not made there, but in China. The first viceroy of India, Francisco de Almeida, confirmed to Manuel in 1508 that “the fine cotton cloth and the porcelain and things of that nature come from further away.”⁵³

Chinese pottery had already been exported to Annam and southeast Asia during the Han period (202 B.C.E.–221 C.E.); and later so were the large stoneware jars and the porcelain, which were traded overland by Siamese, Malay, Indian, and Arab merchants but also by sea. With the help of the monsoon, the wares reached Arabia and East Africa.⁵⁴ By the first quarter of the twelfth century, this trade was so large that “. . . the small pieces are packed in the larger till there is no space left.”⁵⁵ In China the oversea porcelain trade was restricted to a few ports, and at times even banned.⁵⁶ Clearly, Portugal was anxious to cut out intermediaries and, after the fall of Malacca in 1511, the first Portuguese reached China; Albuquerque sent the ship’s captain Jorge Álvares, who arrived on the island of Tongmen (off Canton, the *Veniaga* of the Portuguese) in 1513. There he raised one of the traditional crosses (*padrão*) that charted Portuguese exploration.⁵⁷ At the end of 1515, another traveler, Rafael Perestrelo followed in his steps and returned with positive news concerning trade.⁵⁸ This led to the first embassy to China, whose goal was to give the emperor a letter from the king of Portugal. Tomé Pires, author of the famous *Suma Oriental* (1512), joined the mission, which took him ultimately to Peking, but without meeting the emperor. Misunderstandings meant that the

embassy became a total failure. Pires became a hostage, and another Portuguese fleet, led by Captain Afonso Melo, that had been sent to resume the negotiations arrived in Tongmen in 1522 and was attacked and defeated. Pires died in captivity, probably in May 1524.⁵⁹ These diplomatic tensions and conflicts led to the Portuguese expulsion from China between 1522 and 1552. They had to leave Canton, but the now illegal porcelain trade continued from other harbors, sometimes in difficult circumstances, but with the complicity of local merchants and even rulers.⁶⁰ Trade was also done by intermediaries, as we know from a letter dated September 5, 1528, sent by Captain Jorge Cabral to King João III (1521–1557): “I place an order with a Chinese captain who came here asking him to have a few pieces made for Your Highness. He brought them to me, but they are not exactly as I wanted. Your Highness shall have them when I go and you should know that they are good Chinese here in Malacca because money or goods can be entrusted to them and they return with them.”⁶¹

Both the quantity and the quality of the porcelain bought by the Portuguese in India are difficult to assess. Among the early surviving testimony of commissioned ware are two ewers, respectively in the Fundação Medeiros e Almeida and in a private collection in Portugal (fig. 7). Both

Fig. 7
‘Ewer with armillary sphere of King Manuel I,’ China, Ming dynasty, Zhengde mark and period (1506–21). Grupo Banco Espírito Santo; on loan to Museo–Escola de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas da Fundação Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Lisbon.





Fig. 8
'Bowl,' Ming dynasty.
Fundação Medeiros e
Almeida, Lisbon.

carry the armillary sphere of Manuel I granted to him when he was still duke of Beja by his brother-in-law King João II. The pear-shaped body has a spout ensuing from, and ending in, an open-mouthed dragon head, with the teeth clearly visible; the handle on the opposite side ends with a fish tail. The cobalt blue decoration, under a bluish glaze recalling the *qingbai*, combines traditional Chinese and Portuguese elements: lotus panels on the lower part of the body with more classical motives on the neck.⁶² The armillary sphere of Manuel I traditionally carries the motto *Spera in Deo* (taken from Psalm 36:3: *Spera in Domino et fac bonum*—Trust in the Lord, and do good), playing on the Latin word *spera*, which could either mean hope (*espera*) or sphere (*esfera*),⁶³ but the Chinese porcelain painters did not understand its meaning. Although the two ewers have an apocryphal Xuande mark (1426–35), they are traditionally associated with the Zhengde period and dated circa 1519–21,⁶⁴ but their basic shape, the whiteness of their glaze, and their painted decor are more characteristic of the Jiajing period (1522–66). The

pieces with the armillary sphere of Manuel were part of a much larger production testifying to a continuous export and clandestine trade, despite the breaking off of relations between Portugal and China from 1522 to 1552. Plates, bowls, and ewers carry Portuguese coats of arms, devices, and inscriptions; some of them still include medallions with Manuel's armillary sphere, with illegible characters, but also the royal Portuguese coat of arms, often shown upside down. The monogram IHS, the initials of Jesus' name in Greek, also standing for *Jesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus the savior of mankind), is sometimes added, as on the earliest surviving pieces, large dishes made for the Portuguese market at the very beginning of the sixteenth century; later the monogram became the symbol of the Jesuits. AVE MARIA GRACIA [GRATIA] PLENA (Hail Mary, full of grace) is sometimes added, and often mis-inscribed, on others, referring to the words of the angel Gabriel to Mary during the Annunciation (fig. 8). Others refer to individual people, because they were done in 1541 in the time of Pero de Faria (EM TEMPO DE RERO [PERO])

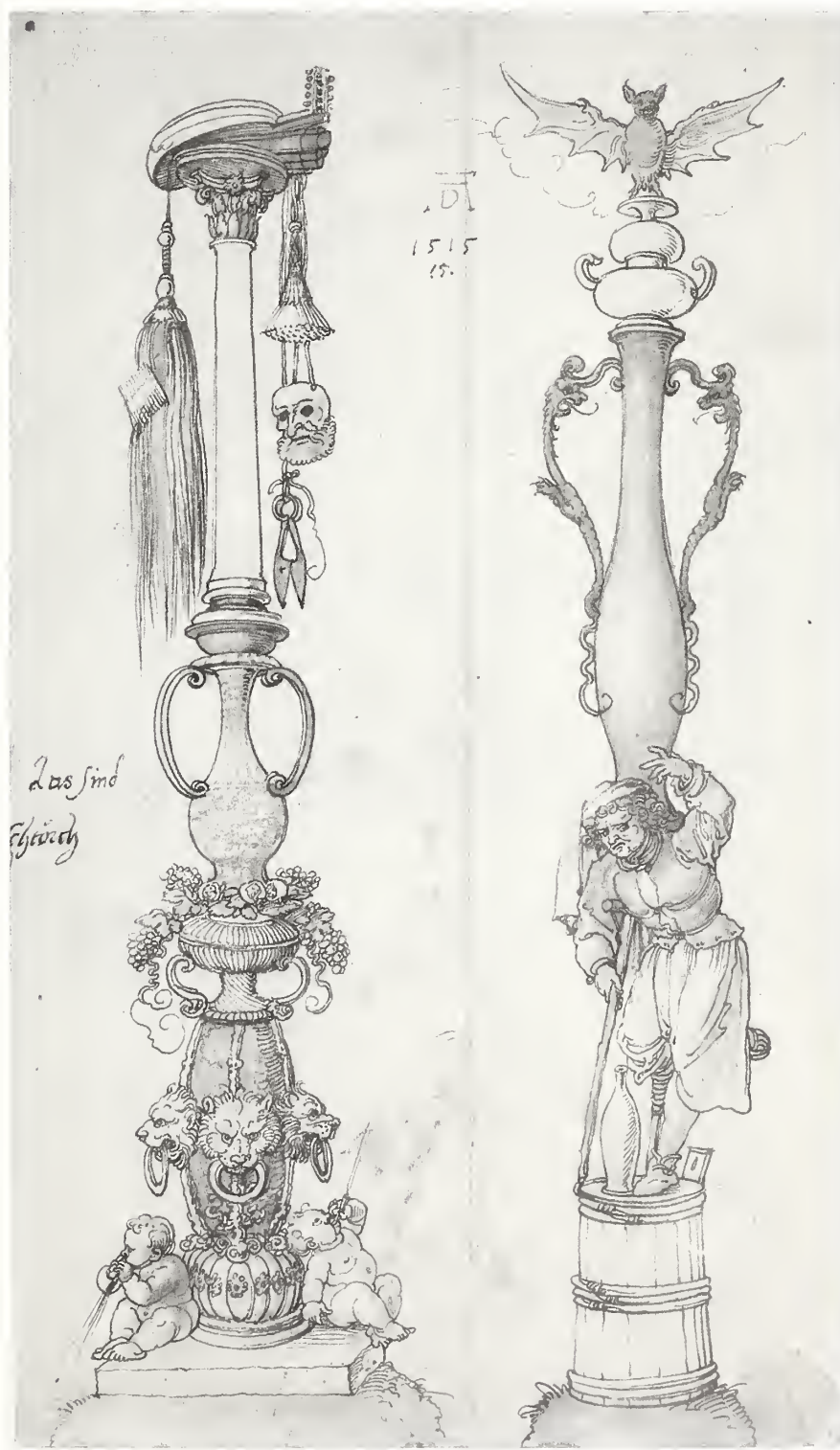
DE FARIA DE 1541) or carry the coat-of-arms on António Peixoto, who reached Japan in 1542.⁶⁵

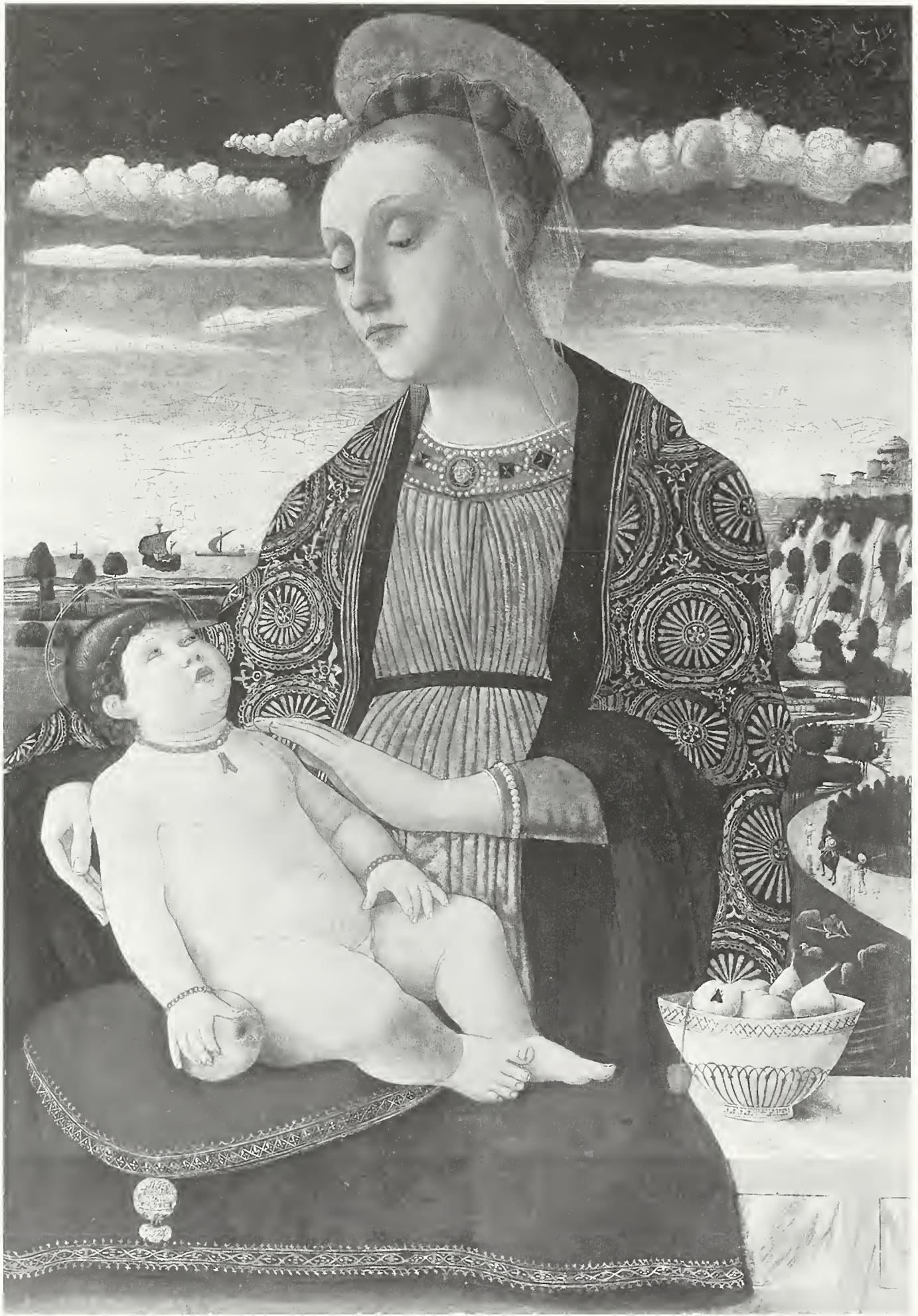
Porcelain, like furniture and cloth, for example, was not a royal monopoly although royal permission was still required to trade it overseas.⁶⁶ Lisbon, of course, was the principal harbor of the Portuguese network, while Antwerp became another major center because of its fluvial connections to the German speaking world. When Albrecht Dürer, the famous artist from Nuremberg, stayed there during his visit to the Netherlands (1520–21), his acquaintances included João Brandão, the Portuguese factor from 1509 to 1514 and again from 1520 to 1526, and his secretary, Rodrigo Fernandez d'Almada, who later became factor.⁶⁷ Dürer, in fact, was attracted by the Portuguese community. Thomé Lopes, Portuguese ambassador and factor in Antwerp from 1498 to 1505, invited the painter “to a great banquet on Shrove-Tuesday 1521 which lasted till 2 o'clock and was very costly. . . .”⁶⁸ The factors controlled the spice trade but they also had access to sugar products as sugar cane was grown on the island of Madeira. From Rodrigo, Dürer received two boxes of quince electuary and many sweetmeats of all kinds, while João gave him two fine, large white sugar-loaves, a dish-full of sweetmeats, and two green pots of preserves.⁶⁹ Dürer, too, was generous. Between March 16 and April 5, 1521, he drew Katherina, João Brandão's black servant, capturing her features with great precision, leaving us with a thoughtful and sensitive portrayal.⁷⁰ He drew Rodrigo, too, giving him also the famous painting of Saint Jerome (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga) to take back to Portugal.⁷¹ From Brandão, Dürer received “three pieces of porcelain.” Later, still in Antwerp, Lorenz Sterck, treasurer of the provinces of Brabant and Antwerp, gave him “an ivory whistle and a very pretty piece of porcelain,” while Dürer gave him a whole set of prints.⁷² Dürer acquired numerous objects from Rodrigo. Examples include two saltcellars from Calicut, which were probably Afro-Portuguese ivories as the term Calicut referred not only to the Indian city but to all the newly discovered countries. Rodrigo also gave Dürer Calicut feathers and six Indian nuts and later “two Calicut cloths, one of them in silk . . . , an ornamented cup, a green jug with myrobalans, and a branch of cedar tree, worth ten florins altogether.” Later, on March 16, 1521, he gave him six large Indian nuts, a very fine stem of coral, and two large Portuguese florins.⁷³

With Portuguese trade, porcelain became more current in the Netherlands and the possessions of Margaret of Austria, the regent of the Netherlands, included no less than twenty-three pieces, some of them in a silver or silver-gilt mounts; one was a beautiful piece in white porcelain with a cover, and painted figures all around.⁷⁴ Porcelain also was included in oil paintings; an Annunciation formerly attributed to Bernard Van Orley and dated in the 1520s, shows an ewer in the foreground not too dissimilar in form to those with Manuel's arms, while the flame-like motive on the top is even closer to the Manueline ware.⁷⁵ Albrecht Dürer, too, must have encountered Chinese porcelain before his trip to the Netherlands, as can be deduced from a mysterious

drawing of two emblematic columns dated 1515 (British Museum) (fig. 9).⁷⁶ Erwin Panofsky, following a suggestion by Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, proposed that they show the sanguine and the melancholic—two out of four—temperaments; alternatively, they might symbolize two seasons, Autumn, with its emphasis on vintage, and Winter.⁷⁷ The mannerist columns show accumulations of objects on top of each other. Most extraordinary are perhaps the two vases with large handles, especially the one on the left column which has a blue-and-white decoration. The basic form of the vase appears elsewhere at the time in Dürer's oeuvre, on the monumental Triumphal Arch for Emperor Maximilian I and on the design for the visor of a helmet also done for

Fig. 9
‘Emblematic Columns,’
1515, Albrecht Dürer.
The British Museum,
London.





the Emperor (1517); there a frieze of interconnected amphorae each with three lilies refers to the Aragonese Order of the Pitcher (also called Order of Temperance) founded by Alphonso XV of Aragon and first mentioned in 1403.⁷⁸ But, if one forgets the addition of the two handles, Durer was clearly influenced by a Chinese blue-and-white porcelain of the Ming dynasty for the decoration.⁷⁹

Italian artists, too, introduced Chinese—or Chinese looking—ceramics in their works, the earliest seemingly being Francesco Benaglio from Verona (fig. 10). In a *Madonna and Child* painted circa 1460–70 (Washington, National Gallery of Art) can be seen a bowl of lotus-pod shape, with a simple blue-and-white decor of a type found in Chinese porcelain at the beginning of the fifteenth century, although the atypical rendering of the decoration implies that we have here either an inaccurate depiction or that the bowl copied was an Islamic imitation.⁸⁰ Andrea Mantegna, too, included a blue-and-white porcelain in his *Adoration of the Magi* (J. Paul Getty Museum) to stress both the oriental origin of the three kings as well as the importance of their homage, especially so, as the little cup is filled with gold coins. Clearly defined is the design of stems of flowers and leaves on the

rather unorthodox-shaped cup recalling, again, early fifteenth-century Ming ware, but treated by Mantegna with artistic license.⁸¹ The first accurate depiction is found on a large Venetian painting by Giovanni Bellini, his *Feast of the Gods* dated 1514 (National Gallery of Art) with two blue-and-white bowls and a dish with silver-gilt mounts (fig. 11). The bowls can be directly related to a well known type of Ming late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century ware. On the outside the bowls are decorated, between a pair of double rims, with a wreath of six lotuses, while the inside has a classic scroll with five peonies on an undulating stem, with smaller blossoms and leaves. This type of bowl seems to have been widely exported to Southeast Asia and the Middle East and brought to Europe by the Portuguese.⁸²

In addition to the porcelain done for the Portuguese market much more traditional ware must have been exported to Europe, although the exemplars can no longer be identified because they have no specific characteristics. The trade was enormous, and a royal document of 1522 confirms that one-third of the merchandise shipped from India was in fact porcelain.⁸³ The world, by then, had entered an age of globalization.

Fig. 10 (opposite)
Francesco Benaglio,
'*Madonna and Child*,'
circa 1460–1470.
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.



Fig. 11
Giovanni Bellini, '*Feast of the Gods*' (detail),
1514. National Gallery of
Art, Washington, D.C.



THE PORTUGUESE PRESENCE IN THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF CHINA

REGINA KRAHL

Rarely in the history of China have foreigners left any impression on the country's strong tradition-bound culture. Only two periods come to mind, both of which are considered dark ages in China's historiography. First were the turbulent centuries of China's division into smaller, short-lived kingdoms during the Six Dynasties period (220–589), when Buddhist monks brought their creed and religious images from India, and Sogdian merchants traveling across Asia introduced secular styles ranging from Hellenistic to Persian.¹ Later came the time of Mongol domination over Asia. The Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) in China was a cosmopolitan period when a wide spectrum of foreigners influenced a broad range of cultural spheres, from the natural sciences to the visual arts, literature, theater, dance, music, fashion, and food.² An international outlook marked both periods: when non-Chinese (i.e., non-Han) rulers opened up the country, foreigners formed an integral part of China's population, and their unorthodox modes were absorbed as an invigorating cultural element within a basically conservative society.

The Portuguese did not arrive in China at such an auspicious moment in history. Throughout its duration the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) was marked by the xenophobia of its founder, the Hongwu emperor (reigned 1368–98), who had claimed the throne back from the foreign Yuan dynasty and was obsessed with the re-sinization of its institutions.³ At that time China was perhaps more closed than ever before, and even though not all Ming emperors were equally strong rulers, power remained centralized at the Ming court, and all international contacts were strictly controlled. Apart from a brief and exceptional period of exploration in the early fifteenth century, when the court financed seven remarkable maritime expeditions to the West as far as East Africa, Ming China was neither in need of nor interested in importing or exporting ideas or goods.⁴ As the Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz noted during his brief stay in Guangzhou in 1556, the country was virtually autarkic and Europe had little to offer it.⁵ Although the Zhengde emperor (reigned 1506–21) was intrigued by exotic novelties, his successors apparently displayed no such interest.

Since Portugal did not accept the subordinate status of an official tribute relationship, and since integrating Europeans into Chinese society proved impossible, the encounter of Ming China and Renaissance Europe did not have the dramatic impact that might be expected from a meeting of these strong and fundamentally different cultures. The perseverance of Portuguese traders lured by the country's vast riches,

combined with Jesuit missionaries' dreams of large-scale conversions to Christianity, nevertheless achieved a subtle and selective interaction with China in three different spheres: Macao, South China, and Beijing. In each, the Portuguese presence left an impression on the production of crafts. The concept of the arts, however, was so fundamentally different in China and the West that it proved an insurmountable obstacle to mutual aesthetic fertilization.

MACAO

After decades of an unofficial presence in China's coastal regions, the Portuguese establishment of Macao at the Pearl River estuary of Guangdong province in 1557 as a secure basis for merchant operations proved to be an important step to entering mainland China. The Ming administration regarded all foreigners as dangerous and had thereby isolated them, but at the same time had granted them some independence. Macao became an outpost governed by the Portuguese, where life was conducted after the Western fashion.

The surrounding regions of southeastern China had well-established industries that were able to supply all necessities of daily life. Only the celebration of religious services and the construction of churches required specific objects that could not be procured easily and thus necessitated local production. Since no indigenous artisan tradition existed in Macao, artists and craftsmen had to be sent from Europe to train the locals. Craftsmanship and stylistic education followed Western custom and not Chinese convention. The most celebrated artist was perhaps the painter, engraver, and sculptor Giovanni Niccolò (1563–1626). After setting up a Jesuit painting academy in Japan, Niccolò was forced to flee in 1614, and he found a new base in Macao (fig. 1).

What has remained of the architecture, sculpture, paintings, ivory carvings, silver utensils, and textiles that were made there for the Catholic Church is basically Western in design (see pp. 134, 212, 217). It appears that objects were made individually, as needed, and were not produced on a commercial scale. Workshops engaged in creating ecclesiastical goods rarely seem to have ventured into making secular works, since they were unable to compete with manufactories in China proper.

Among supposedly non-ecclesiastical textiles attributed to Macao workmanship are large squares similar to Indo-Portuguese bedspreads. Individually embroidered with dense patterns in multicolored silk and gold threads, they are reminiscent of some vestments made in Macao for the Church.⁶

Fig. 1
Niccolò school,
'St. Michael Slaying
the Dragon,' Macao,
ca. 1630. Seminario
de São José, Macao.

Fig. 2
Embroidered bedspread
with red silk ground,
Macao, 16th century.
Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York.



The decorative repertoire includes dragons and phoenixes as well as lotus and peony scrolls that were obviously inspired and influenced by contemporary artifacts of South China, but their execution reveals Western involvement (fig. 2). Since such textiles were also used as processional baldachin covers, they, too, may originally have been intended for ceremonial rather than profane purposes.⁷

It is more difficult to determine how far a weaving industry was developed in Macao. A fine and unique set of vestments and a baldachin in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, woven in a Western style with extensive use of Asian gold thread with a combination of Chinese and Western motifs, has been attributed to Macao.⁸ This would presume a local weaving industry of very high standard that left virtually no other traces—an assumption that so far cannot be verified. Equally, a group of European-style silks woven with formal patterns designed around a repeated double eagle motif,

also using the paper-wrapped gold thread characteristic of East Asian workshops, has been attributed to Macao, but also to Japan. Here, too, the former seems less plausible, given that examples, with variations in the design and different color combinations, are preserved in many countries, which suggests they were produced for export.⁹ The establishment of a high-quality textile industry operating on a commercial scale seems unlikely in a city with a small population,¹⁰ known largely for its occasional production of religious paraphernalia.

SOUTH CHINA

The coastal provinces of southeastern China had traditionally supplied the country's arts and crafts at least since the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279), when the court was forced to move to the south. Since the early sixteenth century, Portuguese traders visited the ports of Guangdong and Fujian, and later in the century Jesuits established missions in Zhaoqing

Fig. 3 (opposite, top)
Bowl with grotesques,
China, Ming dynasty,
Jiajing mark and period
(1522–66). S. & F.
Aichele, Stuttgart.

Fig. 4 (opposite, bottom)
Pair of ewers, China,
Ming dynasty, late
16th or early 17th
century. The British
Museum, London.

and Shaozhou (Guangdong), Nanchang (Jiangxi), and Nanjing (Jiangsu). Here, the Portuguese were a closely watched minority in a foreign land, and after several disastrous clashes in the early years, they learned that keeping a low profile and observing local sensibilities were vital for their survival. They refrained from openly displaying, let alone producing, emblems of a foreign power or a foreign religion.

In these regions a smuggling trade with China predated the establishment of Macao by more than three decades. Portuguese merchants found China's southeastern ports brimming with merchandise, particularly porcelain and silk. They had no access to the manufactories themselves, situated farther inland, and often they were ignorant of their location.¹¹ Distinctly Portuguese motifs, both religious and secular, nevertheless appeared on blue-and-white porcelain even before the Portuguese reached China,¹² and the so-called first orders all predate the establishment of Macao.¹³ Orders could be placed from afar through go-betweens, even though such long-term commercial commitments were risky.

A Portuguese order of porcelains placed in 1527 with Fujianese merchants in Malacca (Melaka) as a gift for King João III was duly delivered a year later, much to the client's pleasant surprise, although not to his entire satisfaction.¹⁴ The indirect nature of these deals explains shortcomings in the execution: the Portuguese royal coat of arms is placed upside down, the armillary sphere of King Manuel I bears an unintelligible legend (see pp. 229, 230) and was used mainly after the king's death, and the Christian IHS emblem was turned into an almost abstract design.¹⁵ Western inscriptions, such as a Latin prayer, names, and dates (1541 and 1552), are virtually illegible (see pp. 214, 215).¹⁶ One personal name—Pero de Faria—was used in combination with the arms of a different family, that of Abreu. Supporting designs were taken from the standard repertoire of the porcelain painters at Jingdezhen (Jiangxi province), thus combining Christian emblems with motifs carrying Buddhist, Daoist, or Confucian connotations.

The whole group is small, with less than four dozen recorded pieces. No item can actually be traced to Portugal at the time,¹⁷ while a considerable number—like the contemporary porcelains with Arabic inscriptions—ended up, together with ordinary trade porcelain, in countries with no special interest in their peculiar motifs, in this case Japan, Indonesia, Iran, and Turkey.¹⁸ It is still unclear whether these porcelains were specific commissions at all, or whether they might represent trial production, or simply reflect the Zhengde period's taste for exotica.

In the Jiajing (1522–66) and Wanli (1573–1620) reigns, some striking motifs from the pictorial repertoire of the Renaissance appear on blue-and-white porcelain, such as fountains, grotesques, or a seven-headed hydra (fig. 3).¹⁹ Introduced to China probably in printed form,²⁰ such motifs were common in Europe both in secular and religious contexts. They directly echo Manueline architectural motifs in Lisbon and are depicted, as a source of life and as symbols of evil, respectively, on the façade of the Jesuit church of St. Paul's in Macao.²¹ These early Western motifs, similar to the occasional echoes of Western

silver shapes (fig. 4), still seem to have been handled in a somewhat unorganized, playful manner, in poignant contrast to the period of Dutch trade later in the seventeenth century, when porcelains were made to exact European specifications with clearly recognizable coats of arms, unmistakably Christian motifs, and in precise copies of Western shapes.²²

The overwhelming majority of Chinese trade porcelains of the Jiajing to Wanli periods show purely Chinese landscape,





garden, and nature scenes. Such were the porcelains used in Portugal's aristocratic houses and in at least one convent,²³ employed for extravagant decoration on the ceiling of a "porcelain room" in a Lisbon palace,²⁴ and incorporated into Portuguese garden mosaics.²⁵ Since porcelain rooms were an international fashion,²⁶ Portuguese ships also transported this ware to other countries, particularly in Asia,²⁷ and the large quantities of porcelain lost due to shipwrecks were equally of that kind.²⁸

Besides traditional Chinese motifs of an auspicious nature—dragons and phoenixes, lions and elephants, deer, rams, hares, cranes, and carp, as well as pine, peach, and prunus trees, lotuses, and peonies—the export ware of the sixteenth century presents, however, also some unexpected views of daily life in South China that do not form part of the classic decorative repertoire of Chinese works of art. While such scenes may not have been expressly ordered by Portuguese merchants, they nevertheless could well have been made for them as perfect souvenirs for far-flung travelers in search of memorabilia of their dangerous voyages to exotic places.²⁹ Affluent southern residences appear in lush gardens with farm birds, fighting cocks, tree shrews, and monkeys;³⁰ picture-postcard coastal sceneries abound with steep hills, pagodas, city walls, closed gates, flags signaling taverns or shops, sailing boats, and naked divers;³¹ ocean-going cargo ships with more than one mast are depicted (fig. 5);³² and occasionally one can spot people dressed in dark gowns and tall conical hats (fig. 6), the scholarly attire adopted by the Jesuits in China, as seen in the portrait of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) (see p. 164).³³ Such vernacular scenes had not been painting motifs in China before the arrival of the Portuguese. In the late Ming period, however, a sailing boat used for transport—rather than the typical idyllic fishing boat—was even carved on a rhinoceros horn cup, which graced the collection of one of China's most renowned connoisseurs (fig. 7).

The export trade in silk, which was economically more important than that of porcelain, left behind much less tangible evidence. Since silk was produced closer to the ports, particularly in the silk-weaving centers of Nanjing and Suzhou (both Jiangsu) and Hangzhou (Zhejiang), this should have made placing and filling direct orders easier; yet most extant examples are purely Chinese in style.³⁴ Fine Chinese embroideries and *kési* (silk tapestry) weavings of imperial quality were adapted for ecclesiastical use even if their designs were unsuitable and included Daoist immortals, dragons chasing flaming pearls, or other auspicious Chinese beasts (see p. 218).³⁵

One spectacular commission, or rather a cooperative act between craftsmen from Renaissance Europe and Ming China, survives: a set of seven painted and embroidered wall hangings of impressive size, perhaps created for the Mascarenhas family (fig. 8).³⁶ Executed in a mixed technique, the hangings depict turbulent scenes from the Trojan War. The complex layout, with multiple figures in Renaissance-inspired architectural settings, was sketched onto a linen ground. Flesh parts, painted in encaustic on paper, were pasted in place, and the remaining surfaces were filled with multicolored silk and

gold-thread embroidery. While the compositions were obviously designed and the painted areas executed by a European hand, the awkward handling of perspective, the incorrectly rendered coats of arms, the late Ming style of the secondary motifs (plants, clouds, waves, etc.), and the use of thread wrapped with gold paper strongly suggest Chinese workmanship—but outside Macao. Just as Chinese motifs done in a Western manner point to workshops in Macao, a Western theme executed in a Chinese style was more likely manufactured in mainland China.

Commissions on such a grand scale were rare for Portuguese patrons. Purely Chinese artifacts that possessed the allure of the exotic were generally preferred in the West. The holdings of Schloss Ambras, the summer residence of Archduke Ferdinand II (1529–1595) near Innsbruck, Austria, are characteristic of many great *Kunstammer* cabinets of Europe. Besides blue-and-white, and gold-decorated *kinrande* porcelains,³⁷ they contained Chinese carvings of jade, rock crystal, soapstone, rhinoceros horn, and ivory that were often enhanced with precious metal mounts,³⁸ as well as lacquerware, papier-mâché figures, and scroll paintings on silk.³⁹

Since figurative carvings of Chinese gods, sages, and immortals already formed part of the exotic collected in the West, it would have been an obvious step for Portuguese missionaries to commission Christian figures from the same Chinese workshops. While images of Christ on the Cross had met with adverse reactions in China, images of the Virgin Mother and Child elicited a decidedly positive response.

The reason, as the Jesuits discovered first to their irritation and later to their delight, was that in China images of Mary involuntarily evoked associations with Guanyin, the bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, the Chinese goddess of mercy.

This originally genderless bodhisattva, which in popular Buddhism was revered as *songzi Guanyin* (the one bringing sons), by the Ming period had turned into a graceful mother goddess clad in loosely draped robes, bejeweled, and crowned with a tiara. She was occasionally depicted with an adoring boy beside her, but the Western representation as a female deity with a child in her lap seemed an even more suitable personification of the Chinese mother goddess. Since ivory was a Portuguese import,⁴⁰ this motif may have originated with ivory figures from Zhangzhou in Fujian, but images in porcelain,⁴¹ bronze, and soapstone made in nearby workshops soon followed. While this interpretation was not adopted for large-scale temple sculptures revered in an orthodox Buddhist context, it became popular for small Guanyin images venerated on private house altars in South China. Representations of the Chinese and the Western deity became virtually interchangeable. They often lack identifying attributes, such as a *ruyi* scepter (good luck charm) or rosary for Guanyin, and the iconography frequently became confused,⁴² as in the case of a Dehua figure that holds a *ruyi* scepter and is accompanied by a small Christian monk.

For propagating the creed of Christianity, these ambiguous figures were a less helpful medium than Western illustrated books, such as P. Gerónimo Nadal's *Evangelicae historiae imag-*

Fig. 5 (opposite, top) Blue-and-white porcelain bowl with a two-masted ship manned with sailors in front of a Chinese pavilion, Ming dynasty, 16th century. Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul.

Fig. 6 (opposite, center) Blue-and-white porcelain dish with figures dressed in long gowns and stiff hats on a pleasure barge and in front of a city wall, Ming dynasty, 16th century. Topkapı Sarayı Museum, Istanbul.

Fig. 7 (opposite, bottom) Rhinoceros horn cup with a sailing ship, inscribed with the pen name of the famous art collector Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590) and later inscribed by the Qianlong emperor (reigned 1736–95), Ming dynasty, 16th century. National Palace Museum, Taipei.



Fig. 8 (left) Embroidered and painted wall hanging depicting 'The Revenge of Hecuba,' Ming dynasty, early 17th century. Musée des Beaux Arts, Lyon.



ines, which Matteo Ricci held in great esteem. Since printing was inexpensive and easy in China, the illustrations were repeatedly reproduced through woodcuts,⁴³ and as literacy was relatively widespread, the missionaries produced Chinese editions of this and other Western books. Nadal's book was translated from Latin into Chinese, and the pictures were adapted to the new audience. The first of four such editions was obviously done with the help of a Chinese artist who, for example, transformed the house of Zacharias, site of the Annunciation, into a southern Chinese garden, the most coveted locale of the country's elite.⁴⁴

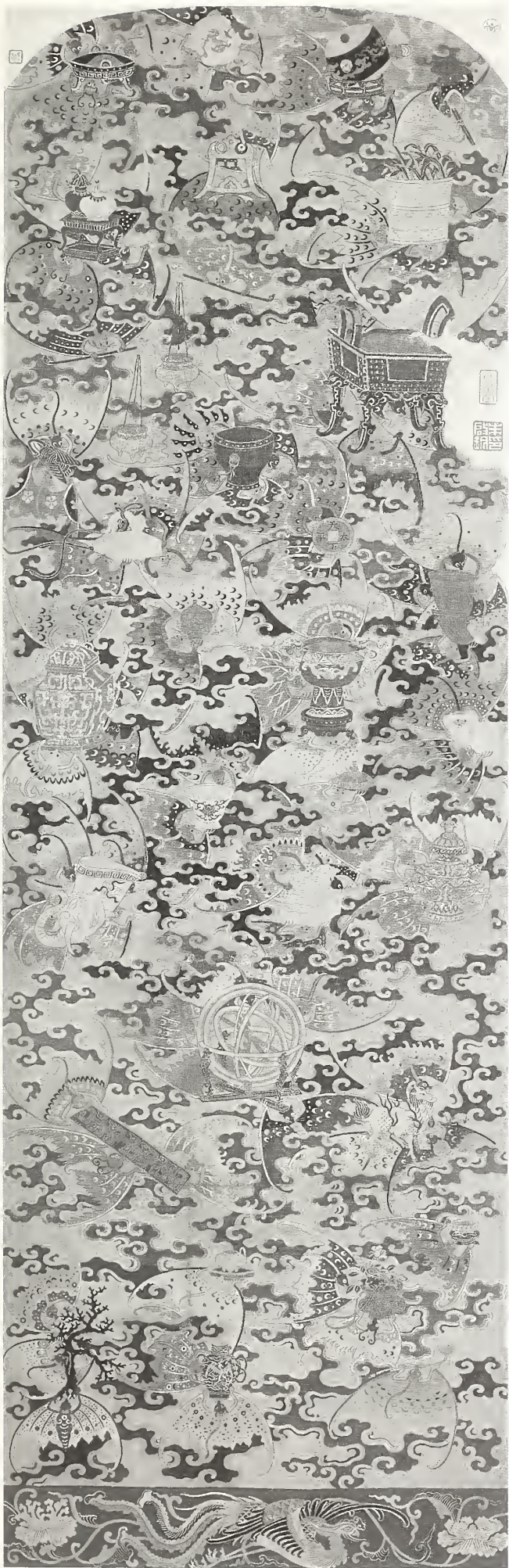
BEIJING

The greatest triumph of the Jesuits in China was undoubtedly their eventual establishment at the court in Beijing. While Christian figures and illustrated books were useful for missionary work among a wider public, Matteo Ricci aimed for something higher: a demonstration to the country's scholar-officials, and through them to the emperor, of the intellectual superiority of Western thought based on Christian principles. He recognized that understanding Chinese society was a prerequisite in his endeavor, and he saw learning as the key to success in China. His mastery of the Chinese language and script, and his comprehension of the country's history and philosophy, gained him respect, and his adoption of local customs and dress made him acceptable and more easily approachable.⁴⁵

With this background, Ricci's knowledge of Western scientific matters aroused the interest of China's scholars wherever he went. He acquired influential friends among the country's elite, and he eventually gained access to the Wanli emperor. For Ricci's purpose, science was evidently more conducive to achieving his goals than were the arts. Prompted first by curious scholar-officials and later by the emperor himself, Ricci and other Jesuit missionaries printed world maps, constructed astronomical instruments, repaired the clocks they had brought from Europe, cast canons, and translated and published scientific and philosophical books in both Latin and Chinese.

Their scientific skills made it possible for the Jesuits to accomplish a remarkable feat: despite much opposition, they retained imperial confidence from the Ming court, even via deposed Ming pretenders, to the Qing dynasty. With the Kangxi emperor (reigned 1662–1722), the Jesuits eventually found their perfect patron. Because his smallpox had been healed with Jesuit-administered medicine, the emperor was already positively inclined towards Western knowledge, and with his keen, inquisitive mind and belief in rational argument, he was eager to learn about scientific facts. He was the ideal audience for Europeans trained in Renaissance thought.

During this emperor's rule, the natural sciences received unprecedented patronage. The imperial workshops, which he established inside the Forbidden City, produced works in various media. Since the emperor had a scientific inclination rather than an aesthetic one, scientific instruments were produced with the care bestowed upon works of art (figs. 9, 10; see also p. 165), and they became an integral part of court life, a



respected position they had never before held. Emblematic armillary spheres thus became palace furnishings and were integrated into Chinese auspicious motifs (fig. 11).⁴⁶

The laws of representation, including perspective and shading, formed part of the Jesuits' teachings and were admired in China as scientific techniques. Applied to painting, however, they were considered mere magic tricks unworthy of art.⁴⁷ A typical Chinese statement was: "Our painting does not seek physical likeness, and does not depend on fixed patterns; we call it 'divine' and 'untrammeled.' Theirs concentrates entirely on the problems of dark and light, front and back, and the fixed patterns of physical likeness."⁴⁸ Artists Wu Li (1632–1718), who wrote this, and his lifelong friend Wang Hui (1632–1717), his exact contemporary from the same region, had been students under the same painting masters and followers of the same orthodox style after Dong Qichang (1555–1636), although they led very different lives. Wang became an official court painter who was summoned to the palace to supervise a gigantic pictorial documentation of the Kangxi emperor's southern inspection tours, which were recorded on twelve handscrolls between 1691 and 1698. His friend Wu, an amateur, never held a notable official position, but his search for spiritual fulfilment led him via an exploration of Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucian philosophy eventually to Christianity. Wang would have had direct contact with Western artists at court, while Wu worked with Jesuits in China and Macao. In their painting styles—even in Wang's official record of the emperor's voyage that required accuracy—they both rejected Western realism.⁴⁹

While the major missionaries in China such as Ricci, Ferdinand Verbiest, and Adam Schall von Bell were excellent scientists of their time, the country did not receive any first-rate European painters during the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Those who made the journey were not able or willing to explore, let alone practice, Chinese painting in the same way Ricci had immersed himself in Chinese thought. It remained for Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766)—who presented his first extant painting to the Yongzheng emperor (reigned 1723–35) upon his accession to the throne—to find a way out of this impasse in mutual understanding. Highly accomplished in Chinese ink painting, Castiglione gradually was able to introduce Western techniques into Chinese art. The hybrid style he created, although not of lasting influence, was greatly applauded in China and fully approved by the court in Beijing.

China's encounter with Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries introduced Western scientific thinking to the court in Beijing, installed a small Christian diaspora in South China, and established a Portuguese colony in Macao. As a result or rather, as a side effect, some Chinese artefacts of the period reflect Western shapes, themes, and styles. Involuntarily, however, the Portuguese paved the way for a more fruitful encounter in the domain of the arts and crafts in the following century. The baroque and rococo styles introduced by later Italian, French, and other missionaries found a much more distinct echo in China in the more receptive climate under the Qianlong emperor (reigned 1736–95).

Fig. 9 (opposite, top)
Astrolabe. Beijing
palace workshops,
China, Qing dynasty,
Kangxi period,
1662–1722. The Palace
Museum, Beijing.

Fig. 10
(opposite, bottom)
Armillary sphere, signed
by Ferdinand Verbiest
(Nan Huai ren, 1623–
1688). Beijing palace
workshops, China;
Kangxi period, dated
1669. The Palace
Museum, Beijing.

Fig. 11 (left)
Tapestry fragment with
armillary sphere and
Buddhist Symbols.
Beijing, China; Ming
dynasty, late 16th
or early 17th century.
Liaoning Provincial
Museum, Shenyang City.

JAPAN'S SOUTHERN BARBARIAN

The art historical legacy of the period of greatest activity of Iberian traders and missionaries in Japan—from approximately 1550 to 1640, or what was once commonly referred to as the “Christian Century”—continues to be a subject of intense interest and no small degree of complexity. Within decades of Tokugawa Ieyasu’s 1614 edict banning Catholic Europeans from entering the Japanese archipelago, many artifacts associated with proselytizing activity were destroyed, effaced, or hidden, rendering obscure the material legacy of the Jesuit presence in Japan until the modern era. Meanwhile, iconographies of foreignness that had been catalyzed by encounter with the Portuguese—and to a lesser extent by contact with the Spanish, Dutch, and English—soon became so inclusive and generic that by the mid-seventeenth century the once distinctive ways in which the *nanban* or “southern barbarians” had been imagined in artistic representation had become blurred.¹ The sustained recovery of early artifacts related to the Iberian encounter began in earnest only in the 1920s, and even in the present new artworks are discovered on a continual basis.² The artistic record of this period is thus in continual need of conceptual remapping.³

The accumulation of artifacts related to early Euro-Japanese encounter was once habitually grouped as *nanban* art, an expansive category that has included everything from

Christian icons and instruments of the Eucharist to Japanese paintings and crafts with European figural motifs.⁴ Increasingly, however, this corpus has been seen to reflect at least two highly disparate contexts of production. The first is the Seminary of Painters, the Jesuit painting academy established in Kyushu in 1583.⁵ Objects from the former mainly served members of the Catholic mission, for whom they functioned as aids in preaching and catechizing, and their Japanese Christian followers. The second is Kyoto, the Japanese capital, which served as the cultural center of the archipelago and the most important site of traditional craft making throughout this era. The products of elite painting and craft studios based in the Kyoto area were presumably created on behalf of a whole range of traditional constituencies in the Japanese social order, which eagerly sought representations of the curious new European presence. The warlords Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598) were famously enamored of the gifts they received from Iberian visitors, and they and their circles of retainers appear to have been an important source of commissions for *nanban*-decorated luxury objects.⁶

The two sites of the *seminario* and the Kyoto craft studio undoubtedly represent the outer poles of a much more graduated spectrum of *nanban*-related artistic production that has



yet to be properly mapped. What is remarkable, however, is how discrete and mutually uninfluenced the two sites appear to have remained. Unlike the artistic output associated with the Jesuit mission in China, for example, that of Japan remained, for the most part, unaccommodating to local conventions of representation, especially in painting. Although certain types of painting—such as world map screens (fig. 1; see also p. 53), insofar as they project a European colonial and cartographic imagination onto a traditional Japanese pictorial format—might be understood as hybrid, they remain heavily European in their sensibility towards style, technique, and pigmentation.⁷ On the other end of the spectrum, Japanese paintings that took European ships, goods, and peoples as their subject of depiction—*nanban* screens—did not deviate in any fundamental way from well-established indigenous conventions of pictorial representation (fig. 2). Except for the rare emphasis on modeling in a limited number of examples, such works, which typically portray Portuguese traders and missionaries panoramically on pairs of six-panel folding screens, are more meaningfully understood within the continuum of Japanese genre painting as it was being practiced at the time in Kyoto and surrounding regions.

Nanban screens are nevertheless one of the most revealing sites through which to gauge the legacy of the Iberian

encounter in Japanese art. Looking to Europe more as a source of motifs than a mode of representation, these works expose the fine-tuned mechanics by which new subject matter was (uneasily) incorporated into preexisting symbolic systems and conventions of picture-making in Japan circa 1600. Through an introduction to the phenomenon of the *nanban* screen, this brief essay explores how and why “southern savages” became objects of pictorial representation in the archipelago, and what their depictions tell us about protocols of Japanese painting during the peak of the Catholic missionary enterprise in the Far East.

Nanban screens were clearly among the most popular subjects in Japanese painting during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. A recent survey by a team of scholars based at the National Museum of Japanese History has catalogued ninety-two surviving examples distributed among collections in Japan, Europe, and the United States, making it easily one of the most popular types of genre painting from this period, second only to the panoramic views of Kyoto known as “Scenes In and Around the Capital” (*rakuchū rakugai zu*).⁸ They appear to have emerged several decades before 1600—some thirty to forty years after Portuguese traders first landed on the Japanese archipelago in 1543—

Fig. 1
World map and
representations of forty
nationalities. Japan,
17th century. Idemitsu
Museum of Arts, Tokyo.



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YUKIO LIPPIT

Fig. 1
World map and
representations of forty
nationalities Japan,
17th century. Idemitsu
Museum of Arts, Tokyo



Fig. 2
 'Scenes of Western
 traders and missionaries
 in Japan,' Japan, mid-
 17th century. Idemitsu
 Museum of Arts, Tokyo.



among the various studios of the Kanō school of professional painters. By the turn of the century the Kanō school, based primarily in Kyoto but with satellite studios in cities such as Osaka and even the eastern castle town of Odawara, had established a long-standing record of service to many of the most important warlords and religious institutions of the day. Kanō Naizen (1570–1616), who served in a semi-official capacity the warlord Hideyoshi and, after his death, the Toyotomi family, was one of the few painters who signed his *nanban* screens;⁹ the overwhelming majority of examples are without a signature. Nevertheless, several dozen can be attributed with a reasonable degree of certainty to the studios of Kanō Mitsunobu (1565–1608), Kanō Takanobu (1571–1618), Kanō Sanraku (1559–1635), and other members of the same school. While keeping the basic components of the picture the same, each studio appears to have experimented with its own compositional arrangements and habits of detailing.

The earliest surviving *nanban* screens date to around 1600, with most remaining examples dated to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, or what in a Japanese context is often referred to as the Kan'ei era (1624–43).¹⁰ By this time, numerous professional painting studios other than the Kanō were likely involved in their production, and the suppression of Christianity had led to a diminishment of religious motifs

such as churches, icons, and rosary beads in the pictures. Sometime during the mid-seventeenth century, a variation on the *nanban* screen innovated by Kanō Tan'yū (1602–1674) relativized the presence of Europeans in general, subsuming them within a more populated and varied demography of merry-makers.¹¹ It is during this period that tropes of foreignness that had characterized the Portuguese and others associated with foreign trade and missionary work were increasingly applied to Koreans and other outsiders, eventually bringing to a close the era of the *nanban* screen.¹²

Three basic templates govern the compositions of these screen-size portrayals of southern barbarians.¹³ The first and most widespread one, referred to here as Type A, portrays a Portuguese *nau*, or carrack,¹⁴ anchored and unloading in an unidentified Japanese port in the left screen, paired in the right screen with a scene showing a procession of the ship's captain and his entourage through the port town and their encounter with Jesuit priests (fig. 3). The Jesuit presence is further emphasized by the inclusion of a church and acts of devotion in the upper right-hand corner of the right screen. The matching of ship and procession as the main subjects of the screens generates the impression of a narrative sequence proceeding laterally from left to right across the two surfaces. Much of the visual interest of *nanban* screens lies in the pictorial details of



the merchants and missionaries, their attendants, their ships and churches, and their trade goods. These details indicate that the figures in question are Portuguese, and that this ethnic group served as the pictorial model for southern barbarians despite the fact that the term and the concept could encompass the Spanish, as well as, more nominally, other types of Europeans. The alterity of the Portuguese is clearly suggested by their skin color and general hirsuteness, especially visible in their thick curling mustaches and heavy beards. The *nanban* costume, which typically consists of frilled collars and ruffled sleeves, billowing pantaloons, and plumed hats, adds to this general sense of outsidership, as do the dogs kept on leashes. The padres are strangely frocked as well, often carrying prayer books, rosary beads, and other markers of religious otherness. The Portuguese traders are served by dark-skinned Indian (and possibly African) slaves, who can be seen carrying parasols over the *capitão-mor* or performing acrobatic acts on the tall masts of the anchored vessel. The goods they busily bring to shore include peacock feathers and other exotic items that further attract visual attention.

Type B, the second template for southern barbarian screens, essentially combines the two scenes of the Type A formula in the right screen, compressing into six panels the arrival of a Portuguese ship in a Japanese port and an ensuing

encounter between its traders and missionaries on land. It matches this with a left screen that portrays the same ship leaving a foreign port, perhaps one of the Portuguese boomtowns at Macao or Goa, or perhaps Lisbon.¹⁵ In doing so, the Type B formula extends the narrative of arrival back across oceans to the imagined origins of the barbarians' journey. Type C follows this same arc, but while it combines depictions of the Portuguese ship and procession in the right screen, it pairs this combination in the left screen with the imagined activities of *nanban* in their homeland, ranging from formal gatherings of potentates in palace settings to more leisurely pursuits such as horse racing and feasting.¹⁶

Nanban screens appear to have followed a developmental sequence from the simplest arrangement (Type A) to more complex ones (Types B and C), although a minority of commentators has suggested different scenarios for the development of the genre.¹⁷ At the very least, the Type A compositional arrangement appears to have emerged fully formed as a variation on preexisting conventions for painting Chinese subjects within the Kanō house. In this regard, the motif of the ship is crucial in understanding its origin, for as Izumi Mari has demonstrated, the most important precursor to *nanban* screens was the tradition of Chinese ship paintings (*tōsen zu* or *karafune zu*) during Japan's Muromachi period

(1392–1573).¹⁸ Although almost no examples survive that pre-date 1600, records from as early as the first half of the fifteenth century mention paintings of Chinese vessels. Such works were owned and displayed by the leading cultural figures of the period, such as the sixth Muromachi shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441) and Prince Fushimi Sadafusa (1372–1456). Diarists of the period record the presence of painted Chinese ships on the surfaces of screens, sliding-door panels, lanterns, and even clothing.¹⁹ Zen monks left verse inscriptions on fan paintings of continental vessels, describing in grandiloquent terms their passage from “the great Tang Empire” (*daitō*), carried over the waters by “the pure wind” (*seifu*) as their passengers admired the clouds above.²⁰

Chinese ship paintings provided the pictorial foundation for *nanban* screens in the late sixteenth century. They were linked in the cultural imagination with Sino-Japanese diplomatic and trade missions, the large and colorful processions of Chinese envoys that accompanied them, and the abundance of continental luxury goods that entered the archipelago as a result.²¹ In 1401 the third Ashikaga shogun Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) entered into official diplomatic relations with the Ming court by accepting subordinate status as the “King of Japan” within the tribute trade system. During the Muromachi period a total of nineteen tribute missions were officially sponsored by the Ashikaga shogunate, involving a network of coastally based warlords and seafaring merchants in port cities such as Sakai and Hakata.²² The Ming emperor reciprocated with envoys to Japan accompanied by grand entourages that could number over a thousand members, and included musicians, dancers, acrobats, and exotic birds as well as officials with gift- and banner-bearing servants. Their passage through Japanese towns en route to pay homage to

the Ashikaga shogun attracted widespread attention and was chronicled in medieval diaries. It is likely that these parades were also depicted in large-scale paintings of Chinese ships arriving in Japan, providing a precedent for the paired depiction of a ship’s arrival and passenger landing found in later *nanban* screens.

The term “*nanban* screens” (*nanban byōbu*) itself is a modern moniker that masks the confusion early commentators experienced in attempting to arrive at an appropriate title. “*Nanban* trade paintings” (*nanbanjin bōeki zu*), “*nanban* arrival paintings” (*nanbanjin torai zu*), and even “*nanban* landing paintings” (*nanbanjin jōriku zu*) were all once common ways of referring to the subject and are occasionally retained in the titles of individual examples. However, Edo-period inventories such as that of the Ikeda warrior family or the Matsubara family of Osaka maritime merchants record the paintings in question as “black ship screens” (*kurofune byōbu*).²³ By the time the term “black ships” appeared in Hideyoshi’s 1587 edict nominally banning Christian missionaries from Japan, it seems to have been a common way of referring to Portuguese carracks in the early modern period.²⁴ As Kuroda Hideo has demonstrated, “black ships” referred less to the appearance of these vessels than to their symbolic contrast to the “white ships” (*shirofune*) of China. This color symbolism made clear that whereas the latter were understood to come from the civilized center of the “Three Realms” of medieval Japanese cosmology, the former were marked as emanating from the unknown periphery, bringing barbarians from the edge of the world.²⁵

Enough pictorial fragments have survived to help us understand and imagine the medieval tradition of Chinese ship screens. A small two-panel folding screen, attributed to Kanō Takanobu in the Nikkō Tōshōgū Shrine collection, depicts

Fig. 3
‘Southern Barbarians
in Japan,’ Japan, Edo
period, 17th century.
Freer Gallery of Art,
Washington, D. C.



trade between Iberian and Chinese merchants in a manner that is suggestive of prototypes of *nanban* screens. The screen dates to the early seventeenth century and is believed to have been owned by Tokugawa Ieyasu. It depicts two ships entering a Chinese harbor with goods being unloaded, resembling the pattern of *nanban* screens. Instead of Portuguese carracks, the vessels in question are medium-sized Chinese passenger ships. As Izumi Mari has speculated, the screen may originally have been part of a larger composition that depicted a large junk to the left, thus providing a proximate Sinitic precedent to later depictions of Portuguese docking.²⁶ Two other paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, both of which date to the late sixteenth century, also depict Chinese boats in harbor as a backdrop to Tartars and other foreign peoples paying homage to the emperor. Because they follow a similar arrangement of moored ships bearing foreigners, these “royal tribute” paintings (*ōkai zu*) likely served as pictorial referents for the initial arrangements of *nanban* screens.²⁷ The motif of the Chinese ship anchored in port would continue to be found in the seventeenth century in, among other places, screens depicting the ballad-drama “The Great Woven Crown” (*Taishokkan*).²⁸ A pair of recently discovered *nanban* screens (fig. 4), now in the Kyushu National Museum, further underscores the reliance of the genre on earlier representations of Chinese ships. Titled *Chinese and Nanban Ships*, this work pairs a standard depiction of a Portuguese ship and merchants entering a Japanese port in the left screen with a depiction of a Chinese port city in the right screen, populated with junks at bay but with no signs of a Portuguese presence.²⁹ This pairing of two East Asian port cities and two types of seafaring vessels—“black” and “white” ships—retains the memory of an earlier genre of Chinese

ship painting that had been subsumed under the spectacle of the “Iberian irruption.”³⁰

In thus conceiving of the basic scenography of *nanban* arrival, it is clear that Kanō painters reimagined Chinese junks as Iberian carracks and Chinese imperial palaces as European royal courts and churches. And in formulating conventions for the depiction of the Portuguese, these same artisans drew upon representations of Tartars, the Khitan, “Western peoples,” and other non-Han ethnicities that had been developed over centuries in continental painting traditions and been adopted in medieval Japan through pictorial subjects such as “royal tribute” and “Tartars hunting” (*Dattanjin shuryō zu*).³¹ While the clothing and attributes were certainly adjusted, habits of countenance, pose, gesture, and general bearing remained remarkably consistent. In other words, the pictorial conjuration of Portuguese traders and missionaries was mediated by a separate tradition of alienism, one whose characteristics may have been cosmetically altered but still remained fundamentally true to its own sense of visual alterity. The image of the southern savage was based upon a borrowed standard of barbarity.

The rootedness of *nanban* representation in long-standing norms of vulgarian depiction in China bears notice because it runs counter to a dubious but nevertheless stubbornly persistent theory that the Japanese pictorial iconography of *nanban* was arrived at through direct and close observation. According to this idea, the single most important catalyst for the emergence of *nanban* screens was the opportunity Kanō painters had to behold Portuguese missionaries and sailors at the port city of Nagasaki. Takamizawa Tadao has argued that Kanō Mitsunobu must have had this opportunity when he temporarily established a studio in the Kyushu province of Hizen (present-day Saga prefecture) to provide Hideyoshi



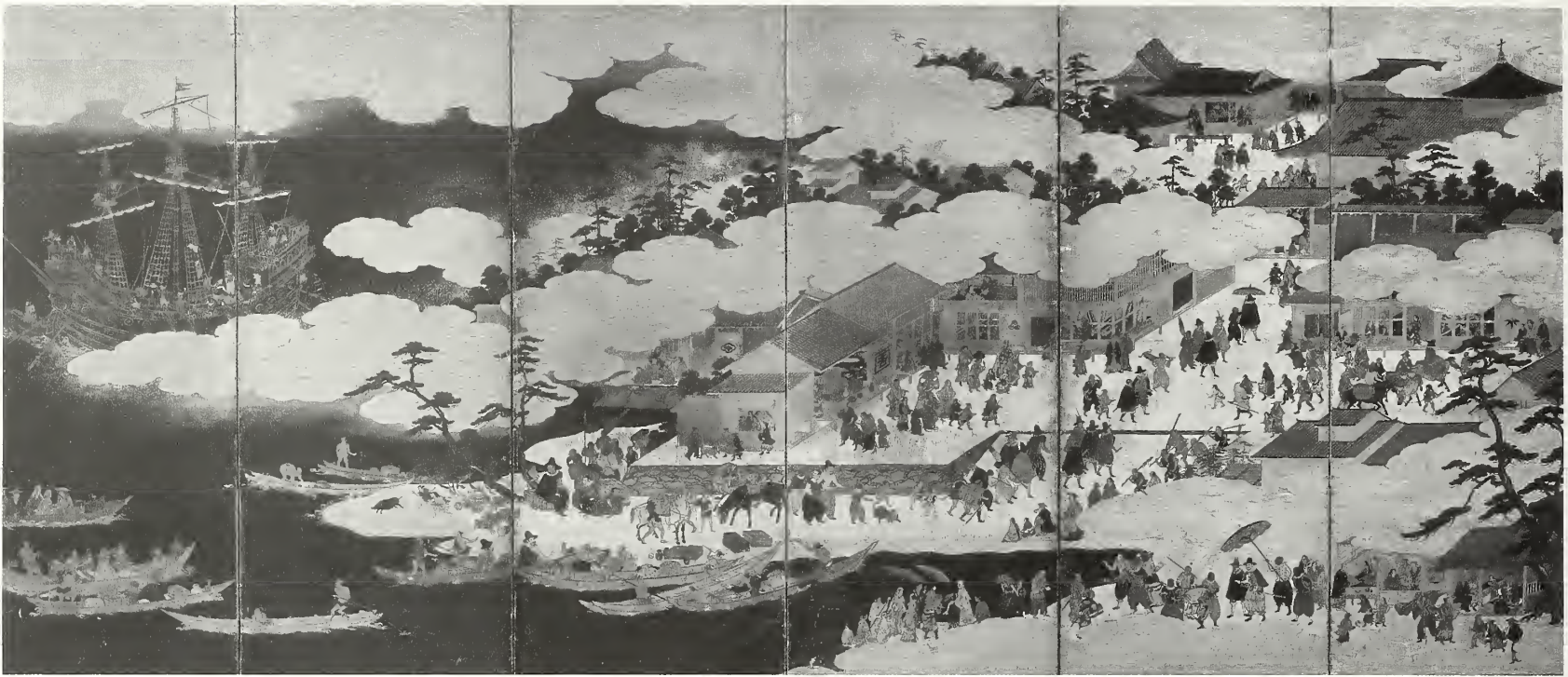
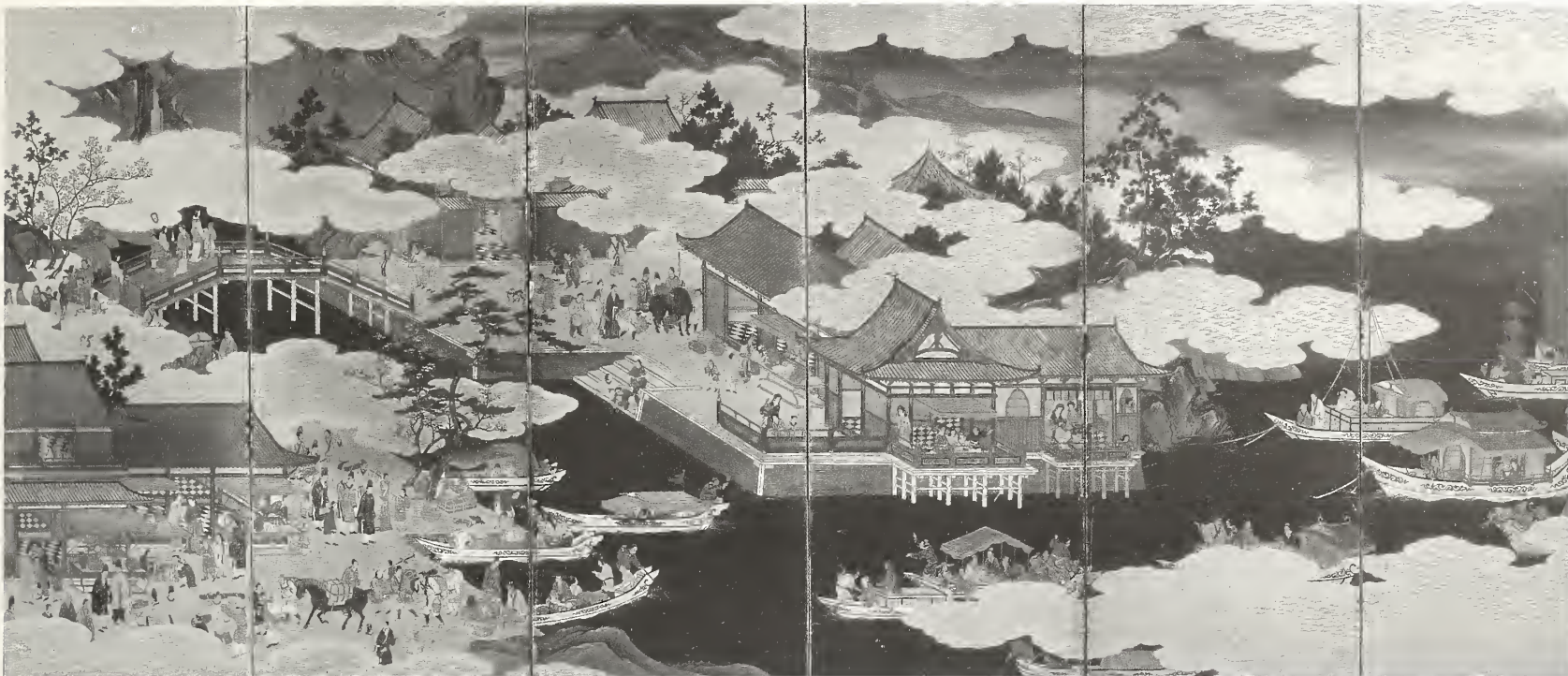


Fig. 4
'Chinese and
Nanban Ships,' Japan,
17th century. Kyushu
National Museum.

with mural décor for his Nagoya Castle from 1592 to 1593. Hideyoshi employed Nagoya Castle as a base for his ill-fated campaign to conquer Korea and China, rapidly establishing there what amounted to a military city of over thirty daimyo lords and one hundred thousand soldiers.³² From there, Takamizawa speculates, Mitsunobu must have had ample opportunity to travel to nearby Nagasaki and play the role of ethnographer in sketching and documenting its foreign inhabitants.³³ As several commentators have subsequently pointed out, however, no such primal scene of *nanban* espionage need be proposed, as European missionaries had been active in the capital since at least as early as the 1560s, and in any case Kanō painters would have had plenty of opportunities to acquire a familiarity with Portuguese ships, manners, and make-up before Hideyoshi's Kyushu campaigns.³⁴ A more important rebuttal of Takamizawa's thesis lies, however, in the counterproposal that direct observation need not be centrally posited for the emergence of a genre whose mise-en-scene and habits of figural characterization were so thoroughly indebted to a preexisting menu of Chinese painting subjects. The constructedness of *nanban* screens obviate the need to mobilize the trope of direct observation to explain their artistic achievement. The resourcefulness of southern barbarian paintings can be placed in even higher relief by understanding their relationship to the iconography of Buddhist deities and Daoist immortals as well. Although the core models for *nanban* pictorial depiction were images of Chinese ships, Kanō painters enhanced the otherworldliness of their figural subjects by drawing upon another tradition in which they were well versed, that of East Asian religious sagas. The wizened, grotesque features of these figures provided readymade models and visual tropes for the supernatural presentation of overseas visitors. A flag-bearer in a *nanban* screen in the Imperial Household collection, for example, represents an almost direct transposition of the common

iconography of Li Tieguai, the Daoist immortal who resembled a vagabond and whose ethereal self could leave its physical body to travel long distances.³⁵ The puff of air blown upward by the standard-bearer, causing his banner to flutter above, closely echoes the blast of air by which Li Tieguai launches his inner self skyward on his journey in his most typical pictorial representations.³⁶ No doubt Tieguai's unworldly appearance and arcane powers made him a potent model upon which to mold the otherness of a member of the *nanban* entourage. Many other examples of visual rhyming between southern barbarian and religious exemplar can be cited. *Nanban* screens were saturated with this resonance, haunted by the shadows of venerable and haggard spiritual familiars of the Japanese artistic landscape.

Conflated iconographies of the outlander were paralleled by equally amalgamated modes of representing Iberian architecture. The built environments of *nanban* screens, or at least those portions of them that were meant to depict foreign ports, closely resembled Chinese cities filled with Chinese palace architecture. Such buildings conformed to traditional conventions for representing continental architecture in Japanese courtly and Buddhist painting that was inherited and developed by the Kanō school during the sixteenth century. The structures depicted were timber-frame pavilions and palace buildings with familiar features: granite-faced foundations, tiled floors, verandas with balustrades, ornate bracket sets, wooden pillars and cross-beams, and pitched, tiled roofs with overhanging eaves. Chinese architecture was differentiated from Japanese timber-frame architecture through color and ornamentation. Colorful floor tiles and polychrome roof tiles added a festive, exotic feel to the buildings, and were complemented by painted posts and beams with spidery gold patterns and ornate metalwork fittings. *Nanban* architecture was based upon this chromatically resplendent wooden architecture, with roof forms familiar to East Asia, but differentiated from



Chinese and Japanese counterparts by curious details. Some of these variations, such as the crosses instead of peacock and other metalwork finials that adorned pyramidal roofs, are understandable as attempts to depict the new typologies of church and chapel. Others, however, such as the undulating eave lines that appear to reflect rows of cusped gables, or the curious under-tiles at the roof edges that give buildings the same ruffled or frilled appearance as the *nanban* themselves, are simply estranging and unique to the architecture of these screens. One remarkable building that appears in screens by Kanō Naizen (fig. 5) appears to be an attempt to depict a dome-like Christian structure with timber-frame engineering, complete with a cusped gable canoping a painting of the Virgin holding the Christ child.

The bizarreness of these cityscapes betrays the process of negotiation and experimentation that gave rise to the *nanban* pictorial idiom. Conventions of picture-making associated with the lexicon of Japanese *kanga* or “Han pictures” were adjusted, altered, and added to in order to defamiliarize traditional protocols for the fashioning of foreignness. Added new wrinkles customized these protocols for the more extreme alterity of the Portuguese and their Indian and African slaves. The visual interest inherent in these new referents of otherness was undoubtedly an important reason for the popularity of *nanban* screens. The charm of the unfamiliar, however, was not the only reason for their widespread demand. It has been suggested that Christianity itself was initially a main theme of this genre, explaining its potential appeal to Japan’s Christian daimyo and other converts to the Society of Jesus. As the decades passed and the climate for evangelism in Japan became less and less hospitable, there was a gradual erasure of the visible signs of missionary presence such as the church and its painted icon, an inexorable diminishment in the number of padres and figures holding rosary beads.³⁷ Indeed, some paintings had their icons scratched out of their surfaces.

By around 1650, when missionary activity had become a capital offense and Christian imagery was completely banned, *nanban* screens had drifted into more chaotic, carnivalesque pictures that combined depictions of Euro-Japanese exchange with other generic scenes of merrymaking inclusive of a wide variety of foreigners.³⁸ Neither exotica nor evangelical zeal, however, can fully explain the popularity of the *nanban* screen phenomenon. There is reason to believe, given what has been described above concerning the derivation of the genre from Chinese ship paintings, that the semantics of southern barbarian pictures ultimately were centered around their function as auspicious images understood to bring prosperity and good fortune to their owners.

The idea that *nanban* screens functioned as auspicious images requires circumstantial argumentation and revolves around the master motif of the Portuguese ship. In medieval Japan, the arrival of Chinese junks at Sakai and other port cities was associated with the circulation of continental luxury goods (*karamono*)—silk, damask, and other textiles, porcelain, carved lacquer wares, bronze flower vases and incense burners, paintings and calligraphies, and highly crafted Buddhist artifacts of various kinds—all avidly collected by the Ashikaga shoguns, feudal lords and their retainers, aristocrats, Buddhist monasteries, and wealthy merchants. These goods were the basis of the renowned *chinoiserie* collections that were amassed during the medieval period, the most celebrated among them being the Higashiyama collection closely associated with the eighth shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–1490).³⁹ Ming ships infused Japan’s material culture at a more general register as well. Coins used as ballasts in the sailing vessels, for example, also circulated in Japan as both currency and auspicious tokens.⁴⁰ Sino-Japanese trade vessels greatly enriched the lords and merchants who engaged with them, and it is in this sense that the iconography of Chinese ships

were associated with auspicious tidings in general, and the generation of wealth more specifically.

There is evidence to suggest that during the Muromachi period, the painted image of a ship was occasionally displayed in anticipation of a ships' actual arrival. In his diary, the Daigoji abbot Mansai (1378–1435) records witnessing such a screen at a gathering hosted by the sixth shogun Ashikaga Yoshinori (1394–1441) during the New Year of 1434.⁴¹ As Izumi Mari notes, Yoshinori had revived shogun-sponsored trade with China after its suspension by the previous shogun, Yoshimochi, and was at that point awaiting the return of the first fleet of five vessels that had been sent to the continent a year and a half before.⁴² Significance thus can be attributed to the presence of a Chinese ship screen at such a gathering, especially given that the occasion was a *hyōjōhajime*, the traditional New Year's meeting of shogunal advisors. It is as if the safe return of the shogunal fleet could somehow be facilitated by its painted arrival.

Merchants involved in the tribute trade would have invested Chinese ship screens with equally auspicious associations, and those who derived their livelihood from the nautical transport of cargo are another likely source of interest for the later “black ship” screens. Indeed, the provenance of most *nanban* screens that have survived can be traced to port towns and coastal cities, namely, Nagasaki, Sakai, Osaka, Wakayama, Ise, Shizuoka, Matsumae, Sakata, Fushiki, Toyama, Takaoka, Kanazawa, Mikuni, Tsuruga, and Matsue. Moreover, in many of these cases the names of the original owners are known and, upon further examination, turn out to be merchant families involved in maritime trade throughout the early modern period.⁴³ These families appear to have been one of the primary constituencies to which *nanban* screens appealed. While most were local merchants whose activities are poorly documented, some, particularly those in the Osaka-Sakai region, were undoubtedly active cultural patrons. Much like the tea merchants of Sakai and Hakata, these figures used the wealth they accrued in maritime transport and trade to help shape the artistic production of the early modern period.

The Sueyoshi and Suminokura families of Osaka and Kyoto, respectively, offer notable and intriguing examples in this regard. They were two of eight shippers originally invested by Hideyoshi with “red seal” papers permitting exclusive foreign trade ventures in the South Seas. The “red seal ships” (*shuinsen*) that they managed traveled to Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand, Siam, the Philippines, and Macao, among other places, where they traded Japanese silver, copper, copper coins, mercury, and swords for Chinese silk and silk thread.⁴⁴ Between 1604, when the system was formalized by Tokugawa Ieyasu, and 1635, when foreign trade was limited to the Dutch at Nagasaki, more than three hundred ships were known to have been so invested. These ships played a role similar to the Portuguese in moving back and forth between ports within Asia to facilitate the circulation of Japanese goods abroad and Chinese goods to Japan. Although the Sueyoshi and Suminokura families are not documented as owners of *nanban* screens, they did donate between them a group of four votive paintings (*ema*) of merchant trade ships to Kiyomizudera Temple in Kyoto. As their inscriptions

make clear, these red-seal ship paintings were offered in gratitude for the safe return of Sueyoshi ships from Tonkin (Vietnam) in 1632, 1633, and 1634, and for a Suminokura ship to the same destination in 1634. In formal terms the red-seal ships of the votive paintings closely resemble the Portuguese carracks of *nanban* screens, and are clearly derived from them.⁴⁵ Indeed, the Sueyoshi- and Suminokura-sponsored ship paintings provide important insights into the auspicious semantics of *nanban* screens. The real wealth with which they were associated for those involved in nautical trade is suggested by the many later examples of Edo-period votive paintings of ships that have survived.⁴⁶

One might even read the agency of such commercial interests in the emphasis on scenes of merchantry evident in early *nanban* screens. Satō Yasuhiro has observed that early examples of the genre, such as the pair of screens in the Imperial Household Agency collection, present the ship as a symbol of commerce, with mercantile activity—through the exchange of gold and silver, the presence of a scale, and so forth—manifest on its decks. Because this work preserves stylistic features of what must have been one of the earliest examples of the genre, it plays an important role in tracing the shift from barter and trade to merrymaking in depictions of the ships themselves as the genre develops.⁴⁷ This shift may imply a larger change in the semantics of *nanban* screens from a focus on European encounter through mercantile and missionary activity to a more generic emphasis on festive international trade in general.

The increased visual emphasis on merriment in later *nanban* screens, however, does not somehow diminish their good auspices. An important reason why this is so lies in the predetermined symbolic system into which European ships entered when they began to appear off Japanese coasts during the sixteenth century. As discussed in the context of Sino-Japanese diplomatic and trade vessels, the very image of a ship's arrival betokened affluence, and in painted form may have functioned as a pictorial prognostication of impending bounty. It is a small step from imagining the anchoring of Chinese junks as a harbinger of bonanza to picturing the mooring of Portuguese carracks in the same foretelling role. Ronald Toby aptly describes the preordained niches assumed by Iberian traders and missionaries by suggesting that “the Iberian arrivals were characters in search of an author for their text.”⁴⁸ The very structure of *nanban* screens, whether they are of the Type A, B, or C variety, pictorially encoded this fixity, and thereby ensured their status as good omens, heralds of successful and lucrative cargo transport.

Within a larger cultural framework, the presignifying structure of *nanban* screens suggests the concept of the *marebito* or “sacred stranger,” first developed by the folklorist Orikuchi Shinobu (1887–1953). According to Orikuchi, early village communities in the Japanese archipelago conceptualized certain types of visitors—*marebito*—as animist deities (*kami*) from the eternal world (*tokoyo*), capable of inspiring awe and dread as well as wealth and good fortune. The rice harvest could be aided by these hallowed guests, and the transfer of technology or the reception of precious trade goods also could be mythologized in such figures. The *marebito* often

came from overseas and was theorized as a development of the ancestral spirit that in turn laid the foundation for uniquely Japanese beliefs. The idea of such a sacred guest provides an overarching, if somewhat essentializing, framework within which to articulate the significance of *nanban* screens.⁴⁹

Another manner in which to conceptualize the mythologization of the Portuguese presence in the form of the *nanban* screen is to understand it as a variation of the cargo cult phenomenon, in which a tribal society confronted with the material culture (“cargo”) of an advanced civilization enacts ritual procedures to bring about future emanations of cargo.⁵⁰ This phenomenon, analyzed by anthropologists in many twentieth-century tribal communities, is associated with power relations that are inappropriate to apply to the Euro-Japanese encounter in the decades around 1600, because by all accounts (including and especially those of the Jesuits) Japan at the time was not considered to be materially or otherwise “less advanced” with regard to its visitors. But the same logic that subtends the spiritual model of causation in cargo cult ritual enactments also hovers around the semantics of auspicion animating *nanban* screens. In this regard, black ship paintings were part of a larger web of symbolically charged cultural practices associated with the reception of the southern barbarians—most important, the use of *nanban* costumes as festival attire. As numerous genre paintings of the period document, the mimicking of European dress and gesture was popular during festivities and moments of revelry, not only as a way of enhancing the gaiety of the occasion but also as a manner of symbolically measuring and mastering the threat associated with the radical alterity of the newcomers. The practice of cross-dressing as foreigners provided a sartorial means of neutralizing not only the cultural and ethnic displacement associated with the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, and English, but also later on with Koreans and Ryukyuan as

well.⁵¹ That these occasions for carnival were often meant for annual observances of conviviality to please shrine and temple deities—and that the masquerading of *nanban* took place alongside that of auspicious folk deities such as Daikokuten and Ebisu—demonstrates the slippage in *nanban* screens between the specific aspirations for personal opulence and the more general intention of ensuring the eternal fitness of things.⁵² Framed in terms of the cargo cult analogy, these repeated scenes of merrymaking ensure the continuous and cyclical return of the black ships, and their auratic cargo.

The afterlife of ship paintings in the Edo period confirms both the auspicious valence, but also ambivalence, associated with depictions of Portuguese carracks. On the one hand, the popularity of images of “treasure ships” (*takarabune*), widely circulated in paintings and prints, chart the increased imbrication of nautical imagery with good fortune and the dissemination of this iconography among ever-wider constituencies. On the other hand, the Japanese encounter with Commodore Matthew Perry and his fleet of American steamships at Edo Bay in 1853–54 led to a new mini-genre of “black ship” prints in which the American vessels and their passengers were depicted as threatening and grotesque. Once treaty ports were opened with American and other Western powers in the following decade, however, “Yokohama prints” began once again to express the benignity and positive tidings associated with ships from abroad.⁵³ Situated within this continuum, *nanban* screens can be understood to signify in ways that relate closely to the deep morphology of Japanese pictorial traditions. Not merely pretexts for the representation of exotica, they emplotted new trading partners and holy men from overseas onto a mode of picture-making that staged European encounter as a moment of spectacle. This spectacle not only domesticated the unfamiliar, but had the power, through its very image, to bring prosperity to the realm.

Fig. 5
‘Departure of the
Southern Barbarians,’
Kanō Naizen (1570–
1616), Japan, early
17th century. Kyushu
National Museum.



Contributors

Adone Agnolin
Department of History
University of São Paulo, Brazil

Leila Mezan Algranti
University professor in Brazilian colonial history
State University of Campinas (Unicamp), Brazil

Gauvin A. Bailey
Senior Lecturer
Department of the History of Art
King's College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland

Francisco Bethencourt
Charles Boxer Professor of History
Department of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies
King's College London
Co-editor of *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (2007).

Liam Matthew Brockey
Assistant professor of history
Princeton University, New Jersey

Angelo Cattaneo
Researcher
Department of History and Civilization
European University Institute, Rome

Diogo Ramada Curto
Vasco da Gama professor on the history
of the European expansion
European University Institute, Florence
Co-editor of *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (2007).

Enrico d'Errico
Chief architect
Ministry of National Heritage and Culture, Oman

Francisco Domingues
Associate professor
Department of History, University of Lisbon

Jorge Flores
Associate professor
Departments of Portuguese & Brazilian Studies
and History
Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

Regina Krah
Independent scholar

Yukio Lippit
Assistant Professor
Department of Art History
Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Rui Manuel Loureiro
Researcher
Center for Overseas History
(Centro de Historia de Alem-Mar)
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Peter Mark
Director
Center for African American Studies
Professor
Department of Art and Art History
Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut

Jean Michel Massing
Professor in the history of art
Fellow of King's College, University of Cambridge

Pedro Puntoni
Professor
University of São Paulo
Researcher
Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning
(Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento),
São Paulo

Nuno Senos
Associate researcher
Center for Overseas History
(Centro de História de Além-Mar)
Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Nuno Vassallo e Silva
Deputy director
Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon

Marina de Mello e Souza
Department of History–FFLCH
University of São Paulo, Brazil

John K. Thornton
Professor
Department of History
and African American Studies Center
Boston University

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

VENICE, FLORENCE, AND LISBON

Angelo Cattaneo

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 - 19 “This section shows in what way this map was drawn. In this century there is no map like this map in anyone’s possession. The hand of this poor man has drawn it and now it is constructed. From about twenty charts and Mappae Mundi—these are charts drawn in the days of Alexander, Lord of the Two Horns, which show the inhabited quarter of the world; the Arabs name these charts Jaferiye—from eight Jaferiyes of that kind and one Arabic map of Hind, and from the maps just drawn by four Portuguese which show the countries of Hind, Sind and China geometrically drawn, and also from a map drawn by Colombo in the western region I have extracted it. By reducing all these maps to one scale this final form was arrived at. So that the present map is as correct and reliable for the Seven Seas as the map of these our countries is considered correct and reliable by seamen.”
For the original in Turkish, see A. Afetinan, *Piri Reis’in hayatı ve eserleri: Amerika’nın en eski haritaları* (Ankara: Türk tarih kurumu, 1974). For the translation: McIntosh, *The Piri Reis Map of 1513*.
 - 20 *Idem*.
 - 21 L. D’Arienzo, *La presenza degli italiani in Portogallo al tempo di Colombo* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2003); K. J. P. Lowe, ed., *Cultural links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
 - 22 L. F. Tomás, *Le Portugal et l’Afrique au XVe siècle: les débuts de l’expansion* (Lisbon: Inst. de Investigação Científica Tropical, Sep. Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português da Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1989), vol. xxvi, Série Separatas, 221; Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
 - 23 These are the principal documentary collections: J. M. da Silva Marques and A. Iria, eds., *Descobrimientos portugueses: documentos para a sua história*, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Instituto para a Alta Cultura, 1944–71); A. Cortesão and A. Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica; Monumenta Henricina*, 15 vols. (Coimbra: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do v Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960–78); Domenico Gioffre, “Documenti sulle relazioni fra Genova ed il Portogallo dal 1943 [sic] al 1539,” *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome* 33 (1961), pp. 179–316; *Portugaliae Monumenta Africana* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga; Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1993); Stefania Elena Carnemolla, *Fonti italiane dei secoli XV–XVII sull’espansione portoghese* (Pisa: ETS, 2000); D’Arienzo, *La presenza degli italiani*.
 - 24 F. Fernández-Armesto, *Before Columbus: Exploration and Colonization from Mediterranean to the Atlantic, 1222–1492* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987).
 - 25 F. Melis, “La diffusione dell’informazione economica nel Mediterraneo,” in E. Le Roy Ladurie, ed., *Histoire économique du monde Méditerranéen 1450–1650: Mélanges en l’honneur de Fernand Braudel*, 2 vols. (Toulouse: Privat, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 389–424; P. Burke, “Early Modern Venice as a Center of Information and Communication,” in John Martin and Dennis Romano, *Venice Reconsidered* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), pp. 389–418.
 - 26 Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, 2nd edition, revised and expanded, 4 vols., (Lisbon: Presença, 1991); L. F. Thomaz, *Le Portugal et l’Afrique au XVe siècle*; James Tracy, *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in Early Modern World 1350–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Bethencourt and Curto, *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800*.
 - 27 For documents about trade privileges granted to Venetian and Florentine companies, see M. da Silva Marques, *Descobrimientos portugueses*, vol. 1, *Suplemento* (1057–1460), pp. 263–64, and vol. 3 (1971), doc. 12, p. 20; G. Po, “La collaborazione italo-portoghese alle grandi esplorazioni geografiche e alla cartografia nautica,” in *Relazioni storiche fra l’Italia e il Portogallo* vol. xviii (Rome: Reale Accademia d’Italia, 1940), pp. 276–350; L. de Albuquerque, *Os descobrimentos portugueses* (Lisbon: Alfa, 1989), pp. 90–125.
 - 28 D’Arienzo, *La presenza degli italiani*, pp. 66–80.
 - 29 Gaius Plinius Secundus, *Historia Naturalis*, vi 37, 202–5: “202. Sunt qui ultra eas Fortunatas putent esse quasdamque alias, quo in numero idem Sebosus etiam spatia complexus [. . .] tradit [. . .] 205. proximam ei Canariam vocari a multitudine canum ingentis magnitudinis” (Some people think that beyond the islands of Mauretania lie the Isles of Bliss, and also some others of which Sebosus before mentioned gives not only the number but also the distances [. . .] and next to it (the island of Ninguaria) one named Canaria, from its multitude of dogs of a huge size). Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, iii 10, 102; Ptolemaeus (II sec. AD), *Geographia*, iv 6, 14; Orosio (V sec. AD), *Historiae adversum Paganos*, i 2, 11. Through Orosio the notion of the “Fortunate Isles” entered the medieval culture, in numerous encyclopedias; it is found also in Dante, *Monarchia*, ii 3, 13.
 - 30 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, ms. Banco rari 50, Giovanni Boccaccio, *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, autograph, ff. 123v–124r. Modern edition: Giovanni Boccaccio, “De Canaria et insulis reliquis ultra Ispaniam in Oceano noviter repertis,” in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio* v, 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1992), pp. 955–86. See also G. Padoan, “Petrarca, Boccaccio, e la scoperta delle Canarie,” in *Italia medioevale e umanistica* vii (1964), pp. 263–77.
 - 31 Luís Adão Fonseca and Maria Eugénia da Cadegdu, *Portogallo mediterraneo* (Cagliari: Istituto Sui Rapporti Italo-Iberici, 2002); J. Heers, *L’expansion maritime portugaise à la fin du Moyen-Âge: la Méditerranée*, Separata da Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa, xxii, 2 série, n. 2, 1956, pp. 5–33; “Portugais et génois au XVe siècle: la rivalité Atlantique-Méditerranée,” in *Actas III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos luso-brasileiros* vol. ii (Lisbon, 1960), pp. 138–47; Domenico Gioffre, *Il mercato degli schiavi a Genova nel secolo XV* (Genoa: Fratelli Bozzi, 1971); L. D’Arienzo, “Bartolomeo Dias e Gil Aines: due navigatori portoghesi nelle rotte del Mediterraneo. Documenti inediti,” in *La presenza italiana*, pp. 605–10.
 - 32 Rinaldo Caddeo, *Le navigazioni Atlantiche di Alvise Da Mosto, Antoniotto Usodimare e Niccoloso da Recco* (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1956; 1st ed. 1929); G. R. Crone, *The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937); G. B. Ramusio, *Delle navigazioni di messer Alvise da Ca’ de Mosto, gentiluomo veneziano*, in *Navigazioni e viaggi*, vol. 1.
 - 33 *Chronica do Descobrimento e Conquista de Guiné . . .* (Paris: Off. Typ. de Fain & Thunot, 1841). On the work of the Visconde de Santarém and his contribution to the history of Portuguese culture, A História da Cartografia na obra do 2º Visconde De Santarém (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 2006).
 - 34 G. B. Ramusio, “Proemio” in *Delle navigazioni di messer Alvise da Ca’ de Mosto, gentiluomo veneziano*.
 - 35 P. Dias, *Importação de esculturas de Itália no séculos XV e XVI* (Porto: Paisagem, 1982).
 - 36 F. Melis, “Di alcune figure di operatori economici fiorentini attivi nel Portogallo nel XV secolo,” in *I mercanti italiani nell’Europa medievale e*

- rinascimentale, L. Frangioni, ed., and H. Kellenbenz, introd. (Florence: Le Monnier, 1990), pp. 1–18.
- 37 L. D'Arienzo, *La presenza degli italiani*, pp. 591–631.
- 38 ———, pp. 657–710.
- 39 Alison Sandman, “Mirroring the World: Sea Charts, Navigation, and Territorial Claims in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” in Pamela H. Smith and Paula Findlen, eds., *Merchants and Marvels: Commerce and the Representation of Nature in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 83–107.
- 40 There is a vast amount of literature on this subject: see Luís Adão da Fonseca and José Manuel Ruiz Asencio, eds., *Corpus documental del Tratado de Tordesillas* (Valladolid: Sociedad v Centenario del Tratado de Tordesillas; Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1995); Michel Balard and Alain Ducellier, eds. *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998).
- 41 C. Bec, *Les marchands écrivains. Affaires et humanisme à Florence, 1375–1434* (Paris: Mouton, 1967).
- 42 For the activities and chronicles of Rui de Pina and di Garcia de Resende, see J. Veríssimo Serrão, *A historiografia portuguesa* (Lisbon: Ed. Verbo, 1972), vol. 1, pp. 101–29.
- 43 Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Bartolomeu Dias. Corpo documental, bibliografia*, trans. Vitor Luís Gaspar Rodrigues (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1988).
- 44 For a general analysis, see: Luís Adão da Fonseca, *O essencial sobre Bartolomeu Dias* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987).
- 45 The silence and scarcity of Portuguese sources about crucial details regarding the discoveries has been the subject of discussion on the part of Portuguese historians, who have interpreted this in various ways, often as connected to political interests. Some historians have proposed that there has been a policy of secrecy toward economic and political interests related to the discoveries. For example, see J. Cortesão, *Os descobrimentos portugueses*, vol. III, in *Obras completas de Jaime Cortesão*, vol. XXIII (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1981), 3rd ed., pp. 780–800. It deals with a paradigm of analysis that has been disputed by more recent historiography; see L. de Albuquerque, *Os descobrimentos portugueses* (Lisbon: Ed. Alfa, 1989); L. F. Tomás, *Le Portugal et l'Afrique au XVe siècle*; F. Bethencourt and K. N. Chaudhuri, eds., *História da expansão portuguesa*, 5 vols. (Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 1998–2000), vols. 1 and 2.
- 46 On the translation of the technical terms connected to the Portuguese expansion, P. E. H. Hair, “Portuguese Documents on Africa and Some Problems of Translation,” *History in Africa* 27 (2000), pp. 91–97. Regarding Armazém:
- “An Armazém is a structure (both material and social) that combines the concepts of a warehouse and an army base. Perhaps the best translation would be ‘arsenal,’ but only in the now-obsolete broader meaning of earlier centuries (e.g., the Arsenal of Venice).”
- 47 L. D'Arienzo, “Bartolomeo Dias e Gil Aines: due navigatori portoghesi nelle rotte del Mediterraneo. Documenti inediti,” in *La presenza italiana in Portogallo e nella Spagna meridionale . . .*, pp. 591–631.
- 48 Henricus Martellus Germanus was also the person who translated the *Decameron* by Giovanni Boccaccio into German, and the testamentary executor of Nicolaus Germanus, the famous German cartographer and editor of the codices of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Lorenz Böninger, *Die deutsche Einwanderung nach Florenz im Spätmittelalter* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).
- 49 *Insularium Illustratum* was preserved in four codices: British Library, London, ms. Add. 15760; Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, Leida, ms. Vosianus Lat. fol. 23; Musée Condé, Chantilly, ms. 698–0483; Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze, Plut.xxix 25. For a description of the planisphere, see cat. no. p-2 in the reference catalogue of *Encompassing the Globe*.
- 50 Tony Campbell, *The Earliest Printed Maps, 1472–1500* (London: The British Library, 1987), pp. 70–78; Rodney W. Shirley, *The Mapping of the World, Early Printed World Maps 1472–1700* (London: The Holland Press, 1987), p. 17, n.18; S. Crinò, “I planisferi di Francesco Rosselli dell'epoca delle grandi scoperte geografiche: proposito della scoperta di nuove carte del cartografo fiorentino,” *La Bibliofilia* xli (1939), pp. 381–405. Cristoforo Colombo 1992, pp. 521–24; Firenze e la scoperta 1992, pp. 245–47, fig. 32.
- 51 Archivio di Stato, San Gregorio al Celio, Rome (inv. 25/II, n. 9), n. 63, Maffeo Gherardo, *Entrata e Uscita, San Michele di Murano (1453–1460)*, c. II., 125v, 169v; Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, liv. 1, c. 2.
- 52 E. Garin, “Ritratto di Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli,” in *Ritratti di umanisti* (Florence, 1967), pp. 41–67.
- 53 Francesco di Matteo Castellani, *Quaternuccio B, 1452–1485*, Florence: Archivio di Stato, Conventi soppressi xc 134, c. 4r. For the modern edition: F. Castellani, *Quaternuccio e giornale B, 1452–1485* (Florence, L. S. Olschki, 1995), pp. 14–17, 33. See also C. Carnesecchi, “Paolo Toscanelli e gli ambasciatori del re di Portogallo nel 1459,” *Archivio Storico Italiano*, v, xxi (1898), pp. 316–18; and S. Gentile, *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1992), pp. 146–47, n.72.
- 54 Archivio dello Spedale degli Innocenti, Florence, *Fondo Estranei* 248, c. 162r. See F. Melis, *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII–XVI*, with a commercial paleography note by E. Cecchi (Florence, 1972), p. 125; *Firenze e la scoperta dell'America*, n.100, pp. 202–7.
- 55 Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, ms. 1910, P. Vaglianti, [Compilazione di viaggi], anteriore al 1514, ff. 184, III. Critical edition: “Iddio ci dia buon viaggio e guadagno,” Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, ms. 1910 (Codice Vaglianti), a cura di Luciano Formisano (Florence: Edizioni Polistampa, 2006). Portuguese edition of the codex (incomplete): *Viagens portuguesas à Índia (1497–1513): fontes italianas para o sua história: o Códice Riccardiano 1910 de Florença*, transcribed by Carmen M. Radulet; pref., trans., and notes by Luís Filipe and F. R. Thomaz (Lisbon: Comissão Nac. para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2002). It is important to emphasize that in addition to almost all of the letters in the vernacular attributed to Amerigo Vespucci and the twenty-six letters/ reports about Portuguese navigation, the codex also provides a version of the *Milione* together with fragments of the Tuscan version of *Viaggi* by Mandeville; a Tuscan version of the Quran, probably the oldest translation in a modern European language; and the extremely rare *Libro o Trattato, dell'Unione* by Ibn Tūmart, the founder of the Almohad sect. See L. Formisano, “Introduction,” in *Iddio ci dia buon viaggio e guadagno*, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, ms. 1910 (Codice Vaglianti), pp. 15–51.
- 56 P. Vaglianti, [Elogio di Don Manuel], cc. 83v–84v, G. Uzielli, *La vita e i tempi di Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli: ricerche e studi di Gustavo Uzielli; con un capitolo (vi) sui lavori astronomici del Toscanelli di Giovanni Celoria in Raccolta di documenti e studi pubblicati dalla r. commissione colombiana pel quarto centenario della scoperta dell'America*, part v, vol. I (Rome, 1894), pp. 551–54; *Cristoforo Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, G. Cavallo, ed., 2 vols. (Rome: Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato), vol. 2, pp. 658–61, no. IV. II, in part. p. 659.
- 57 The international bibliography on this topic is vast. Refer to L. D'Arienzo, “La lettera Toscanelli-Martins e i mercanti fiorentini: la cultura toscana nel Portogallo delle scoperte,” in *Toscana e Portogallo. Miscellanea storica nel 650° anniversario dello Studio generale di Pisa*, D. Marrara, ed. (Pisa: Edizioni ETS), pp. 11–55; I. Caraci, *Fondamenti e evoluzione della cultura di Colombo*, in *Colombo e l'apertura degli spazi*, vol. 1, pp. 401–25, in part. p. 417. Vaglianti credits Toscanelli with inspiring the cosmographic ideas of Christopher Columbus regarding a western expedition to India, and also with advising the king of Portugal about reaching India by circumnavigating Africa.
- 58 M. Milanese, “G. B. Ramusio e i piloti portoghesi,” in Luisa Cusati, ed., *Portogallo e i mari: un incontro tra culture* (Naples: Guida, 1998), pp. 231–48.
- 59 See Milanese, “G. B. Ramusio e i piloti portoghesi,” p. 231: “a Portuguese pilot from Villa di Condi is furnishing the necessary clarifications about the trip along the African coast of the Annon Carthaginian fleet (I, 554ff.); and the same pilot recounted the ‘voyage to São

Tomé' with many details, also describing sugar cultivation in the Gulf of Guinea" (1, 567–588); and it was the same 'Portuguese aristocrat' who spent a long time in Malacca to give obvious credibility to the narrative by the Greek, Iambolus, and to find in Sumatra a modern identification for the island described in the book of the *Bibliotheca Historica* of Diodorus Siculus (1, 903ff.)."

60 J. Cortesão, *Os descobrimentos portugueses*, p. 860.

61 Luís Adão da Fonseca, ed., *The Discoveries and the Formation of the Atlantic Ocean: 14th Century–16th Century* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999).

THE ART OF NAVIGATION

Francisco Contente Domingues

Readings

There is a considerable lag between the latest developments of the Portuguese historiography and the translations available in English. This essay is an assessment of the state of the art, from my point of view. It considers all the available contributions that I am aware of, including university theses that would not be accessible to a general reader. Many theses presented at the University of Lisbon have determined new methods for understanding nautical science in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However I will mention only the most relevant texts available in English concerning the art of navigation (with a couple of exceptions), meaning that these suggestions do not represent, by far, everything that is truly representative.

The first exception is Peter Russell's biography of Prince Henry. While not about the art of navigation, the book is a tour de force that summarizes several decades of work by one of the leading historians in the field. It will certainly remain as a reference work on the history of Portuguese discoveries for decades to come. *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven, London: 2000).

As W. G. L. Randles has stated, nautical science become a core subject of the history of the discoveries because of Luís de Albuquerque ("Luís de Albuquerque and the History of Nautical Science in Portugal," *Luís de Albuquerque Historiador e Matemático* (Lisbon: 1998), 135–42). Albuquerque's extensive list of publications includes "The historical background to the cartography and the navigational techniques of the Age of Discovery, with special reference to the Portuguese," *Estudos de História* v (Coimbra: 1977), 1–24; *Portuguese Books on Nautical Science from Pedro Nunes to 1650* (Lisbon: 1984); *Instruments of Navigation* (Lisbon: 1988). Randles' collected essays are absolutely fundamental to the topic: *Geography, Cartography and Nautical Science in the Renaissance: The Impact of the Great Discover-*

ies (Aldershot, U.K.: 2000). There are also the works by David Waters, who claimed that Portuguese nautical astronomy began in the sixteenth century: "Columbus's Portuguese Inheritance," *Mariner's Mirror* 78, no. 4 (1992), 385–405; and "The originality of the Portuguese development of oceanic navigation in the XIVth and XVth centuries," *As Navegações Portuguesas no Atlântico e o Descobrimento da América* (Lisbon: 1994), 71–97.

On the history of Portuguese cartography, Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota produced a masterpiece: *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, 6 vols. (Lisbon: 1960). A second edition with an update by Alfredo P. Marques was published in 1987, but the volumes are smaller and the maps, all reproduced in sepia, are difficult to read. Armando Cortesão is also the author of *History of Portuguese Cartography*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: 1969–1971); the second volume includes two excellent chapters on the history of nautical astronomy by Luís de Albuquerque. The third volume (forthcoming) of the *History of the Cartography*, edited by John B. Harley and David Woodward, has a chapter about Portugal that is expected to update the earlier works significantly.

On the ships of discovery, Roger C. Smith's *Vanguard of Empire: Ships of exploration in the age of Columbus* (New York: 1993) gives a general overview on the Iberian ship, whose concept and definition is discussed by Filipe Vieira de Castro in "The Concept of Iberian Ship," *Historical Archaeology* (forthcoming). From the same author comes the most authoritative book on the Portuguese *nau*, titled *The Pepper Wreck. A Portuguese Indiaman at the Mouth of the Tagus River* (College Station: 2005). Richard Barker is the author of some of the most relevant articles published on the subject, including "Careening: art & anecdote," *Mare Liberum* 2 (1991), 177–207; "Of caravelas, tides and water," *Studia* 54–55 (1996), 101–25; "Barrels at sea: water, storage and guns on the Portuguese ocean," *I Simpósio de História Marítima: As Navegações Portuguesas e o Descobrimento da América* (Lisbon: 1994), 365–79; "A gun-list from Portuguese India, 1525," *Journal of the Ordnance Society* 8 (1996), 52–71. Finally, Richard W. Unger, "Portuguese shipbuilding and the early voyages to the Guinea Coast," *Vice-Almirante A. Teixeira da Mota-In Memoriam* (Lisbon: 1987), pp. 229–49 is also an essential reference.

Navigation and its cultural and scientific impact are the main subject of Onésimo Teotónio de Almeida, "Portugal and the Dawn of Modern Science," in George D. Winius, ed., *Portugal, the Pathfinder. Journeys from the Medieval toward the Modern World 1300–ca. 1600* (Madison: 1995), 343–44, and Reyer Hooykaas, *Humanism and the voyages of discovery in sixteenth century Portuguese science and letters* (Amsterdam, New York: 1979). Also essential is Hooykaas's "Science in

Manueline Style," in *Obras Completas de D. João de Castro* IV, Armando Cortesão and Luís de Albuquerque, eds. (Coimbra: 1981, 231–426).

Finally, for a recent general perspective on the Portuguese navigations: *Portuguese Overseas Expansion 1400–1800*, edited by Francisco Bethencourt and Diogo Ramada Curto (Cambridge: 2007).

PARADISAEA APODA

Jean Michel Massing

I would like to thank Judith Drinkwater and Elizabeth McGrath for assistance in making sense of the most difficult sources, and the latter for other advice.

- 1 For a study of some of the key sources, see Erwin Stresemann, "Was wussten die Schriftsteller des XVI. Jahrhunderts von den Paradiesvögeln? Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ornithologie," *Novitates zoologicae* 21 (Tring, 1914), pp. 13–24; also his later article, "Die Entdeckungsgeschichte der Paradiesvögel," *Journal für Ornithologie* 95 (Berlin, 1954), esp. pp. 263–91.
- 2 Luís de Camoões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon, 1572), fol. 182v; also *Os Lusíadas (The Lusíads)*, Richard Francis Burton trans., 2 vols. (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1880), p. 407. For more botanical information, see Francisco de Mello, Conde de Ficalho, *Flora dos Lusíadas* (Lisbon: Socio Effectivo da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1880).
- 3 Nicolò de' Conti, *India recognita* (Milano, 1492), fol. a vii-r; Nicolò de' Conti, "Viaggio," in Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo volume della navigationi et viaggi* (Venice, 1550), fol. 367v. For the translation, *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo together with the Travels of Nicolò de' Conti edited from the Elizabethan Translation by John Frampton*, Norman Moseley Penzer, ed. (London: The Argonaut Press, 1929), p. 133. See also Alexander von Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die historische Entwicklung der geographischen Kenntnisse von der Neuen Welt* 1 (Berlin, 1836), p. 194; Waldemar Sensburg, "Poggio Bracciolini und Nicolò de Conti in ihrer Bedeutung für die Geographie des Renaissancezeitalters," *Mitteilungen der K.K. Geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 49 (Vienna, 1906), p. 296; and Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), pp. 13–14.
- 4 For the early trade in birds of Paradise outside their geographical area, see mainly Pamela Swadling, *Plumes from Paradise. Trade cycles in outer Southeast Asia and their impact on New Guinea and nearby Islands until 1920* (Boroko, New Guinea: Papua New Guinea National Museum in association with Robert Brown & Associates, 1996), esp. pp. 49–73. The trade is recorded by Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, vol. 1, trans. Armando Cortesão (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1944), pp. 118, 209, and 270.

- 5 Clifford B. Frith and Bruce M. Beehler, *The Birds of Paradise. Paradisaeidae* (Oxford, New York, and Tokyo: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 6.
- 6 Maximilianus Transylvanus, *De Moluccis* . . . *epistola* (Cologne, 1523), fols. b. iv-v–b.v-r; for the translation, Antonio Pigafetta, *First Voyage around the World*, and Maximilianus Transylvanus, *De Moluccis insulis*, with introduction by Carlos Quirino (Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1969), pp. 126–27, taking over the translation by Henry Stevens found in Charles Henry Coote, *Johann Schöner, Professor of Mathematics at Nuremberg* (London, 1888), as on pp. 138–39. For Elcano and his travels in general, Mairin Mitchell, *Elcano: The First Circumnavigator* (London: Herder Publications, 1958).
- 7 For this designation, John Crawford, *A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands & Adjacent Countries* (London, 1856), p. 54, and Charles Payson Gurley Scott, “The Malayan words in English,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* xviii (New Haven, 1897), pp. 76–77. For the etymology, see Humboldt 1836 (as in n. 3), p. 195.
- 8 Maximilianus Transylvanus 1523 (as in n. 6), fol. b.vi-v, and 1969, p. 129.
- 9 Antonio Pigafetta, *Le voyage et navigation fait par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques* (Paris, n.d.), fol. 65v; see also Antonio Pigafetta, *Magellan’s Voyage. A Narrative Account of the First Circumnavigation*, vol. 1, trans. and ed. Raleigh Ashlin Skelton from the manuscript in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library of Yale University (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), p. 126, and vol. II, fol. 80v. Pigafetta carefully describes the bird: “He sent him also two very beautiful dead birds, which are as thick as stock-doves, with small head and long beak, and legs a palm in length and as thin as a feather. They have no wings, but instead long feathers of divers colours like large plumes. The tail is as long as that of a stock-dove, and all the other feathers except the wings are of a tawny colour. . . .”
- 10 For this name, Scott 1897 (as in n. 7), pp. 77–78.
- 11 Vincent of Beauvais *Speculum naturale* xvii.39; for this translation, Percy Ansell Robin, *Animal Lore in English Literature* (London: J. Murray, 1932), p. 155 (for the bird of paradise, in general, pp. 155–59).
- 12 Frith and Beehler 1998 (as in n. 5), pp. 439–48, pl. II, nos. 1a and 1b.
- 13 Antonio Galvão, *Tradado* (Lisbon, 1563), fol. 35v; for the Portuguese text with a translation, Antonio Galvano [sic], *The Discoveries of the World, from their First Original unto the Year of our Lord 1555* (London, 1862), p. 116. Frith and Beehler, 1998 (as in n. 5), pp. 448–56, pl. II, nos. 2a–2b. The identifications of the species, as well as of the bird mentioned in the previous note, were made by Stresemann 1954 (as in n. 1), p. 264.
- 14 Girolamo Cardano, *De subtilitate libri XXI* (Paris, 1550), fol. 202r; see Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), p. 16.
- 15 Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *La istoria de las Indias y conquista de Mexico* (Saragozza, 1552), fol. 55; Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), p. 16.
- 16 On the helmet and related woodcuts and engravings, see Otto Kurz, “A gold helmet made in Venice for Sultan Sulayman the Magnificent,” in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6e pér., LXXIV (Paris, 1969), pp. 249–58, also in *The Decorative Arts in Europe and the Islamic East. Selected Studies* (London: Dorian Press, 1977); David Rosand and Michelangelo Muraro, *Titian and the Venetian Woodcut*, exhibition catalogue (Washington: International Exhibitions Foundation, 1976), pp. 208–10, nos. 48–49; and Gülru Necipoğlu, “Süleyman the Magnificent and the representation of power in the context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry,” *Art Bulletin* LXXXI (New York, 1989), esp. pp. 401–11.
- 17 Pierre Belon, *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Judée, Egypte, Arabie & autres pays estranges* (Paris, 1553), fol. 189v. Erwin Stresemann, “Belons ‘Phoenix’ war kein Paradiesvogel,” *Journal für Ornithologie* 92, no. 1444 (Berlin, 1952), p. 361, with the advice of Ernst Kühnel, has shown that the aigrettes on the headdresses of Ottoman janissaries are made with feathers of an egret (either the Great White Egret, *Egretta alba*, or the Little Egret, *Egretta garzetta*).
- 18 Thomas Platter, *Travels in England 1599*, trans. Clare Williams (London: J. Cape, 1937), p. 192. See Donald Frederick Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2: *A Century of Wonder*, book 1: *The Visual Arts* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 102–3.
- 19 For an up-to-date account of this drawing, Fritz Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, April 18–June 30, 1985 (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1985), pp. 102–3, no. 30.
- 20 Ingrid Faust, with Klaus Barthelmess and Klaus Stopp, *Zoologische Einblattdrucke und Flugschriften vor 1800*, vol. 2: *Vögel. Säugetiere: Affen. Landraubtiere. Robben. Schuppentiere. Nager. Hasenartige* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1999), pp. 10–11, no. 158, with ill.: “Der Paradyss Vogel
“Ein war Conterfactur / mit aller farb und gestalt des Vogels / den die Kriechen Apodes nennen / von dem Plinius schreibt im zehenden buch am XIII Capittel. Der vogel ist in der groess einer schwalin / Einer wunderlichen leichte / mit langen / zarten durchsichtigen flügeln / uund mit zweyen langen / Schmalen / Schwarzen / horn hertten Federn / er nistelt in den Felsen / hat keinen Füs / Fleugt immerzu / ruet nyrgendt denn in seynen eygen nest / Auch geet kein schieff so weit oder schnell vom land / der vogel fleugt darumb / es ist ein listiger vogel / Sonderlich sein narung zu suchen / Der vogel ist in grossem wert / seiner seltzamkeyt halben / grosse herren brauchen in an stat eynes
- Federpusch / uund wirt bey uns Teutschen ein paradys vogel genant.
“Und wer disen vogel leibhaftig schawen oder kauffen wil / der gehe zu dem Hanns Kramer unter dem Boner der beut jn numb hundert taler / etc.
“Gedruckt zu Nurnberg durch Stephan Hamer.”
For Steffan Hamer and his prints see Karl Schottenloher, *Flugblatt und Zeitung. Ein Wegweiser durch das gedruckte Tagesschrifttum* (Berlin: R. C. Schmidt, 1922), pp. 145–46; Walter Leopold Strauss, *The German Single-Leaf Woodcut 1550–1600*, vol. 1 (New York: Abaris Books, 1975), pp. 391–92.
- 21 Conrad Gesner, *Historiae animalium liber III, qui est de avium natura* (Zurich, 1555), p. 611; see also the German translation, his *Vogelbuch Darinn die art / natur und eigenschaft aller vöglen / sampt jrer waren Contrafactur angezeigt wirt* (Zurich, 1557), fol. CLXXV-r and CLXXVI-r. See also his *Icones avium omnium* (Zurich, 1555), p. 20.
- 22 For this terminology Frith and Beehler, 1998 (as in n. 5), pp. xxvi–xxvii.
- 23 Aristotle *Historia animalium* 1.1.487b.
- 24 Plutarch *Artaxerxes* XIX. 3.
- 25 Pliny *Natural History* x.11.4.
- 26 Pierre Belon, *Le cinquieme livre de la nature des oyseaux* (Paris, 1555), esp. pp. 330.
- 27 Belon 1555 (as in n. 26), p. 330; see Cardano 1550 (as in n. 14), fol. 202r.
- 28 Pierre Belon, *Portraits d’oyseaux, animaux, serpens, herbes, arbres, hommes et femmes, d’Arabie & d’Egypte* (Paris, 1557), fols. 23r, and 23v for the illustration.
- 29 See n. 8. Pigafetta (as in n. 9) mentions two birds.
- 30 See Carl Linnaeus, *Systema naturae per regna tria naturae*, Editio decima, reformata (Stockholm, 1758), p. 110; and George Shaw, *General Zoology or Systematic Natural History—Birds* 7, part 2 (London, 1809), p. 486 (for birds of paradise, pp. 478–504).
- 31 Donald Frederick Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1: *The Century of Discovery*, vol. 2: *A Century of Wonder* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 598. I am unclear what led him to this conclusion.
- 32 Heinrich Zimerman, “Urkunden und Regesten aus dem K. und K. Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Wien,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlung des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* III, part 2 (Vienna, 1885), p. CII, no. 260. For a bird of paradise shown in a wooden box, Ragnar K. Kinzelbach and Jochen Hölzinger, *Marcus zum Lamm (1544–1606). Die Vögelbücher aus dem The-saurus Picturatum* (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer), 2000, pp. 220 and 222, fig. 4.198.
- 33 Gesner, *Historiae* 1555, pp. 611–12, and *Vogelbuch* 1557, fols. CLXXXV-r and v (as in n. 21). The woodcut was used, as we have seen, by Belon (see above, n. 28), but also by others, such as Conrad Lycosthenes (= Wolffhart), *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* (Basel, 1557), p. 22 [in fact

- 30]; Pierre Boaistuau, *Histoires prodigieuses les plus memorables qu'ayent esté observées depuis la Nativité de Jesus Christ, iusques à nostre siecle* (Paris, 1560), fol. 151r. Ulysses Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae libri xii*, no. 1 (Bologna, 1599), p. 815. Later it is found, for example, in Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia. Oder Beschreibung der gantzen Weltt* (Basel, 1628), p. 1607. See also below, for its presence in the various editions of works by Ambroise Paré (see n. 39). Finally, it was used as a model for one of the panels of the Shrewsbury Hanging (Victoria and Albert Museum, on loan to Oxburgh Hall), a piece of needlework by Mary, queen of Scots: Margaret Swain, *The Needlework of Mary, Queen of Scots* (Bedford; Ruth Bean Publishers, 1986, pp. 65 and 105, pls. 27 and 57).
- 34 Gesner, *Historiae* 1555, p. 613, and *Vogelbuch* 1557, fol. clxxxvi (as in n. 21). Melchior Guilandini's treatise was later published as *De stirpibus aliquot epistolae v. . . Manuco Diattae, hoc est aviculae Dei description* (Padua, 1558), fols. 46r–48v (for the specific remark, fol. 47v).
- 35 Stresemann 1952 (as in n. 17), p. 361.
- 36 Belon 1555 (as in n. 26), p. 329, and 1557 (as in n. 28), fol. 23r.
- 37 See n. 20.
- 38 Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Exotericarum exercitationum liber quintus decimus, de subtilitate* (Paris, 1557), fol. 300v (*Exercitatio* ccxxviii, no. 2); see Paul Delaunay, *La zoologie au seizième siècle* (Paris: Hermann, 1962), p. 156.
- 39 I have used the second edition, Ambroise Paré, *Les Oeuvres . . . Avec les figures & portraicts tant de l'Anatomie que des instruments de Chirurgie, & de plusieurs Monstres* (Paris, 1575), pp. 848–49, with ill; for the text of the 1585 edition: Ambroise Paré, *Des monstres et prodiges*. Edition critique et commentée by Jean Céard (Geneva: Droz, 1971), pp. 129–30. For an English translation, Ambroise Paré, *On Monsters and Marvels*, trans. Janis L. Pallister (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 140–41. The bird of paradise in the collection of Francesco Calzolari (1584) is called “Chamaeleon aereus”; see Cerutus Benedictus, *Musaeum Franc. Calceolarii Veronensis* (Verona, 1622), pp. 668–73.
- 40 Wendelin Boeheim, ed., “Urkunden und Regesten aus der K.K. Hofbibliothek,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* vii, part 2 (Vienna, 1888), p. ccxciii. For Archduke Ferdinand II's collections, see Elisabeth Scheicher, “The collection of Archduke Ferdinand II at Schloss Ambras: Its purpose, composition and evolution,” in *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, eds. Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Clarendon Press and Oxford University, 1985), pp. 29–38; for an excellent survey, Lach 1970 (as in n. 18), pp. 26–27.
- 41 “Index rerum omnium naturalium a Bernhardo Paludano,” in Jacob Rahtgeb, *Warhafftige Beschreibung zweyer Reisen* (Tübingen, 1603), fol. o iv-v: “Die 63 Laden hat 20 Kästlein / darinn alles was von frembden Vögelen / darunter dreyerley Paradis Vögel / und die Kleidungen von Federn auss Brasyl.”
- 42 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert . . . naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien . . .* (Amsterdam, 1596), p. 27; for the text of the 1598 translation: *The Voyage . . . to the East Indies*, vol. 1, Arthur Coke Burnell and Peter Anton Tiele, eds., (London: Hakluyt Society, 1885, p. 118 (“I brought two of them with me, for Doctor Paludanus, which were male and female, which I gave unto him, for his chamber”). For the connection between the two, see Lach, 1970 (as in n. 18), pp. 20–21. For him, the penis bell would have been “a little bell attached to their prepuce to prevent illicit intercourse” worn by people of Pegu (Burma), as mentioned by Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Icones, habitus gestusque Indorum ac Lusitanorum per India viventium* (Amsterdam, 1604), pl. 25; for which see Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2003, pp. 104–5. For a more detailed account, Linschoten, 1596, p. 22, and Boogaart, 2003, pp. 14, 46, 170, and 222. For the peculiar form of penis enhancements, but not with bells (!), in Pegu and Linschoten's misunderstandings, Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce 1450–1680*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988, pp. 148–51; and for penis sheaths, in general, Peter John Ucko, “Penis sheaths: A comparative study,” *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland of 1969* (London: Royal Anthropological Institute, 1970), pp. 25–67, pls. 1–24b.
- 43 Linschoten 1596, p. 27, and 1885, vol. 1, p. 118 (as in n. 42). For a more recent study, see Boogaart 2003 (as in n. 42), esp. p. 50. See also the bird of paradise in Petrus Plancius's *Magellanica* map of 1594: Wilma George, *Animals and Maps* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1969, pp. 182–83, fig. 8.4 (for maps, see also *infra*, n. 58).
- 44 Kinzelbach and Hölzinger 2000 (as in n. 32), resp. pp. 24, 6, and 210–23.
- 45 Kinzelbach and Hölzinger 2000 (as in n. 32), pp. 219–20, 222, and 223, fig. 4.198 (but with the wrong identification and dating of the image of the bird).
- 46 Wilma George, “Alive or dead: Zoological collections in the seventeenth century,” in *The Origins of Museums* (as in n. 40), p. 181.
- 47 Gesner 1555, pp. 611–14, and 1557, fols. clxxxv–r–clxxxvii–r (as in n. 21).
- 48 Boaistuau 1560 (as in n. 33), fols. 150v–4r.
- 49 Scaliger 1557 (as in n. 38), fol. 300v; see Stresemann 1954 (as in n. 1), p. 266.
- 50 Aldrovandi 1599 (as in n. 33), pp. 806–16; see Stresemann 1914, pp. 19–22, and 1954, pp. 267–68 (as in n. 1). An interesting account is also provided by José de Acosta, *Historia naturalis, e morale delle Indie* (Venice, 1596; first edition: Leon, 1589), fol. 90v, and, for a translation, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, trans. Frances M. López-Morillas (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 236–37: “Birds are brought from China that, sad to say, have no feet either large or small, and almost all their bodies are feathers. They never alight on the ground, but hang from little strings that they have, and thus rest; they eat mosquitoes and little flying insects.”
- 51 Aldrovandi 1599 (as in n. 33) claims that he saw the second type (*Manucodiata secunda*, p. 811, ill. p. 812) in 1577, in the collection of Thomas Cavalierius in Rome, while information on his third (*Hippomanucodiata*; p. 811, ill. p. 813) and fourth (*Manucodiata cirrata*; pp. 811, ill. p. 814) were provided by Antonius Gigas of Fossombrone. Watercolors after his *Manucodiata prima* and *secunda* were formerly in the collection of Lord L. Walter Rothschild at Tring; see Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), pp. 20–21, pls. 1–11; see also n. 53.
- 52 Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), p. 19.
- 53 London, Natural History Library, Zoology Library, 88. f. B., fol. 68 for the bird of paradise; Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), p. 20, pl. 1 (see also *supra*, nn. 50–51).
- 54 Koreny 1985 (as in n. 19), pp. 104–5, no. and fig. 31, with further information.
- 55 Koreny 1985 (as in n. 19), p. 108, fig. 33.2.
- 56 Koreny 1985 (as in n. 19), pp. 108–9, no. and fig. 33.
- 57 Koreny 1985 (as in n. 19), pp. 110–11, no. and fig. 34. The bird of paradise became popular in Netherlandish art, including works by Joris Hoefnagel, Frans Francken, Jan Brueghel, Roelant Savery. Birds of paradise were also illustrated by Jacopo Ligozzi; see for example Lach 1970 (as in n. 18), pp. 181–82 and Christine Elisabeth Jackson, *Great Bird Paintings of the World*, vol. 1, *The Old Masters* (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1993), esp. pp. 34–41, 54–61, 70–72, and 94–96, with numerous examples showing the birds flying in the air.
- 58 Donato Bertelli, *Carta dele' Asia*, in 8 sheets, published by Abraham Ortelius in 1567; for the detail, Faust, vol. 2, 1999 (as in n. 20), pp. 10–11, ill; see also George 1969 (as in n. 43), pp. 180–81, fig. 8.3. Birds of paradise are also found on Guillaume Le Testu's world map of 1566 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France); see George 1969 (as in n. 43), pp. 179 and 196–197, fig. 9.3 and Mireille Pastoureaux, *Voies Océanes. Cartes marines et grandes découvertes* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1992), pp. 88 and 90–91, fig. 66.
- 59 Jacob van Heemskerck, “Journal . . . 1598–1600” in *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indie (1595–1610)*, ed. Johan Karel Jakob de Jonge, vol. 2 (The Hague and Amsterdam: M. Nijhoff, 1864, pp. 422–23; see also Stresemann 1914, pp. 22–23, and 1954, pp. 268–69 (as in n. 1).
- 60 Carolus Clusius [Charles de l'Ecluse], *Exoticorum libri decem* (Antwerp, 1605), p. 359; see also

- Stresemann 1914, p. 23, and 1954, p. 269 (as in n. 1). Stresemann noticed that Charles de l'Ecluse, while recording Jacob van Heemskerck, called the first bird to drink Rex (instead of *voorlooper*), which ultimately led to Linnaeus's *Paradisaea regia*. Clusius statement regarding the presence of feet (*Manucodiatae apodes non sunt*) is mentioned as an addition to Francisco Hernandez's quite traditional account first published posthumously (he died in 1578) as *Nova plantarum, animalium et mineralium Mexicanarum historia* (Rome, 1651), p. 318 (see pp. 317–18 for the original text, where he concludes by indicating that the Indians use their plumages as headdresses).
- 61 Samuel Purchas, *His Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages* (London, 1613), p. 452.
- 62 Luca Contile, *Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese* (Pavia, 1574), fols. 77v–78r; see Stresemann 1914 (as in n. 1), p. 22.
- 63 Aldrovandi 1599 (as in n. 33), p. 809.
- 64 Edward Topsell, *The Fowles of Heauen or History of Birdes*, ed. Thomas Perrin Harrison and Frederick David Hoeniger (Austin: University of Texas, 1972), p. 113.
- 65 Giulio Cesare Capaccio, *Delle imprese* (Naples, 1592), fols. 67v–68r; for Camerarius's emblem, see below, n. 71.
- 66 Johannes Sambucus, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1564), p. 132; see Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XV. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart; J. B. Metzler, 1967) (Ergänzte Neuausgabe), col. 798–99. The verses of Sambucus's emblem are found, written in by hand, in a copy of Konrad Gesner, *Historia animalium Lib III, qui est de avium natura* (Zurich, 1558), p. 611 (in the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg); see Wolfgang Harms, "On natural history and emblematics in the 16th Century," *The Natural Sciences and the Arts. Aspects of Interaction from the Renaissance to the 20th Century. An International Symposium* (Uppsala: S. Academiae Ubsaliensis, 1985), pp. 67–70, fig. 1.
- 67 Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes, and other Devises* (Leyden, 1586), p. 89.
- 68 Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales* (Prague, 1581), fols. 01v–011r, no. 50; see Henkel and Schöne 1967 (as in n. 66), col. 799, and Antonio Bernat Vistarini and John T. Cull, *Enciclopedia de emblemas españoles ilustrados* (Madrid: Akal Ediciones, 1999), p. 598, no. 1220. For this emblem, see Rafael García Mahiques, *Emblemas morales de Juan de Borja. Imagen y palabra para una iconología* (Valencia, 1998), pp. 136–38, no. XLIX.
- 69 Juan de Borja, *Emblemata moralia* (Berlin, 1697), pp. 98–99, no. XLIX.
- 70 Juan de Borja, *Moralische Sinn-Bilder* (Berlin, 1698), pp. 98–99, no. XLIX; see Henkel and Schöne 1967 (as in n. 66), col. 799.
- 71 Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum ex volatilibus et insectis desumptorum centuria tertia* (Nuremberg, 1596), fols. 43r–43v, no. XLIII. For the motto, see Capaccio 1592 (as in n. 65), fol. 68r.
- 72 Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum centuria tertia* (Nuremberg, 1596), in *Symbolorum et emblematum centuria tres* (Nuremberg, 1605), fols. 42v–43r, no. XLIII; this is the motto found in Henkel and Schöne 1967 (as in n. 66), col. 800.
- 73 Wolfgang Harms and Hartmut Freytag, eds., *Ausserliterarische Wirkungen barocker Emblem-bücher. Emblematik in Ludwigsburg, Gaarz und Pommersfelden* (Munich: W. Fink, 1975), pp. 152 and 176, no. 147.
- 74 Hernando de Soto, *Emblemas. Moralizadas* (Madrid, 1599), p. 58; see Vistarini and Cull 1999 (as in n. 68), p. 601, no. 1227, without proper identification. Guillaume Du Bartas, exactly ten years after Luis de Camoëns, in *La sepmaine, ou creation du monde* (1582), still resumed the more traditional information:
- "Mais tournons nostre front vers les Isles Moluques,
Et soudain nous verrons les merveilleux Mamouques:
Merveilleux, si iamais l'onde, la terre, l'air
Vid rien de merveilleux nager, courir, voler,
On ne conoit leur nid, on ne conoit leur pere:
Ils vivent sans manger, le ciel est leur repaire:
Ils volent sans voler: & toutesfois leurs cours
N'a fin que par la fin de leurs inconus iours."
- Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas, *La sepmaine, ou creation du monde* (Paris, 1582), fols. 80v–81r; for a discussion of this passage, A Learned Summarie upon the famous Poeme of William of Salust, Lord of Bartas (London, 1637), pp. 240–41 (see Emma Phipson, *The Animal-Lore of Shakspeare's Time* [London, 1883], pp. 190–91). The notion survived in poetry, for example in Alfred Tennyson's *The Day-Dream Works 2* (London, 1842), p. 164:
- "What wonder I was all unwise,
To shape the song for your delight
Like long-tail'd birds of paradise,
That float thro' Heaven, and cannot light?"
- 75 Simon Maiolus, *Dies caniculares seu Colloquia tria et viginti* (Rome, 1597), p. 280. For a strange discussion of the bird of paradise symbolism, see also Louis Charbonneau-Lassay, *La mystérieuse emblématique de Jésus-Christ: Le bestiaire du Christ* (Bruges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1940), pp. 423–28.
- 76 This popularity can be seen, for example, by consulting the book by Cornelia Kemp, *Angewandte Emblematik in süddeutschen Barockkirchen* (Munich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1981), p. 376, s.v. *Paradiesvogel*.
- FROM MOLUCCAS
TO KUNSTKAMMER
Jean Michel Massing
- I would like to thank Judith Drinkwater, Ginette Vagenheim and Elizabeth McGrath for assistance in making sense of the most difficult sources, the latter also for much advice.
- 1 For this engraving, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, voyage ofte schipvaert . . . naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien . . .*, Amsterdam 1596, pl. after p. 64; also his *Icones, habitus gestusque Indorum ac Lusitanorum per Indiam viventium . . .*, Amsterdam 1604, pl. 25; see Ernst van den Boogaart, ed., *Jan Huygen van Linschoten and the Moral Map of Asia*, London 1999, pp. 49–50 and 222, pl. 27; Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the "Itinerario" and the "Icones" of Jan Huygen van Linschoten*, Chicago and London 2003, esp. pp. 2, 10–12, 28 and 104–5, pl. 25.
- 2 For *Trachtenbücher*, in general, see Heinrich Doege, "Die Trachtenbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Bücherkunde und Philologie August Wilmanns zum 25. März 1903 gewidmet*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 429–44. For Weiditz, Theodor Hampe, *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531/32)*, Berlin and Leipzig 1924. See Jean Michel Massing "Early European Images of America: The ethnographic approach," in *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration*, Jay A. Levenson, ed., Exhibition catalogue, Washington, The National Gallery of Art, October 12, 1991–January 12, 1992, New Haven and London 1991, pp. 517–18, with extensive bibliography (see also, p. 572, no. 406); for costume studies by Dürer, pp. 514–15 and 301. Hans Nevermann, "Berichte eines Schlesiens über Indonesien am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Baessler-Archiv*, N.F. IV, Berlin 1956, pp. 91–104, studies an interesting manuscript by a painter, Heinrich Muche; however only the title page and one illustration show what might be called ethnographic features.
- 3 Linschoten 1596, pl. after p. 64.
- 4 For the *klewang*, see Prosper Paul Henri Holstein, *Contribution à l'étude des armes orientales. Inde et Archipel Malais*, I, Paris 1931, pp. 223–25, pl. xxxII, nos. 65–66 and II (*Catalogue*), pp. 155–56, nos. 122 and 127, pl. XLVIII; pp. 160–62, nos. 251–52, 176 and 178, pls. XLIX–L. See also, for this weapon, George Cameron Stone, *A Glossary of the Construction, Decoration and Use of Arms and Armor in all Countries and in all Times*, Portland 1934, pp. 361–63, fig. 455 (1–10).
- 5 As rightly concluded by Ernst van den Boogaart 2003 (as in n. 1), resp. pp. 4 and 9, for example.
- 6 Georg Schurhammer, "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier," *Garcia de Orta, Numero especial*, Lisbon 1956, pp. 247–56 (I have used the republication of this article in his *Orientalia*, Lisbon 1963, pp. 111–18). The Casanatense manuscript has been published as *Oltremare. Codice Casanatense 1889 con il Libro dell' Oriente di Duarte Barbosa*, Rome 1984 and by Luís de Matos, *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI. Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisbon, 1985). See also its discussion by Donald Frederick Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2: *A Century of Wonder*, Book 1: *The Visual Arts*, Chicago and London 1970, pp. 64–65 and Boogaart (as in n. 1), p. 271, s. v. *Codex Casanatense*.

- 7 Schurhammer 1963 (as in n. 6), p. 114 (132–33); Matos (as in n. 6), pp. 123–24, no. and pl. LXXII.
- 8 Schurhammer 1963 (as in n. 6), p. 114 (136–37); Matos (as in n. 6), pp. 126, no. and pl. LXXIV.
- 9 Schurhammer 1963 (as in n. 6), p. 14 (138–39); Matos (as in n. 6), p. 127, no. and pl. LXXV.
- 10 The form of the vestment of the women in Matos (as in n. 6), pl. LXXII is similar to those in pls. LXVII, LXVIII, LXIX, LXXI, LXIII, and LXXIV; the weapons of the men in pls. LXXII and LXXV are also found on pl. LXII; and that on pl. LXXIV is found on pls. LXI and LXIII.
- 11 António Galvão, *História das Molucas*, Hubert Jacobs, transl. and ed., Rome and St Louis, Mo. 1971, pp. 76–77.
- 12 For the history of the collection, see Arthur MacGregor, ed., *Tradescant's Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum 1683 with a Catalogue of the Surviving Early Collections*, Oxford 1983, esp. pp. 3–69.
- 13 Richard Carnac Temple, ed., *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667*, III.1, London 1919, pp. 1–3; see Arthur MacGregor, “The cabinet of curiosities in seventeenth-century Britain,” *The Origin of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in the sixteenth and seventeenth century*, Oliver Impey and Arthur Macgregor, eds, Oxford 1985, p. 150.
- 14 “Scutum Indicum Ligneum; 4 pedes longum, unicum tantum Latum. media parte paululum gracilescit, ad extremitates aliquantulum est Latius. parte convexa conchis venereis albis ossibusque undique exornatur. circumferentiam totam ambit vimen.” For the shield, MacGregor (as in n. 12), pp. 169–70, no. 46; for this shield, see Jan van der Waals, “Exotische rariteiten. Afbeeldingen en voorwerpen van vreemde volkeren,” in *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen 1585–1735*, Exhibition catalogue, Amsterdam, Amsterdams Historisch Museum, June 26, 1992–October 11, 1992, Amsterdam 1992, pp. 156–57, fig. 132 and *Catalogus*, p. 160, no. 333.
- 15 British Museum. *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*, 2nd ed., London 1925, p. 97, fig. 83c; see MacGregor (as in n. 12), p. 170, n. 97, for its provenance.
- 16 MacGregor (as in n. 12), p. 170.
- 17 For these shields, see Bente Dam-Mikkelsen and Torben Lundbæk, *Etnografiske genstande i Det kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1650–1800. Ethnographic Objects in The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650–1800*, Copenhagen 1980, p. 144, nos. and figs. EDB58–EDB60. Karl Martin, *Reisen in den Molukken, in Ambon, den Uliassern, Seran (Ceram) und Buru*, Leiden 1894, pp. 57–58, mentions that, at a *tjakalele* dance held in Ambon, the seven fighters had small black shields of the form of an hour glass decorated with white paper figures glued on them, instead of being enriched with the *ovula ovum* L. shells (see also p. 192, for shields with brown figures).
- 18 Roy Ellen, “Nuaulu sacred shields. The reproduction of things or the reproduction of images?” *Etnofoor*, III, Amsterdam 1990, pp. 5–25. For a shield of this type, also from Ceram, see Jean Paul Barbier, in Purissima Benitez-Johannot and Jean Paul Barbier, *Shields. Africa, South East Asia and Oceania. From the Collections of the Barbier-Mueller Museum*, Exhibition catalogue, Paris, Mona Bismarck Foundation, September 10–November 28, 1998 and elsewhere, Munich-London-New York 2000, pp. 164–65, no. and fig. 64. The traditional Moluccan shields were copied in sheet brass: see Adolf Bernhard Meyer and Otto Richter, “Die Helme aus Messingblech von Célebes und den Molukken,” *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologisch-Ethnographischen Museums zu Dresden*, IX.6 (*Ethnographischen Miscellen*, 1), Dresden 1900/1, esp. p. 32, pl. II.4 and Meyer and Richter, *Celebes, I: Sammlung der Herren Dr. Paul und Dr. Fritz Sarasin aus den Jahren 1893–1896*, Publikationen aus dem Königlichen Ethnographischen Museum zu Dresden, XIV, Dresden 1903, pp. 8–10, pls. III.1–3.
- 19 See below, respectively nos. 21 and 22. Some of the letters are published, and their content studied in Johan Frederik Gebhard, *Het leven van Mr. Nicolaas Cornelisz. Witsen (1641–1717)*, 2 vols., Utrecht 1881–82; see also Marion Peters, “Nicolaes Witsen and Gijsbert Cuper: Two seventeenth-century Dutch burgomasters and their Gordian knot,” *Lias*, 16, Amsterdam 1989, pp. III–50.
- 20 Gebhard (as in n. 19), pp. 390–91: “Hiernevens vint UEd: mede de gedaente van de wilde bosmensen in onse specerij eylanden, bijzonder op Ceram, Alphonsen genaemt, die van mensen eeten niet vies zijn, dog het is hun door onsen verboden, waerom aen mij geschreven wert, dat sij het niet als heymelijk doen. Het sy seer wrede en moordadige mensen. Dese schilderijtjes zijn na het leven geschildert, ik besitte die optoiselen, welke sij aen't lighaem hebbe, mij van daer toegesonden, en hebbe nog enige mede na het leven gemaekt, die mij nu niet in handen vallen, waerin vertoont wert hoe sij elcandre dooden en het hooft afslaan.”
- 21 Van der Waals (as in n. 14), p. 156, fig. 131 and *Catalogus*, pp. 154, no. and fig. 318a, with bibliography.
- 22 Van der Waals (as in n. 14), p. 165, fig. 141 and *Catalogus*, pp. 154–55, no. and fig. 318b.
- 23 Because of its geo-political sensibility, this text was printed only at the end of the eighteenth century; see Jan Splinter Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East-Indies*, II, London 1798, pp. 357–58. For this publication, see E. M. Beekman, “Introduction: Rumphius' life and work,” in Georgius Everhardus Rumphius, *The Ambonese Curiosity Cabinet*, E. M. Beekman transl., New Haven and London 1999, p. LXXII.
- 24 So far I have not been able to identify similar shields. For Moluccan shields, consult Hendrik Herman Juynboll, *Katalog des ethnographischen Reichsmuseums*, 21–23: *Molukken*, I–III, Leiden 1930–39, including, in vol. 22, p. 89, no. 1971/441, pl. IX.4 and in vol. 23, p. 20, no. 1476/35, pl. V.3.
- 25 Georg Everhard Rumphius, *D'Amboinsche Rariteitskamer*, Amsterdam 1705, pp. 115–16; also Rumphius 1999 (as in n. 23), p. 166.
- 26 Georgius Everhardus Rumphius, *Het Amboinsche Kruid-boek*, III, Amsterdam 1743, p. 176; see Beekman, in Rumphius 1992 (as in n. 23), p. 447, n. 36.
- 27 For example Jan Baptist Jozef van Doren, *Fragmenten uit de reizen in den Indischen Archipel*, I, Amsterdam 1854, p. 156. For shields, Martin (as in n. 17), pp. 191–92, pls. XXIV. 7–11 (Ceram) and also 285 and 324, pls. XXVII. 5–5A (Buru); see further pp. 58, 104, and 234. For shields with *ovula ovum* L shells, see those listed by MacGregor (as in n. 12), p. 170, n. 96; also Jean Paul Barbier, in Benitez-Johannot and Barbier (as in n. 18), pp. 162–63, no. and fig. 63.
- 28 François Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I, Dordrecht and Amsterdam 1724, p. 212 and II, pp. 162–63; see Meyer and Richter (as in n. 18), respect. pp. 44 and 38. See also Heinrich Boekemeyer, *Die Molukken. Geschichte und quellenmässige Darstellung der Eroberung und Verwaltung der Ostindischen Gewürzinseln durch die Niederländer*, Leipzig 1888, p. 91 and Martin (as in n. 27), 57–58, 72, 191 and 354, pls. XI.2 and XXXVII.1.
- 29 See n. 28, as well as Valentijn, I (as in n. 28), pp. 21 and 130. For an overall account, Meyer and Richter (as in n. 18), pp. 85–88 and Adolf Ellegard Jensen, *Die drei Ströme. Züge aus dem geistigen und religiösen Leben der Wemale, einem Primitiv-Volk in den Molukken (Ergebnisse der Frobenius-Expedition 1937–1938 in die Molukken und nach Holländisch Neu-Guinea)*, II, Leipzig 1948, pp. 182–85, pls. XIV–XV. For an early painting by Andries Beeckman representing such a ceremony, Rumphius (as in n. 23), p. 444, with illustration.
- 30 Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 17), p. 144, no. and fig. EDB58.
- 31 Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 17), p. 144, no. and fig. EDB59 and EDB60. They were mentioned in 1743 as “2 black, oblong and narrow wooden shields ornamented on the outside with small round or oval discs of nacre, only most of the bigger and many of the smaller are missing” and in 1775 as “Two longish, narrow wooden shields with a black coating, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, many of which have fallen out and are missing. Presumably Indian”; these descriptions may indicate that the shields have been subsequently restored. Adam Olearius, in his edition of the *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen Jürgen Andersen aus Schleswig . . . und Volquard Iversen aus Holstein*, Schleswig 1669, p. 186, added: “Dergleichen Gewehr als lange höltzerne Schilde / Sebel und Spiesse seynd in der Gottorffischen Kunstkammer befindlich.” For an image, *na't leven*, of an Ambonese with such a shield, Valentijn, II (as in n. 28), p. 182, no. XL.
- 32 Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 17),

- p. 143, no. and fig. EDC69. For this box, see also Klaas van Berkel, "Citaten uit het boek der natuur. Zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse naturalienkabinetten en de ontwikkeling van de natuurwetenschap," in *De wereld binnen handbereik* (as in n. 14), p. 174, fig. 152 and *Catalogus*, p. 32, no. and fig. 31. For collecting Indonesian art in general, Reimar Scheffold and Han F. Vermeulen eds, *Treasure Hunting? Collectors and Collections of Indonesian Artefacts*, Leiden 2002; also Rita Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia. Historical Bonds with the House of Orange-Nassau (1600–1938)*, Zwolle and The Hague 1995. Of great interest to European collectors were also krisses: Karsten Sejr Jensen, *Den Indonesiske Kris–et symbolladet våben*, Nestvæd 1998, esp. pp. 64–122, figs. 43–81.
- 33 Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 17), p. 144, no. and fig. EDC70. For the link with Paludanus's collection, see Henrik Ditlev Schepelern, "Naturalienkabinett oder Kunstkammer. Der Sammler Bernhard Paludanus und sein Katalogmanuskript in der Königlichen Bibliothek," *Nordelbingen. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte*, 50, Heide in Holstein 1981, esp. pp. 176 and 163, no. and fig. EDC70; see also Gottorf im Glanz des Barock. *Kunst und Kultur am Schleswiger Hof, 1544–1713*, Heinz Spielmann and Jan Drees eds, Exhibition catalogue, Gottorf, Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum, 11 (Die Gottorfer Kunstkammer), Schleswig 1997, pp. 314, no. 175, ill. p. 284. For the birds of paradise see Linschoten (as in n. 1), p. 27; for the text of the 1598 translation, *The Voyage . . . to the East Indies*, Arthur Coke Burnell and Peter Anton Tiele eds, 1, London 1885, p. 118 ("I brought two of them with me, for Doctor Paludanus, which were male and female, which I gave unto him, for his chamber"). For the connection between Linschoten and Paludanus, see Lach (as in n. 6), pp. 20–21.
- 34 Juynboll (as in n. 24), vols. 31–33 for numerous entries including vol. 21, 1930, p. 44, no. 1647/1111, pl. vi.1–2; p. 87, no. 1971/12, pl. vi.3; see also pp. 69–70, no. 300/940, pl. iv.4. For sirih boxes and their content, see Odo Deodatus Tauern, *Patasiwa und Patalima, Vom Molukkeneiland Seran und seine Bewohnern*, Leipzig 1918, pp. 112–113. A straw hat in Copenhagen, described in 1737 as "A round Indian shield," is also linked to the Moluccas: see Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 17), p. 143, no. and fig. EAB26. For hats in the Moluccas, see Juynboll (as in n. 24), vols. 21–23, with numerous entries, such as vol. 21, 1930, pp. 60–61, no. 370/214, pl. ii, fig. 1.
- 35 Levinus Vincent, *Wondertooneel der Nature*, Amsterdam 1706, pl. v.
- 36 Frédérique Chapelay, in *A la rencontre de Sindbad. La route maritime de la soie*, Paris, Musée de la Marine, March 18–June 15, 1994, Paris 1994, pp. 94–95, no. and fig. 37.
- 37 Van de Waals (as in n. 14), p. 156.
- 38 Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 17), p. 145, nos. EDC76–EDC98, with ills. Friedrich Wilhelm (1620–1688), Elector of Brandenburg, brought some "curiosities" back from the Netherlands and issued special orders for objects from the Moluccas and other areas of Asia: Cornelis van Dijk, "Gathering and describing: Western interest in eastern nature and culture," in Scheffold and Vermeulen (as in n. 32), p. 29.
- ## RACE RELATIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE
- Francisco Bethencourt
- 1 I thank David Eltis for this updated information (March 2007) from the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database.
 - 2 The previous estimate presented a total of 11.1 million slaves exported from Africa and 5.1 million slaves transported by the Portuguese: Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Videntes. Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), pp. 69 and 378–79; David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: a Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly* LVIII, no. 1 (January 2001) 17–46.
 - 3 For a general approach on this issue, see Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery. A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550–1750: the Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).
 - 4 Manuel Fernandes Thomaz, *Repertório Geral ou Índice Alfabético das Leis Extravangantes do reino de Portugal*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1843).
 - 5 Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade. Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807–1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Seymour Drescher, "Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective," in Rebecca J. Scott et al., *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988), pp. 23–54; Robert E. Conrad, ed., *Children's of God's Fire. A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil*, 2nd ed. (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994); see part ten on abolition (pp. 418–81).
 - 6 José Capela, *Escravidão. A empresa de saque. O abolicionismo (1810–1875)* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1974); Valentim Alexandre and Jill Dias, eds., *O Império Africano, 1825–1890* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998), pp. 52–60, 192–98, 287–93, 457–71, 589–96; João Pedro Marques, *Os sons do silêncio: o Portugal de Oitocentos e a abolição do tráfico de escravos* (Lisbon: ICS, 1999).
 - 7 Jorge Fonseca, *Escravidão no Sul de Portugal: séculos XVI–XVII* (Lisbon: Vulgata, 2002); See also A. C. De C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal. Uma presença silenciosa* (Lisbon: Caminho, 1988); Didier Lahon and Maria Cristina Neto, eds., *Os negros em Portugal, séculos XV a XIX*, exhibition catalogue (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1999).
 - 8 Alessandro Stella, "L'esclavage en Andaloucie à l'époque moderne," *Annales, ESC*, 1 (January–February 1992) 35–64; idem, *Histoire d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris: EHESS, 2000).
 - 9 Didier Lahon, *O negro no coração do império, uma memória a resgatar, séculos XV–XIX* (Lisbon: Secretariado Coordenador dos Programas de Educação Multicultural, 1999); Lahon, *Esclavages et confréries noires au Portugal durant l'Ancien Régime (1441–1830)*, unpublished Ph.D. (Paris: EHESS, 2001).
 - 10 A. C. De C. M. Saunders, "The Life and Humour of João de Sá Panasco, o Negro, Former Slave, Court and Gentleman of the Portuguese Royal House (fl. 1524–1567)," in F. W. Hodcraft et al., *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Spain and Portugal in Honour of P. C. Russell* (Oxford: The Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1981), pp. 180–91; Francisco Bethencourt, "Anedotas e racismo em Portugal no século XVI," in *A primavera toda para ti. Homenagem a Helder Macedo/A Tribute to Helder Macedo*, ed. Margarida Calafate Ribeiro et al. (Lisbon: Presença, 2004), pp. 129–42.
 - 11 Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarcal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maya & Schmidt, 1933); idem, *O mundo que o português criou*, preface by António Sérgio (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1940).
 - 12 —, "Em torno de um novo conceito de tropicalismo," *Brasília* 7 (1952); *Aventura e rotina: sugestões de uma viagem à procura das constantes portuguesas de carácter e acção* (Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, [1952]); *Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas: introdução a uma possível lusotropicalologia* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1953); *Integração portuguesa nos trópicos* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1958); *O luso e o trópico. Sugestões em torno de métodos portugueses de integração dos povos autóctones e de culturas diferentes da europeia num complexo novo civilizacional: o lusotropical* (Lisbon: Comissão Comemorativa do v Centenário da Morte do infante D. Henrique, 1961) [translated into English and French].
 - 13 Marvin Harris, *Town and Country in Brazil* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956); "Portugal's African 'Wards': A First-Hand Report on Labour and Education in Mozambique," *Africa Today* v (1958).
 - 14 Charles R. Boxer, *Race relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415–1825* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).
 - 15 Yves Léonard, "Salazarisme et lusotropicalisme, histoire d'une appropriation," *Lusotopie* (1997), pp. 211–26; idem, "O ultramar português,"

- in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, eds., *História da Expansão Portuguesa* 5 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1999), pp. 31–50; Cláudia Castelo, *O modo português de estar no mundo: o lusotropicalismo e a ideologia colonial portuguesa, 1933–1961* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1998); Lorenzo Macagno, “Um antropólogo americano no ‘mundo que o português criou.’ Relações raciais no Brasil e em Moçambique segundo Marvin Harris,” *Lusotopie* (1999), pp. 143–161.
- 16 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, trans. J. Sibree (New York: Willey, 1944); see section on the New World.
- 17 *Anuário Estatístico do Ultramar* (Lisbon: INE, 1959).
- 18 Rui Pena Pires, *Os retornados: um estudo sociográfico* (Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento, 1987).
- 19 António Carreira, *Cabo Verde. Formação e extinção de uma sociedade escravocrata (1460–1878)* (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1972); Luís de Albuquerque and Maria Emília Madeira Santos, eds., *História Geral de Cabo Verde*, 3 vols. (Lisbon/Praia: IICT/DGPCV, 1991–2002).
- 20 Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *Mulheres, sexualidade e casamento no arquipélago de S. Tomé e Príncipe (séculos XV a XVIII)* (Lisbon: Ministério da Educação, 1997); Isabel Castro Henriques, *São Tomé e Príncipe. A invenção de uma sociedade* (Lisbon: Vega, 2000).
- 21 José Carlos Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e hinterland no século XVIII. Um estudo de sociologia histórica* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1996), p. 211.
- 22 There are no precise data, and my estimates are based on a wide variety of sources and studies. See Leslie Bethell, ed., *Colonial Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), mainly the chapters by H. B. Johnson, Frédéric Mauro, and Dauril Alden; Guy Martinière, “O peso do número: os homens na organização colonial do espaço” in *O império luso-brasileiro, 1620–1750*, ed. Frédéric Mauro (Lisbon: Estampa, 1991), pp. 192–216; Altiva Pilatti Balhana, “A população” in *O império luso-brasileiro, 1750–1822*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Lisbon: Estampa, 1986), pp. 19–62; Altiva Pilatti Balhana, “População, composição,” in *Dicionário de história da Colonização Portuguesa no Brasil*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Lisbon: Verbo, 1994), cols. 649–53.
- 23 Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna. A History of Central African States until European Occupation* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), specifically pp. 124–54. The importance of the Portuguese in the region is questioned by John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo. Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). José Carlos Venâncio, op. cit., suggests that the Portuguese influence in the hinterland did not have a significant expression before the eighteenth century.
- 24 Malyn Newitt, *A History of Mozambique* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1995), pp. 31–104.
- 25 I analyzed this source and discussed other approaches in Francisco Bethencourt, “Low Cost Empire. Interaction between the Portuguese and Local Societies in Asia” in *Rivalry and Conflict. European Traders and Asian Trading Networks in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, ed. Ernst van Veen and Leonard Blussé (Leiden: CNWS, 2005), pp. 108–30.
- 26 John Manuel Monteiro, *Negros da terra. Índios e bandeirantes nas origens de São Paulo* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995).
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- 31 Christopher Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); idem, *Imperial Meridian. The British Empire and the World, 1730–1830* (London: Longman, 1989); William Dalrymple, *White Mughals. Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth Century India* (London: Harper Collins, 2002).
- 32 *Livro do Armeiro-Mor*, Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo. Reproduced in *História da Expansão Portuguesa* 1, ed. Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), p. 233.
- 33 *Adoration of the Magi*, retablo of the Convento de Jesus, Museu de Setúbal. Reproduced in Jill Dias, ed., *África. Nas vésperas do mundo moderno* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1992), p. 36.
- 34 *Adoration of the Magi*, oil on wood, Vicente Gil and Manuel Vicente, from the Monastery of Celas (Coimbra, Museu Nacional Machado de Castro). Reproduced in Jill Dias, op. cit., p. 37.
- 35 *Livro de Horas de D. Manuel*, ed. Dagoberto Markl (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1983). The manuscript is in Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, inv. no. 14 Ilum.
- 36 *Birth of the Virgin*, oil on wood, by Garcia Fernandes and Jorge Leal, first half of the sixteenth century (Lisbon, private collection). Reproduced in Didier Lahon and Maria Cristina Neto, op. cit., p. 111.
- 37 Section of the *Encounter of Prince Conan and St. Ursula*, oil on panel, attributed to Cristóvão Figueiredo and Garcia Fernandes, 1522–25 (Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, inv. no. 1462 A-B). Reproduced in Jill Dias, op. cit., p. 41.
- 38 Reproduced in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 417.
- 39 Bibliothèque nationale de France, RES. GE. AA 640. Reproduced in Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* (Lisbon: Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do infante D. Henrique, 1960), vol. 1, print 24. There is a facsimile edition, *Atlas Miller* (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2003) and a volume of essays by Alfredo Pinheiro Marques and Luís Filipe Thomaz, *Atlas Miller* (Barcelona: Moleiro, 2006).
- 40 Nicholas Cleynaerts, *Correspondence*, ed. Alphonse Roersch, vol. 1 (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1940), p. 111. This passage was previously quoted by Jorge Fonseca, “Black Africans in Portugal during Cleynaerts’s visit (1533–1538)” in *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, ed. T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 113–21.
- 41 There are several copies of the manuscript, but the best for the images is at Academia das Ciências de Lisboa. See António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Africanas*, ed. José Matias Delgado, 3 vols. (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1972). The most important images were reproduced by Jill Dias, op. cit., pp. 163, 174, 177, 192.
- 42 Biblioteca nacional de Portugal, author unknown. Reproduced in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 68.
- 43 For the author’s discussion, see Fernando António Baptista Pereira, ed., *Francisco Henriques no tempo de d. Manuel I*, exhibition catalogue (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1997). The retablo was reproduced in Pedro Dias and Dalila Rodrigues, eds., *Grão Vasco e a pintura do Renascimento*, exhibition catalogue (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1992), pp. 10 and 93.
- 44 For a general argument of the historical references to Romans applied to the Americas in the early colonial period, see David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World. Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).
- 45 Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. It was reproduced as the cover of Francisco Bethencourt, *O imaginário de magia* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1987).
- 46 See quotes in note 35. This image was reproduced in *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, vol. 1, print 22.
- 47 Pero Vaz de Caminha, *Carta a el-rei D. Manuel*, ed. M. Viegas Guerreiro and Eduardo Nunes

- (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1974).
- 48 Elizabeth McGrath, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention, and the Personification of the Continents," in Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Belis, Carl van de Velde, *Rubenianum. Concept, Design and Execution in Flemish Printing (1550–1700)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 43–71.
 - 49 Fernão Lopes, *Crónica d'el-rei Dom Joham Primeiro de Portugal*, facsimile edition of the codex from Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (Lisbon: Ediclube, 1995), fol. cxxxii-r.
 - 50 Barbara Berlowicz et al., *Albert Eckhout returns to Brazil, 1644–2002*, exhibition catalogue (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 2002); Quentin Buvelot, ed., *Albert Eckhout. A Dutch Artist in Brazil*, exhibition catalogue (The Hague/Zwolle: Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis/Waanders Publishers, 2004).
 - 51 For reproductions of drawings and paintings by these two painters, see previous footnote and Paulo Herkenhoff, ed., *O Brasil e os holandeses, 1630–1654* (Rio de Janeiro: GMT, 1999).
 - 52 José Augusto França, *O retrato na arte portuguesa* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1981).
 - 53 These images were reproduced in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 254–55, 362, 450–51. The original drawings are kept by the Gabinete de Estudos de Arqueologia e Engenharia Militar, Lisbon. Manuela Tenreiro is preparing a Ph.D. on this artist.
 - 54 Jean-Baptiste Debret, *Voyage Pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1834–39).
 - 55 Johann Moritz Rugendas, *Voyage Pittoresque au Brésil*, trans. into French by de Golbéry (Paris: Engelman, 1835).
 - 56 Tekla Hartmann, ed., *Memória da Amazônia. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira e a Viagem Filosófica pelas capitâneas do Grão Pará, Rio Negro, Mato Grosso e Cuyabá, 1783–1792* exhibition catalogue (Coimbra: Museu e Laboratório Antropológico da Universidade de Coimbra, 1991), prints xxix and xxx.
 - 57 Luís de Matos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI. Reprodução do código português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1985), prints xviii, xxxi and xliii.
 - 58 The manuscript is kept at Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo. One of the images is reproduced in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 405.
 - 59 Sacristy of the church of São Roque, Lisbon. Reproduced in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 222, 259, 508.
 - 60 Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerario, Voyage ofte Shipvaert van Jan Huygen Linschoten naar Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596), prints on pp. 44–45 (Goensi), 46–47 (Gestus et habitus), 58–59 (Agricola Indus canaryn dictus), 60–61 (Æthiopum et Moçambique). All of the prints were perfectly reproduced in the excellent edition of the *Itinerario* in Portuguese by Aries Pos and Rui Manuel

Loureiro (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1997). See the analysis suggested by Ernst van den Boogart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia. Image and Text in the Itinerario and Text of the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003).

- 61 Johann Theodor de Bry and Johann Israel de Bry, *Historiarum Orientalis Indiae*, 12 vols. (Frankfurt, 1598–1628).
- 62 Bernard Picard, *Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde*, 8 vols. (Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1723–43).
- 63 Reproductions of several examples are in Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti Chaudhuri, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 554–59.
- 64 Ulinka Rublack, "Clothing and Cultural Exchange in Renaissance Germany," in Herman Roodenburg, ed., *Forging European Identities, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 258–88.

THE AFRICAN COAST

PORTUGUESE–AFRICAN RELATIONS, 1500–1750

John K. Thornton

- 1 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné* (1448), mod. ed. 2 vols. Lisbon, 1978, cap. 13.
- 2 For an account of the social background of the first Portuguese visitors, with the appropriate irony, see Marian Malowist, "Les aspects sociaux de la première phase de l'expansion coloniale," *Africana Bulletin* 1 (1964): 11–40.
- 3 John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1800* (2nd ed, Cambridge and New York, 1998, orig ed. 1992), pp. 36–40 and *idem*, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1400–1800*, pp. 23–4; 43 (London, 1998), pp.; for a similar assessment, see Ivana Elbl, "Cross-Cultural Trade and Diplomacy: Portuguese Relations with West Africa, 1441–1521," *Journal of World History* 3 (1992): 165–204.
- 4 T. Bailey Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores, and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth-Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago, 1972).
- 5 Robert Garfield, *A History of São Tomé Island, 1470–1655: The Key to Guinea* (Pittsburg, 1992).
- 6 For an essay on the negotiations and Portugal's politics along with English translations (and some Portuguese originals) of the relevant documents, see P. E. H. Hair, *The Founding of the Castelo de São Jorge da Mina: An Analysis of Sources* (Madison, 1994).
- 7 The Bemoim incident is exhaustively studied along with publication of all the relevant documents in Avelino Teixeira da Mota. "D. João Bemoim e a expedição Portuguesa ao Senegal em 1489," *Boletim Cultural da Guiné Portuguesa* 26 (1971): 63–111 (also published as a separate title by

- the Agrupamento de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, no. 63, Lisbon, 1971); the analysis follows p. 42 of the separate edition.
- 8 Thornton, *Warfare*, p. 44.
 - 9 P. E. H. Hair, "Sierra Leone and the Grand Duke of Tuscany," *History in Africa* 20 (1993): 61–69.
 - 10 On the missionary efforts, see P. E. H. Hair, "Christian Influences in Sierra Leone before 1787," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 27 (1997): 3–15. For the Jesuit period, see Nuno da Silva Gonçalves, *Os Jesuítas e a Missão de Cabo Verde 1604–1642* (Lisbon, 1996).
 - 11 For fuller details, see H. F. C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485–1897* (New York, 1969).
 - 12 H. F. C. Ryder, "Missionary Activity in the Kingdom of Warri to the Early Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2 (1960): 1–26.
 - 13 The messengers and their impact in the court is described in João de Barros, *Decadas da Ásia* (Lisbon, 1552) 1st Decade,
 - 14 The essential points of all these events were recorded by Rui de Pina, the royal chronicler at the time. His earliest account of the events, written in 1492 along with a later version (written in 1515 but printed only in 1792) are both published, along with a historical introduction in Carmen Radulet, *O cronista Rui de Pina e a 'Relação do Reino do Congo (Manuscrito inédito do Códice Riccardiano 1910)* (Lisbon, 1992).
 - 15 John Thornton, "Early Kongo-Portuguese Relations: A New Interpretation," *History in Africa* 8 (1981): 188–97.
 - 16 Ilídio do Amaral, *O Reino do Congo, os Mbundu (ou Ambundos), o Reino dos 'Ngola' e a presença portuguesa, de finais do século XV a meados do século XVI* (Lisbon, 1996) is the best overview of the whole period and the question of the Ndongo missions.
 - 17 See Linda Heywood and John Thornton, *Central Africans and the Making of the Anglo-Dutch Americas* (New York and Cambridge, forthcoming), chapter 2.
 - 18 The situation in Angola in the early eighteenth century is well illustrated by the detailed description and commentary of the bishop, Luiz Simões Brandão, whose examination of the state of the church shows also the level and degree of Portuguese control and influence, Biblioteca Pública d'Évora, cxvi/2-15, peça 151, fols. 72–88v, 2 September 1715.
 - 19 On the later period, see the massive work of Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e refluxo do tráfico de escravos entre o Golfo de Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos* (São Paulo, 1987, original French edition published 1968).
 - 20 Peter Mark, *'Portuguese Style' and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2002), and most especially for its careful study of architecture; for fashion see Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, pp. 230–31. For the larger history, see Jean Boulégue, *Les*

- Luso-Africains de Sênegambie, XVIe–XIX siècle (Paris, 1989) and George Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens, OH, 2003).
- 21 On the Creole of São Tomé, Luiz Ivens Ferraz, *The Creole of São Tomé* (Johannesburg, 1979); also see Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, pp. 213–15
 - 22 Some of these letters are published in Verger, *Fluxo e refluxo*, pp. 261–7; 287–90; 309–12 but others remain unpublished, especially the very long letters now in the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro), Lata 137, pasta 62. Others are found in Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Secção Colonial, Correspondência Recebida de Autoridades Diversas, Maço 197, cx 76, docs. 1 and 2, and still others (unseen by this author) in the Arquivo Histórico Militar (Lisbon), 2a Divisão, 10a Secção, Angola, Caixa 3, no. 16 (two letters from Dahomey misfiled among Angolan materials).
 - 23 On Kongo's engagement with Portugal, see Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, chapters 2–4.
 - 24 The Jesuit hospice and college had a library on the second floor, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, ms 3533, Antonio de Teruel, "Descripción Narrativa de la Misión seráfica de los Padres Capuchinos, y sus Progressos en el Reyno de Congo," (ms of 1664), p. 180; the use of documents in internal administration is dramatically illustrated by the various letters, grants, and instructions in the private papers of António Manuel, Kongo's ambassador to Rome, who left his collection of papers in the Vatican archives on his death in 1608, the earliest document in his collection dates from 1591, Archivio Segredo Vaticano, Arm II, vol. 91, fols. 125–25v; 137–38; 200–200v; 202; 230; 243–45v.
 - 25 Giovanni Francesco da Roma, *Breve relatione del successo della missione de Frati Minori Capuccini del Serafico P. S. Francesco al Regno del Congo* . . . (Rome, 1648), p. 75.
 - 26 António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História geral das guerras angolanas* (1680), (mod. ed. José Matias Delgado and Manuel Alves da Cunha, 3 vols, Lisbon 1940–42, reprinted Lisbon, 1972) I: 105.
 - 27 John Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (New York and Cambridge, 1998), pp. 31–5.
 - 28 Thornton, *Kongolese Saint Anthony*.
 - 29 Biblioteca Estense, Modena, mss ms Italicus 1380, alpha N-9-7, Giuseppe Monari da Modena "Viaggio al Congo," (ms of 1723), pp. 422, 425
 - 30 Cadornega, *História*, 3: 27–28.
 - 31 The archive has been published, along with extensive commentary and notes in Ana Paula Tavares and Catarina Madeira Santos, eds. *Africae Monumenta. A Apropriação da Escrita pelos Africanos* (Lisbon, 2002, the first volume in a projected series).
 - 32 Several more sets of documents were located in Angola by the Hungarian researcher, Eva Sebestyén in the late 1970s. Her corpus, of approximately 160 documents from a half dozen locations (in her possession and never published), is probably only a part of what still exists in the region.
 - 33 Marcellino d'Atri, "Gionate apostoliche fatte da me Fra Marcellino d'Atri . . . 1690," p. [1702] in Carlo Toso (ed.) *L'anarchia congolese nel sec. XVII. La relazione inedita di Marcellino d'Atri* (Genoa: Bozzi, 1984) (original pagination marked)
 - 34 Alonso de Sandoval, *Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbres i ritos . . . de todos Etiopes*, (Seville, 1627), fols. 58v–59.
 - 35 On Njinga and her engagement with Christianity see Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*.
 - 36 Archivio "De Propaganda Fide" (Rome), *Scritture Originali nelli Congregazione Generale*, vol. 552, fol. 66, Bernardo da Firenze to Propaganda Fide, c. 1705.
- ### STONE CARVING AND IVORY SCULPTURE IN SIERRA LEONE
- Jean Michel Massing
- In this article I have attempted to survey the literature concerning the stone figures from the upper Guinea Coast. I have not delved into the "expansionist" literature, which has linked them to the Phoenicians among others (such claims in any case have been refuted by William A. Hart and Christopher Fyfe [see 'infra,' n. 1]), nor have I said much about their iconography (for which see Frederick John Lamp, 'infra,' n. 1, pp. 223–29) except for a few topics especially pertinent to my argument, as a meaningful stylistic and iconographic survey cannot be done on the basis of the few sculptures published so far.*
- 1 George Thompson, *Thompson in Africa: Or, An Account of the Missionary Labors, Sufferings, Travels and Observations*, New York 1852 (2nd ed.), pp. 289–90, with illustration of "The Stone God"; Douglas Fraser, "Note on the stone *nomoli* figures of Sierra Leone," *The Art Bulletin*, LIII, New York 1971, p. 393. The main systematic accounts of such figures are the following: Leopold Rüttimeyer, "Ueber westafrikanische Steinidole," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xiv, Leiden 1901, pp. 195–215; also his "Weitere Mitteilungen über westafrikanische Steinidole," *ibid*, xviii, Leiden 1908, pp. 167–78; H. Néel, "Statuettes en pierre et en argile de l'Afrique Occidentale," *L'anthropologie*, xxiv, Paris 1913, pp. 419–43. Stanley Brown, "The *nomoli* of Mende country," *Africa*, xviii, London 1948, pp. 18–20; P. Knops, "Origine et destination fonctionnelle des statues Kissi et des céramiques et pierres ancestrales en Afrique Occidentale," *Bulletin de la Société Royale Belge d'Anthropologie et de Préhistoire*, lxxviii, Brussels 1957, pp. 83–102; Yves Person, "Les Kissi et leurs statuettes de pierre dans le cadre de l'histoire ouest-africaine," *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique Noire*, xxiii, sér. B., Dakar 1961, pp. 1–59; Kunz Dittmer, "Bedeutung, Datierung und kulturhistorische Zusammenhänge der 'prähistorischen' Steinfiguren aus Sierra Leone und Guinée," *Baessler-Archiv. Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, N.F. xv, Berlin 1967, pp. 183–238; John H. Atherton and Milan Kalous, "Nomoli," *Journal of African History*, xi, Cambridge 1970, pp. 303–17; Frederick John Lamp, "House of Stones: Memorial art of fifteenth-century Sierra Leone," *Art Bulletin*, lxxv, New York 1983, pp. 219–37. To this should be added a few books, some of them mainly for their illustrations: Philip Allison, *African Stone Sculpture*, London 1968, pp. 36–41, figs. 51–69; Aldo Tagliaferri and Arno Hammacher, *Fabulous Ancestors. Stone Carvings from Sierra Leone & Guinea*, Milano 1974; Gello Giorgi, *I nomoli di Sierra Leone*, Bologna 1983; Aldo Tagliaferri, *Stili del potere: Antiche sculture in pietra dalla Sierra Leone e dalla Guinea*, Milano 1989; also his *Pomdo, Mahen Yafe et Nomoli*, Exhibition catalogue, Paris, Johann Levy Art Primitif, September–October 2003, Paris 2003. Finally, of great interest is William A. Hart, *Continuity and Discontinuity in the Art History of Sierra Leone* (Quaderni Poro, 9), Milano 1995, who tackles certain key problems; see also William A. Hart and Christopher Fyfe, "The stone sculptures of the Upper Guinea coast," *History in Africa*, 20, Atlanta 1993, pp. 71–87, with a critical review of preceding authors.
 - 2 George Thompson, *The Palm Land; or West Africa, Illustrated*, Cincinnati 1858, pp. 414–16. All early authors stress the difficulty of obtaining steatite figures. Johann Büttikofer, *Reisebilder aus Liberia: Resultate geographischer, naturwissenschaftlicher und ethnographischer Untersuchungen während der Jahre 1879–1882 und 1886–1887*, I–II, Leiden 1890, does not mention them in his report on his two scientific investigations; this is also stressed by Rüttimeyer 1901 (as in n. 1), p. 197. Büttikofer's collection in Bern does, however, include one: see R. Zeller, "Über ein interessantes Steinidol aus der Sierra Leone," *Jahrbuch des Bernischen Historischen Museums in Bern*, vi (1926), Berne 1927, p. 81.
 - 3 Allison (as in n. 1), pp. 3–46, with numerous illustrations.
 - 4 Allison (as in n. 1), pp. 11–35. Specific studies include Philip A. Allison, *The Cross River Monoliths*, Lagos 1968; Phillips Stevens, Jr. *The Stone Images of Esie, Nigeria*, Ibadan 1978. For stone sculpture in Cameroon, (Mme.) René Dugast, "Les figurines humaines de pays Babimbi (Cameroun)," *Conferência internacional dos Africanistas ocidentais, 2ª conferência, Bissau 1947*, v, Lisbon 1952, pp. 207–17, pls. 1–11.
 - 5 Robert Verly, "La statuaire de pierre Bas-Congo," *Zaire*, ix, Brussels-Antwerp 1955, pp. 451–528, figs. 1–55.
 - 6 For maps showing the areas where such figures are found, see Person (as in n. 1), p. 52 and, more recently, Annemieke van Damme, "A propos de huit sculptures en pierre découvertes en territoire

- Loma,” *Arts d’Afrique Noire*, 79, Arnouville 1991, p. 20, with map; there she writes that the sculptures are found in Sierra Leone, in Bulom, Sherbro, Krim, Mende, Kono and Limba country; in Liberia, among the Vaï and Bélé, and in Guinea among the Temne, the Kissi, and the Kuranko.
- 7 Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 220; in n. 8, he adds, with full references, that they were called *ngafotui* (spirit stone) among the Ko-Mende, while the southern Bullom use the term *ithom* (image) and the Kono the denomination *nyana dinne* (children of the image). According to Auguste Chevalier, “La région des sources du Niger. Mission scientifique de l’Afrique Occidentale Française (1909),” *La Géographie. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, xix, Paris 1909, p. 347, there are sculptures called *nieni* in the Koulo area.
 - 8 Thompson (as in n. 2), p. 416.
 - 9 Adam Jones, “Sierra Leone items in European museums, 3: The Museum of Mankind, Part 1,” in *Africana Research Bulletin*, xii.3, Freetown 1983, p. 120, no. 1886 A 1126.4: “Soapstone figure, holding beard in left hand; iron band around waist (now partly wanting); dug up at Bendu, 1883”; p. 122, no. 1902 A 045, 1–2 (no. 1, “collected by G. H. Garrett”).
 - 10 Adam Jones, “Sierra Leone items in European museums, 7: The Alldridge Collection, Brighton,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, xvi.1 & 2, Freetown 1989, p. 86, no. 55: “Steatite carving: nude man, seated; enlarged facial features, hand on knees, hole in top of head, roughly oval base”; on Alldridge, *idem*, pp. 79–81.
 - 11 Adam Jones, “Sierra Leone items in European museums, 6: Munich and Frankfurt am Main,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, xiv.3, Freetown 1985, p. 84, no. 11.398–11.400: “Steatite figure from the Mende country—including one of a ‘rider figure’ with a tattooed face. From the dealer Oldman, 1910–11; all probably obtained from T. J. Alldridge, the Traveling Commissioner (later District Commissioner).”
 - 12 Adam Jones, “Sierra Leone items in European museums, 9: The Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum, Cologne,” in *Africana Research Bulletin*, xvii.2, Freetown 1991, p. 74, nos. 18072–18074, “3 *nomoli*”; pp. 72–73, he wrote that “it seems fairly certain that Oldman obtained most of the items from Alldridge (this definitely applies to those acquired in 1906).”
 - 13 Thomas Joshua Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, London 1901, pp. 163–64.
 - 14 Thomas Joshua Alldridge, *A Transformed Colony: Sierra Leone as it was, and as it is, its Progress, Peoples, Native Customs and Undeveloped Wealth*, London 1910, pp. 287–89. Tagliaferri 1989 (as in n. 1), p. 17 mentions that he met an Italian engineer who came across “an underground passage that contained about thirty *nomoli*”; it was underground as it had been covered by a landslide. All this evidence provides the background to the account of Chevalier (as in n. 7), p. 347, who wrote that they are found in “cavernes abandonnées”; see also the Kissi figure (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Museum of Art), published by Frederick John Lamp in *African Images. Art & Ornament*, Exhibition catalogue, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Museum of Art, April 3–August 9, 1981, Ann Arbor 1981, p. 25, discovered in a cave near Kolahun in northwestern Liberia. Even more telling is W. Addison, “Steatite figures from Moyamba District, Central Province, Sierra Leone, West Africa,” *Man*, xxiii, London 1923, p. 177, who says they were found in a “cleft in the ground,” a tradition that the Paramount Chief himself was not able to explain.
 - 15 Rüttimeyer 1901 (as in n. 1), p. 197 writes that they came from “eine Art Hügel oder Tumuli”; see also Rüttimeyer 1908 (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 167 and 173. Mentioning the first of these sources, Thomas Athol Joyce, “Steatite figures from West Africa in the British Museum,” *Man*, v, London 1905, p. 97, adds that “certain tumuli in the interior, where they are said to be discovered in considerable numbers, up to fifty or so; the existence of these tumuli, it should be noted, is only known from the reports of natives.” This information was repeated by others.
 - 16 Thomas Athol Joyce, “Steatite figures from Sierra Leone,” *Man*, ix, London 1909, p. 67. Three sculptures of this type were given by Major G. D’Arcy Anderson to the British Museum: Jones (as in n. 9), p. 125, no. 1909 A 0220, 1–3 (“Steatite figures, Mendiland”) and 1909 C 3, 191 (“Steatite Head”).
 - 17 Alldridge (as in n. 14), p. 288.
 - 18 For their characteristics, Rüttimeyer 1908 (as in n. 1), p. 169. For sculpture carved from a bark beater, Raymond Mauny, “Pomdo taillé dans un battoir à écorce en stéatite,” *Notes africaines. Bulletin d’information et de correspondance de l’Institut français d’Afrique Noire*, 80, Dakar 1958, pp. 104–5; see also his “Note sur deux pièces néolithiques de Guinée française” published in the same periodical, 61, 1954, pp. 1–2. With regard to Mauny’s contribution, it is interesting to note that Alldridge (as in n. 14), p. 287 mentioned that he has “many specimens that have been used for grinding rice or Indian corn on a flat stone.”
 - 19 This general assessment is universally accepted.
 - 20 Néel (as in n. 1), pp. 420–31. His account has been used by Jean Houzeau de Lehaie: see Julien Volper, “Pomdo et nomoli. Les archives Jean Houzeau de Lehaie,” *Tribal Art*, x.4 (13), Brussels 2006, pp. 96–105, with further information on the topic and on the Tervuren collection.
 - 21 Dittmer (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 186–89.
 - 22 Tagliaferri and Hammacher (as in n. 1), pp. 15–28.
 - 23 Van Damme (as in n. 6), pp. 19–29, has studied a group of sculptures found among the Loma.
 - 24 Rüttimeyer 1901 (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 200–202; see also his catalogue, pp. 200–204, pls. xvi–xviii, with the identification of the stone of each sculpture.
 - 25 Elisabeth Jérémme, “Etude des statuettes kissiennes au point de vue minéralogique et pétrographique,” *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, xv, Paris 1945, esp. pp. 6–14, figs. 1 to 4; for the overall conclusion, pp. 6–7. I would like to thank Professor Michael Carpenter for advice on geological terms.
 - 26 Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 219.
 - 27 For this conclusion by Albert Maesen, see John H. Atherton, “La préhistoire de la Sierra Leone,” *L’Anthropologie*, 88, Paris 1984, p. 256 and his “Speculations on functions of some prehistoric archaeological materials from Sierra Leone,” in B. K. Swartz, Jr and Raymond E. Dumett, *West African Culture Dynamics: Archaeological and Historical Perspectives*, The Hague, Paris and New York 1980, p. 270.
 - 28 Atherton 1980 (as in n. 27), p. 270 and Atherton 1984 (as in n. 27), pp. 256–57; for celts and microchisels, see John H. Atherton, “Excavations at Kamabai and Yagala rock shelters, Sierra Leone,” *West African Journal of Archaeology*, 2, Accra 1972, p. 39, resp. pp. 57–60 and 49–50. According to Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 231, several cuts on *nomoli* “bear the impression of a miniature, rounded edge, rather than of a flat and broader iron adze.”
 - 29 For an overview, Atherton 1984 (as in n. 27), p. 245; Person (as in n. 1), p. 2 argues that the sculpture of wood is linked to that of steatite, but he claims that the tools must have been in metal. Frederick William Hugh Migeod, *A View of Sierra Leone*, London 1926, p. 180, wrote that a “peculiar, but understandable feature pertaining to them [the full-sized heads] was that instead of a neck in the usual place there was a ‘neck’ at the back of the head, indicating that the block of soapstone had been worked by the maker sitting on the ground with it between his legs, and the supporting ‘neck’ was left”; this area, however, is simply the bit by which the sculpture was attached to the vein of steatite (see *supra*, ns. 14 and 15, above).
 - 30 Maurice Delafosse, “Au sujet des statuettes en pierre du Kissi (Guinée Française),” *Revue d’ethnographie et de sociologie*, 5, Paris 1914–1919, p. 143, basing his information on information provided by M. Humblot, administrateur-général des colonies based in Kankan (Guinée Française).
 - 31 Néel (as in n. 1), pp. 430–31, figs. 19–20 and 21, nos. 3 and 8; for their date, see p. 436. According to Denise Paulme, *Les gens du riz. Kissi de Haute-Guinée Française*, Paris 1954, p. 145, mentions recently baked sculptures made to fool collectors.
 - 32 For example Alldridge 1901 (as in n. 13), p. 163; Néel (as in n. 1), p. 436; Rüttimeyer 1908 (as in n. 1), p. 196; Louis Tauxier, report of a conference on “Les Kissi, nègres de la Guinée française et leurs statuettes en pierre,” *L’anthropologie*, 45, Paris 1934, p. 472.
 - 33 Chevalier (as in n. 7), p. 347: “cependant, dans certains villages du Kissi, on en fabrique encore,

- paraît-il.”
- 34 Delafosse (as in n. 30), p. 144.
- 35 G. Itier, “Notice au sujet de deux statuettes funéraires Kissiennes,” *Bulletin du Comité d’Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l’Afrique Occidentale Française* (1926), Paris 1927, p. 127. See also Person (as in n. 1), p. 33, who mentions two peasants from Mafindu who carve pipes and steatite sculptures; there the carving tradition is said to go back a long time. For further information, *ibid.*, pp. 35–39; he mentions (pp. 38–39) that steatite figures (not the *pomta* however) were carved from the nineteenth-century onwards, during ceremonies of initiation preceding circumcision (*toma dugba*).
- 36 Migeod (as in n. 29), p. 179. Recent production was also discussed at length by Person (as in n. 1), pp. 3–4 and 33–40; Atherton 1980 (as in n. 27), p. 270; van Damme (as in n. 6), pp. 28 and 29, n. 13; Tagliaferri and Hammacher (as in n. 1), pp. 28–29 and 195, nos. and figs. 79–80; for the difficulty of identifying imitations and fakes; see also Tagliaferri 2003 (as in n. 1), p. viii.
- 37 See above, ns. 14–16.
- 38 Thompson (as in n. 1), p. 289.
- 39 Leopold Rüttimeyer, “Über westafrikanische Steinidole,” *Globus. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Länder- und Völkerkunde*, lxxx, Braunschweig 1901, p. 14; Rüttimeyer 1901 (as in n. 1), p. 197; see also Rüttimeyer 1908 (as in n. 1), p. 167. That they are found in large numbers is repeated by others, such as Dittmer (as in n. 1), p. 184.
- 40 Atherton and Kalous (as in n. 1), p. 306, n. 28. In 1890, Johann Büttikofer (as in n. 2) did not mention steatite figures. See, however, n. 1.
- 41 Thompson (as in n. 2), p. 414.
- 42 Joyce (as in n. 16), pp. 66–67. Néel (as in n. 1), p. 432, mentions that among the Kissi, steatite figures are found together with stone axes; this is not, however, claimed by the source he uses, Auguste Chevalier’s *Rapport de mission, 1908–1910*; see Chevalier (as in n. 7), p. 347. For this misunderstanding, see also Paul Hermann, *Die Völkerstämme im Norden von Liberia: Ergebnisse einer Forschungsreise im Auftrage des Staatlich-sächsischen Forschungsinstitutes für Völkerkunde in Leipzig in den Jahren 1928/29*, Leipzig 1933, p. 94.
- 43 Rüttimeyer 1908 (as in n. 1), pp. 170–71.
- 44 Addison (as in n. 14), p. 177. Subsequent authors have misunderstood the term *mahe yafei* or “chief’s devils,” basically stone sculptures found with metal rings, and used it wrongly to define steatite figures; for a correction of this error see Hart and Fyfe (as in n. 1), p. 75. The mistaken idea has until recently impregnated large sections of the literature on the topic (*ibidem*, pp. 81, 83, and 84, for example).
- 45 Matthew H. Hill, “Archaeological fieldwork in Sierra Leone,” *The West African Archaeological Newsletter*, 11, Ibadan 1969, p. 15.
- 46 Paul Ozanne, “A preliminary archaeological survey of Sierra Leone,” *The West African Archaeological Newsletter*, 5, Ibadan 1966, p. 33, linked the *nomoli* to the ceramics he describes as the Beaker group; Hill (as in n. 45), pp. 16–17 corrects this hypothesis; see also Hart and Fyfe (as in n. 1), pp. 78–79.
- 47 Frederick John Lamp, “It is the east that has power: Sapi stone and wood figures,” in *See the Music, Hear the Dance: Rethinking African Art at The Baltimore Museum of Art*, Munich, Berlin, London and New York 2004, p. 195, ill.
- 48 Frederick Lamp, “Ancient wood figures from Sierra Leone. Implications for historical reconstruction,” *African Arts*, xxiii.2, Los Angeles 1990, pp. 50–51, fig. 7.
- 49 Charles de la Roncière, “Découverte d’une relation de voyage datée du Touat et décrivant en 1447 le bassin du Niger,” *Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques. Bulletin de la Section de Géographie*, xxxiii (1918), Paris 1919, pp. 16 and 26; for the translation, see Cadamosto, *The Voyages . . . and other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century*, London 1937, pp. 87–88. Valentim Fernandes, *Description de la Côte Occidentale d’Afrique (Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels)*, Theodore Monod, Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Raymond Mauny eds, Bissau 1951, mentioned that idols in wood and stone are found among the people south of the Ryo Grande; for the texts and a French translation, pp. 74 and 75.
- 50 I have omitted the early account of André Thevet which implies that a figure of a toad or a frog was found in the middle of a boulder, as it could well relate to a fossil: “Tirant de la part du Midy, se voit une roche, où fut trouvé de mon temps le pourtraict d’un gros Crapault, ou Grenouille, au cueur et mitan d’une pierre, qui fut fendue et brisée par les Barbares du país, aussi grosse qu’une teste d’homme, si bien effigé, que chacun iugeoit estre le vray naturel: et autour bon nombre de petites coquilles poinctues” (André Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle*, Paris 1575, fol. 68r). I cannot accept the conclusions of Paul Edward Hedley Hair, “Some French sources on Upper Guinea 1540–1575,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire*, sér. B, xxxi, Dakar 1969, p. 1032 and Lamp (as in n. 1), pp. 230–31, that it relates to *nomoli*.
- 51 Fernandes (as in n. 49), p. 75.
- 52 Manuel Alvares, *Etiópia Menor e Descrição Geográfica da Província da Serra Leoa*, transcription from an unpublished manuscript by . . . Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Luís de Matos . . . , translation . . . by Paul Edward Hedley Hair, Liverpool 1990, fol. 64r. Wooden sculptures commemorating ancestors are mentioned by Fernandes (as in n. 49), p. 89: “It is their custom to commemorate all those who die that is, if they are honored men they make idols resembling them, but for ordinary men or slaves they make them in the form of wooden bowling pins, and they put them in a thatched house. . . .” Discussing the area around Furna de S. Anna, Dierick Ruiters, in the early 1600s, mentions, that “Those who go to pray make, each for the particular grave he visits, a small wooden figurine about six inches high, in the image of the dead man; and they manage to shape it with knife and chisel so that [at least] its head and feet can be distinguished”; see Dierick Ruiters, *Toortse der Zee-vaert*, Amsterdam 1623 (I have used the edition by Samuel Pierre L’Honoré, The Hague 1913, p. 66; see also Paul Edward Hedley Hair, “Sources on early Sierra Leone, 4: Ruiters (1623),” *Africana Research Bulletin*, 5.3, Freetown 1975, p. 64). For the texts by Alvares and Ruiters, see Hart (as in n. 1), resp. pp. 46 and 49.
- 53 Jean Barbot, *A Description of the Coasts of North and South-Guinea*, London 1732, p. 104, pl. E; this account is quoted, and discussed in Paul Edward Hedley Hair, Adam Jones and Robin Law eds, *Barbot on Guinea. The Writings of Jean Barbot on West Africa 1678–1712*, 1, London 1992, p. 222, pl. 16 and 228–29, n. 11. In his 1678 Journal, he wrote that “we came to a small area covered with thatch under which we saw the representation of a man’s head very badly carved in wood and placed on a pedestal of thick earth. When I asked them what it was they told me that it was their grigry or God which they came there to worship every morning.”
- 54 See n. 53.
- 55 Augustin Beaulieu, “Mémoires du voyage aux Indes Orientales du Général Beaulieu dressés par luy-mesme,” in Melchisedech Thevenot, *Relations de divers voyages curieux*, 11.4, Paris 1664, pp. 2–3; see Paul Edward Hedley Hair, “Sources on early Sierra Leone, 1: Beaulieu 1619,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, iv.4, Freetown 1974, pp. 43–44 and Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 234.
- 56 For litholatriy in West Africa, André Arcin, *La Guinée Française. Races, religions, coutumes, production, commerce*, Paris 1907, pp. 409–16; J. Poirer, “Village Kissien,” *Bulletin du Comité d’études historiques et scientifiques de l’Afrique Occidentale Française*, xvi, Paris 1933, esp. pp. 674–78, for stones in Kissi beliefs.
- 57 André de Faro, *Peregrinação à Terra dos Gentios*, Lisbon 1945, p. 89; see also André de Faro, *Missionary Journey to Sierra Leone in 1663–1664. A Shortened Version*, English translation of André de Faro’s *Relaçem*, Paul Edward Hedley Hair, ed., Freetown 1982, p. 52.
- 58 Migeod (as in n. 29), p. 37.
- 59 Lamp (as in n. 1), pp. 235–37 and Lamp, in Lamp (as in n. 47), pp. 196–97. Among the Temne, *nomoli* were also placed in forges to make the iron smelt more easily; they were also used as guardian to drinking places: see Atherton and Kalous (as in n. 1), p. 314.
- 60 G. D. Massie-Taylor, in *Report of the Monuments and Relics Commission 1957*, Freetown 1957, esp. p. 6; his collection of Mende art was given to the Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries: Tess Gower, *The Guy Massie-Taylor Collection*, Exhibition catalogue, Glasgow, Kelvingrove, Art Gallery and Museum, September 2– November

- 30, 1980, Glasgow 1989, p. 6. For stones in Mende belief, see Anthony J. Gittins, *Mende Religion. Aspects of Belief and Thought in Sierra Leone*, Nettetal 1987, p. 256, s.v. stones.
- 61 Massie-Taylor (as in n. 60), pp. 7–9; Hill (as in n. 45), pp. 15–16 mentions various locations for such stone figures “which, it is said, cannot be found if they are deliberately sought . . .”
- 62 Tagliaferri and Hammacher (as in n. 1), pp. 13–14.
- 63 G. D. Massie-Taylor, “A stone image,” *Sierra Leone. Report of the Monuments and Relics Commission, 1958*, Freetown 1958, pp. 4–5.
- 64 Massie-Taylor (as in n. 60), p. 9. Massie-Taylor (as in n. 63), p. 5. Hill (as in n. 45), pp. 15–16 also mentions *poro* boys who were turned to stone . . .
- 65 Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, 1, London 1803, pp. 240–41.
- 66 See nn. 51 and 52.
- 67 For this disassociation, see Rütimeyer 1901 (as in n. 1), p. 197.
- 68 Thompson (as in n. 2), p. 416.
- 69 Alldridge (as in n. 13), pp. 163–64.
- 70 See n. 53.
- 71 Alldridge (as in n. 13), p. 164.
- 72 Joyce (as in n. 15), p. 99; see also Alldridge (as in n. 14), p. 287. See also Atherton and Kalous (as in n. 1), p. 314. For the whipping of sculptures “to wake them up,” see already Andrea Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa e dos rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde (1625). An Account of Sierra Leone and the Rivers of Guinea of Cape Verde (1625)*, Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Paul Edward Hedley Hair eds, Lisbon 1977, pp. 112–13.
- 73 Harold Michell, “Some notes on the Mende language and customs,” *Sierra Leone Studies* (Abridged edition of Nos. 1, II and III), Freetown 1926, p. 89. There are, of course, quite a number of authors whose approach is mainly bibliographical, such as Jules Staub, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der materiellen Kultur der Mendi in der Sierra Leone*, Inaugural-Dissertation . . . der Universität Bern, Solothurn 1936, pp. 43–45.
- 74 See respectively Merran McCulloch, *Peoples of Sierra Leone*, (Ethnographic Survey of Africa, Western Africa, pt. 2), London 1950, p. 42 and Kenneth Lindsey Little, *The Mende of Sierra Leone. A West African People in Transition*, London 1951, p. 223. According to Stanley Brown, “The *nomoli* of Mende country,” *Africa Journal of the International African Institute*, xviii, London 1948, p. 19, they are *Ngewo gbate hani*, i.e. “of God’s creation,” meaning done through the medium of a spirit; he also provides (pp. 19–20), a study, although inconclusive, on the meaning of the word *nomoli*. Robert Thomas Parsons, *Religion in an African Society. A Study of the Religion of the Kono People of Sierra Leone in its Social Environment with Special Reference to the Function of Religion in that Society*, Leiden 1944, p. xiii, confirms that such figures were made by the Spirits (*Nyinanu*), while Atherton and Kalous, (as in n. 16), pp. 306–7, presents a whole range of answers. Using information based on Northcote Whitridge Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone, Part I: Law and Custom of the Timne and other Tribes*, London 1916, pp. 33–34, relating to the *ang-kirfi* (“spirits”), Atherton and Kalous (as in n. 1), pp. 314–15, claimed that the *nomoli* were “carved to be representations of what people felt the appearance of some *krifi* to be,” an argument rightly rejected by Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 220, n. 15.
- 75 William Thomas Harris and Harry Sawyerr, *The Springs of Mende Belief and Conduct. A Discussion of the Influence of the Belief in the Supernatural among the Mende*, Freetown 1968, p. 71. They add that “if the *nomoli* encounters a witch during its circuits, it beats him or her up so seriously as to cause the individual to fall ill in the normal waking life”; a witch would have to resort to a diviner and make due confession, and the *nomoli*, as a result, would be propitiated. For a photo of a *medicine* man with *nomoli*, see William Addison, “The *nomori* [sic] of Sierra Leone,” *Antiquity*, viii, Cambridge 1934, pp. 337–38, pl. vii. According to McCulloch in 1950 (as in n. 74), p. 42, *nomoli* have power over the fertility of females and should not be seen by pregnant women: a few years before Carl Kjer-smeier, *Afrikanske negerskulpturer. African Negro Sculptures*, London 1947, p. 32, wrote that women must not touch them.
- 76 See nn. 41–45.
- 77 Atherton and Kalous (as in n. 1), pp. 313–14; they also discuss their use in fields. According to J. Poiret (as in n. 56), pp. 673–74, *pomta* are kept in small bags in Kissi villages.
- 78 Joyce (as in n. 15), p. 100. Itier (as in n. 35), p. 126, mentioned *pomta* covered with palm oil and a substance used by Kissi women to color their hair.
- 79 Néel (as in n. 1), p. 435; Delafosse (as in n. 24), pp. 143–44; Itier (as in n. 35), pp. 126–27; Hermann (as in n. 42), p. 94. Person (as in n. 1), p. 37, explains how Kundo Milimuno, the chief of the village of Kumassan, in the district of Kouroumandu, explained the discovery of such sculptures: “Un *pomdo* . . . a été sculpté de main d’homme par les ancêtres à une époque inconnue, et l’on ignore où il gît. Un ancêtre mort et non encore matérialisé en pierre décide de l’utiliser. Il guide alors le bras de son descendant et lui fait découvrir la statue au hasard d’un travail de culture.”
- 80 For this ceremony, see Néel (as in n. 1), pp. 435–36; Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 229.
- 81 Néel (as in n. 1), pp. 435–36. For the painting on the wall of a house, Néel, “Note sur deux peuplades de la frontière libérienne, les Kissi et les Toma,” *L’anthropologie*, xiv, Paris 1913, pp. 450–51, fig. 18; for another example, Paulme (as in n. 31), p. 147, fig. 5.
- 82 Paulme (as in n. 31), pl. xia–xib; Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 230, fig. 30.
- 83 Denise Paulme, “Deux statuettes en pierre de Guinée française,” *Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d’anthropologie de Paris*, 9e série, III (1942), Paris 1944, pp. 40–42, fig. 2; Lamp (as in n. 1), pp. 229–30, fig. 29. See also the *pombo* from the Schulze collection: Donna Page, *Artists and Patrons in Traditional African Culture: African Sculpture from the Gary Schulze Collection*, Exhibition catalogue, New York, The City University of New York, QCC Art Gallery, New York 2005, pp. 50–51, pl. 37.
- 84 Aldo Tagliaferri (as in n. 1), pp. xiii–xiv, no. and pl. 50 (see also no. and pl. 49); this object has a stretcher in bamboo and nerves of palm tree; as early as 1952, Bohumil Holas, “Pratiques divinatoires Kissi,” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’Afrique Noire*, xiv, Dakar 1952, pp. 286–87, fig. 7, has studied such a figure: “celle-ci consistait en une tête féminine surmontant un bloc de bois de forme vaguement pyramidale, évidé et rempli d’anciennes pièces de monnaie de fer qui sont de petites tiges de fer forgé, tordues sur toute leur longueur, avec les deux extrémités aplaties, d’environ 25 cm. de long, que la littérature courante désigne habituellement sous les termes de *kissi pennies* (en anglais) ou *guinzé* (corrompu du malinké). La face de cette figurine était d’un rouge vif, la chevelure noire, et le tronc minutieusement enveloppé dans plusieurs couches de toile du pays, tantôt simplement attachées à l’aide de nœuds, tantôt cousues.” Louis Tauxier, “Sur les Kissi, nègres de la Guinée française et leurs statuettes en pierre,” *L’anthropologie*, xlv, Paris 1934, p. 472, mentions that the Kissi now copy in wood and in clay the traditional steatite figures.
- 85 Lamp (as in n. 1), p. 229.
- 86 Baltasar Barreira, see António Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana, Africa Ocidental*, 2nd ser. 4, Lisbon 1968, p. 196. See also Paul Edward Hedley Hair, “Sources on early Sierra Leone, 6: Barreira on just enslavement, 1606,” *Africana Research Bulletin*, vi.1, Freetown 1975, p. 69.
- 87 Holas (as in n. 84), p. 277. The belief in a supernatural origin explains the absence of clear consensus regarding the origin of the sculptures among the Kissi; this is also true among some Mende and Temne: see Joyce (as in n. 15), p. 99.
- 88 Holas (as in n. 84), pp. 278–86.
- 89 Holas (as in n. 84), pp. 287–90.
- 90 Paulme (as in n. 31), p. 146, pls. xi.a–b. She collected in 1949 (see p. 149), and reproduced in pl. xii of her book the *pomdo* of a deceased woman, Mama Yomba, who had no more descendants (see p. 149).
- 91 Paulme (as in n. 31), pp. 146–49, with much detailed information on such sculptures. For figures among the Toma, van Damme (as in n. 6), pp. 19–29.
- 92 The historical sources were studied by Person (as in n. 1), pp. 17–32. Although my aim is not to discuss here the possibility of stylistic permanence in the wooden sculpture of the area, it may be worth recording William Fagg’s article, “A colossal mask from the Baga of Guinea,” *The British Museum Quarterly*, xxiv, London 1961,

- pp. 63–64, who related the *nomoli* to Baga masks.
- 93 For this conclusion, see Hart and Fyfe (as in n. 1), p. 84. The demise of stone and ivory sculpture has been explained by Walter Rodney, “A reconsideration of the Mane invasions of Sierra Leone,” *Journal of African History*, viii, Cambridge 1967, pp. 219–46, following a suggestion by Person (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 20–25. For the rejection of this theory see Hart (as in n. 1), pp. 13–23.
- 94 The arguments proposed by Paulme (as in n. 31), p. 144 and Dittmer (as in n. 1), pp. 193–94 are simply unconvincing; see Hart (as in n. 1), pp. 26–27.
- 95 For an overview, Atherton (as in n. 28), p. 39.
- 96 See for example Joyce (as in n. 16), pp. 65–66; also *supra*, ns 41–45.
- 97 William Buller Fagg, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories*, London 1959; Kathy Curnow, *The Afro-Portuguese Ivories: Classification and Stylistic Analysis of a Hybrid Art Form*, PhD dissertation, Bloomington, Ind. 1983, esp. pp. 80–161 and 382–475; Ezio Bassani and William Buller Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory*, Exhibition catalogue, New York, The Centre for African Art, and Houston, The Museum of Fine Arts, Munich 1988, esp. pp. 61–147; Ezio Bassani, “Additional notes on the Afro-Portuguese Ivories,” in his *African Art and Artefacts in European Collections 1400–1800*, London 2000, esp. pp. 285–97.
- 98 Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis. Côte occidentale d’Afrique du Sud Marocain au Gabon*, Raymond Mauny transl., Bissau 1956, resp. pp. 80–81 and 84–85. Alan Frederick Charles Ryder, “A note on the Afro-Portuguese Ivories,” *The Journal of African History*, v, Cambridge 1964, p. 364, n. 5, mentions that if the Portuguese editions of the text (see for example Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de situ orbis*, Augusto Epiphany da Silva Dias ed., Lisbon 1905, p. 96) talk of *collares de marfim* (ivory necklaces), this is almost certainly an incorrect transcription of the term *colhares*, the spoons also mentioned in the customs accounts. For their Portuguese texts and documents relative to Sierra Leone ivories, see Ryder (*ibid.*), pp. 363–65; Avelino Teixeira da Mota, “Gli avori africani nella documentazione portoghese dei secoli XV–XVII,” *Africa. Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell’Istituto Italo-Africano*, xxx, Roma 1975, pp. 580–89; Vinigi Lorenzo Grottanelli, “Ancient African ivories and Portuguese documents,” *Vice-Almirante A. Teixeira da Mota in memoriam*, II, Lisbon 1989, pp. 193–205; Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 179–82. The best assessment of the literary sources is found in Hart (as in n. 1), pp. 41–44.
- 99 Fernandes (as in n. 49), resp. pp. 76–77, 96–97 and 104–5.
- 100 Damião de Gois, *Opúsculos históricos*, Dias de Carvalho trans., Porto 1945, p. 119.
- 101 See the manuscript text by Alvares (as in n. 52), fol. 55v.
- 102 Francisco de Lemos Coelho, *Duas descrições seiscentistas da Guiné*, Damião Peres ed., Lisbon 1953, resp. pp. 235 and 237.
- 103 Ryder (as in n. 98), pp. 363–65; Teixeira da Mota (as in n. 98), pp. 581–84; no. 3; Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 180–81, nos. 556–62.
- 104 Teixeira da Mota (as in n. 98), pp. 585–86, no. 8 and Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 179–180.
- 105 Teixeira da Mota (as in n. 98), pp. 581–84 and Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 179–182.
- 106 *Albrecht Dürers Schriftlicher Nachlass*, Hans Rupprich ed., I, Berlin 1956, p. 165; Jan-Albert Goris and Georges Marlier, *Albrecht Dürer. Diary of his Journey to the Netherlands 1520–1521*, London 1971, p. 83.
- 107 Joe Henggeler, “Ivory trumpets of the Mende,” *African Arts*, xiv.2, Los Angeles 1981, pp. 59–63.
- 108 Donelha (as in n. 72), pp. 102–3.
- 109 Hart (as in n. 1), p. 44 lists all these objects.
- 110 See for example Curnow (as in n. 97), esp. pp. 83–94; Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), *passim*; Bassani (as in n. 97), esp. pp. 287–90.
- 111 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 76–77, figs. 64 and 65 (also figs. 63 and 66); for interesting parallels, see also pp. 62–63, figs. 36 and 38; 88, figs. 89–90, and 79, figs. 67–70.
- 112 William Buller Fagg, in New York, Christie’s East, 13 November 1985, *The Karl-Ferdinand Schädler Collection of African Art*, p. 11.
- 113 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), p. 49, fig. 18. The Sierra Leone group of ivories is quite homogenous and formally close to the *nomoli*; two dagger handles, however, respectively in the British Museum and the Seattle Art Museum, rather recall the *pomta*; see Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 248 no. 766 and 248–49, no. 767, with figs.
- 114 I will be brief on that aspect. The basic studies are by Curnow (as in n. 97), Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97) and Bassani’s catalogue of artefacts in European collections between 1400 to 1800 (as in n. 97); this includes an extensive bibliography (pp. 305–15) including publications by Bassani himself (pp. 305–6) and his “Additional notes on the Afro-Portuguese ivories” (pp. 285–304).
- 115 These were catalogued by Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 225–38, nos. 1–70 and 73–108 (a few of these may not belong to the group) and later by Bassani (as in n. 97), who listed (p. 285) the ivories which were brought to his attention since 1988. An additional saltcellar was sold in an auction in the Hôtel des Ventes of Mayenne (Pascal Blouet), on Sunday 2nd October 2005, as lot 100; later it was advertised by Entwistle in *Tribal Art*, x.4 (13), Brussels 2006, p. 9, and it is now in an American private collection.
- 116 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 106–9; Hart (as in n. 1), p. 29.
- 117 Curnow (as in n. 97), p. 406, no. 17, ill; Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 102, 106, 143 and 235, no. 85, ills.; Bassani (as in n. 97), p. 250, no. and fig. 772. For ivory oliphants from Sierra Leone, see Ezio Bassani, “Gli olifanti afro-portoghese della Sierra Leone,” *Critica d’Arte*, 163–65, Florence 1979, pp. 175–201.
- 118 Curnow (as in n. 97), p. 414, no. 22, ill; Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 97, 106, 117, 143, and 235, no. 87, ill; Bassani (as in n. 97), p. 149, no. and fig. 492.
- 119 See for example Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 145–150.
- 120 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 111–15.
- 121 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 100–101, 103, 105, 113–15, figs. 112–15, 118–120, 127–28. and 137–42; see also Ezio Bassani, “Additional notes on the Afro-Portuguese ivories,” *African Arts* xxvii, no. 3, Los Angeles 1994, pp. 44–45, figs. 27 and 29; Ezio Bassani, “Ivoires afro-portugais et livres d’heures imprimés à Paris (fin du XVe—début du XVIe siècles),” *Nouvelles du livre ancien*, 94, Paris 1998, pp. 1–2; Bassani (as in n. 98), p. 290.
- 122 See for example Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 106, 109, and 115; Hart (as in n. 1), p. 29.
- 123 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 114–15, figs. 139–40. For the mark of the printer, see Hugh William Davies, *Devices of the Early Printers 1457–1560: Their History and Development*, London 1935, pp. 448–51, nos. 130–130a, with ills.
- 124 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 113–15, figs. 137–38 and 141–42. See also Ezio Bassani, “Réceptacles anciens,” in *Réceptacles*, Exhibition catalogue, Paris, Musée Dapper, October 23, 1997–30 March 30, 1998, Paris 1997, pp. 251 and 256 (ill.).
- 125 I have consulted the Books of Hours in the British Library and in Cambridge University Library.
- 126 Robert Brun, *Le livre français illustré de la Renaissance. Etude suivie du catalogue des principaux livres à figures du XVIe siècle*, Paris 1969, p. 20.
- 127 In addition to the bibliography in Curnow (as in n. 97), pp. 395–97, no. 9, with ills.; Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 83–84 (fig. 78), 138, and 232, no. 57, with ill. and Bassani (as in n. 97), p. 246, no. and fig. 758, see José de Figueiredo, “O ‘Hostiário de Marfim’, existente no Museu Grão Vasco,” *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes*, III, Lisbon 1938, pp. 36–37, with (unnumbered) ills., and *Portuguese Art 800–1800*, Exhibition catalogue, London, Royal Academy of Arts, Winter Exhibition, 1955–56, London 1955, p. 105, no. 561.
- 128 Bassani and Fagg (as in n. 97), pp. 83, 84 (fig. 77), 114 (fig. 141), 115, 138 and 232, no. 58, with ill.; Bassani (as in n. 124), pp. 251 and 257, with ill.; Bassani (as in n. 97), pp. 246–47, no. and fig. 759.
- 129 See for example, in London, The British Library, the *Hore dive virginis Marie secundum usum Romanum cum verum aliis multis folio sequenti notatis una cum figuris apocalipsis post figuras biblie recenter insertis*, Paris, Thielman Kerver, 1509 (die vero .XIX. mensis Septembris), fols 88v, c1r, c8v, d5v, d7v, e1v, e3v and e5v, respectively. See also the *Hore intemerate dei genetricis virginis marie secundum vsum Romanum, totaliter ad longum, adiunctisque plurimis sanctorum, sanctarumque deuotissimis orationibus et suffragijs*, Paris, Thielman Kerver, 1511 (le dernier iour de Mars), unnumbered pages. These scenes are also found in a Book of Hours in Cambridge University Library: see *Horae dive*

virginis Marie secundum verum usum Romanum decorate varietatibus hystoriarum nuper efformatarum annexis iis quibus folio sequenti notantum . . . , Paris, Thielman Kerver, 1511 (Die xxiiii Iulii), fols c3v, c4r, d5r, E3v, E6r, E8v, F3r and F5v. For the three volumes, see Brigitte Moreau, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siècle*, 1 (1501–9), Paris 1972, p. 362, no. 1509.115 and 11 (1511–1520), Paris 1977, pp. 84, no. 1511.118 and 85, no. 1511.121. Other Books of Hours published by Kerver with exactly the same illustration fall within the same period; some are probably even slightly earlier if others are slightly later. Their rarity however makes an exact dating for the appearance of the set of illustrations almost impossible.

130 Richard H. Randall, Jr. with texts by others, *Masterpieces of Ivory from the Walters Art Gallery*, London and Baltimore 1985, pp. 310–11, no. and fig. 467; Bassani (as in n. 97), p. 247, no. and fig. 760.

131 See for example *Hore dive virginis Marie* . . . 1509, (as in n. 129), resp. fols 83v, 86r, 86v, 87r, E7r and E7v (E8r?); *Hore intemerate dei genetricis virginis marie* . . . 1511 (as in n. 129), not numbered pages, and *Horae dive virginis Marie* . . . (as in n. 129), fols 84v, 87v, 88v, C1r, F2r and F2v.

PORTUGAL IN WEST AFRICA

Peter Mark

- 1 See P. E. H. Hair, notes to Almada, chapter 5; André Alvares de Almada, *Brief Treatise on the Rivers of Guinea* . . . an interim and makeshift edition, translation, introduction, and notes on chapters 13–19 by P. E. H. Hair, organized by A. Teixeira da Mota (Liverpool: Department of History, University of Liverpool); see also Hair, notes to Donelha, French edition, 239, n. 118; André Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa e dos rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde* (1625), ed. A. Teixeira da Mota, trans. P. E. H. Hair (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1977). Almada, as historian P. E. H. Hair notes, “equated the limits of Serra Leoa with those of the ‘Sapes.’” Almada and Donelha were both talking about a coastal region and giving it a cultural meaning, the Sapes region. Hair, however, argues “contra” Almada and Donelha, asserting that this region, which supposedly corresponded to the territory of those Sapes who had been subjected to the Mane “invasion” (see below), could not have extended north beyond the site of present-day Conakry.
- 2 Etymologically, both terms—*tangos mãos* (those who hold hands) and *lançados* (those who are thrown/cast themselves)—appear to refer to these individuals’ renegade status, since their presence on the coast was generally not legally recognized by the Portuguese crown. Some Portuguese sources give the former term as *tangos maus* (they hold ill or evil). On the lançados communities, see Jean Boulègue,

Les Luso-Africains de Sénégal (Lisbon, 1989); see also George Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society and Trade in Western Africa, 1000–1630* (Boulder, 1993), and Peter Mark, “Portuguese” *Style and Luso-African Identity: Precolonial Senegambia, sixteenth to nineteenth century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002).

- 3 The Mandinka of the Gambia are the westernmost people (or ethnic group) who speak a form of the Mande language family and who trace their ancestry to the great Mande empire that was established in the thirteenth century on the upper Niger, in present-day Guinea and Mali.
- 4 The king’s chief factor (trader) sought to procure a Chinese writing desk for him. The “silk coverlets and canopies” were, in all likelihood, imported from Asia, quite possibly on Portuguese vessels that sailed from Goa (India).
- 5 Manuel Alvares, *Ethiopia Minor, and a Geographical Account of the Province of Sierra Leone* (ca. 1615), translation and annotation by P. E. H. Hair, based on the transcription made by Avelino Teixeira da Mota of the original (eighteenth century) copy of Alvares’s manuscript (Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1990), ff. 30v, 31r.
- 6 Pierre Cultru, *Premier voyage du Sieur Jajolet de la Courbe fait à la coste d’Afrique en 1685* (Paris, 1913; rpt. Nendeln, 1973), 205–206; “le roi de Guerègue: . . . , avait un bonnet à la portugaise et un habit de nègre, et tenait une épée à l’espagnole à la main sur laquelle il s’appuyait. Après avoir salué, il nous fit entrer dans sa case . . . sa case est faite à la portugaise; nous trouvâmes le déjeuner tout prêt . . . il se mit avec nous et en mangea aussi bien que sa femme, ce qui me fit voir qu’ils commencent en cet endroit là à prendre les manières des Anglais”; also cited in Mark, “Portuguese” *Style*, 91.
- 7 Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa*, “Buzinas de marfim,” 102 and 103.
- 8 Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts in European Collections 1400–1800*, ed. M. McLeod (London: British Museum Press, 2000), 289.
- 9 See Mark, “Portuguese” *Style*.
- 10 Father Alvares (see n. 5) describes spoons created by Sapi artists (see n. 12), some apparently made for local consumption. And Donelha (see n. 1) clearly refers to ivory horns made for African notables in Senegambia. Bassani notes the differences between horns made for Africans—with mouthpiece generally on the side—and those made for Europeans—with mouthpiece generally at the end.
- 11 This Creole material culture was particularly prominent in the Gambia during the seventeenth century. See Mark, “Portuguese” *Style*, chapter 4.
- 12 See A. Teixeira da Mota, “Introduction,” in Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa*, 42.
- 13 *Tratado breve dos rios de Guiné* (Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Rodrigues, Impressor do Senhor Patriarcha, 1733). See also Almada, *Brief Treatise*

on the Rivers of Guinea.

- 14 Donelha, *Descrição da Serra Leoa*.
- 15 Ezio Bassani, *Africa and the Renaissance: Art in Ivory* (New York: Center for African Art, 1988), 75 ff. Bassani also observes that the axe and the head of the victim are modern restorations.
- 16 Bassani, *Africa and the Renaissance*, 80.
- 17 The Bagnun (or Kasa) “empire” that extended along the Casamance River (present-day southern Senegal) constituted an exception in the mid-sixteenth century. Even here, however, there was little evidence of centralized political authority. This ruler, the Kasa Mansa, was also distinguished by the life-and-death power he held, in the context of judicial cases, over those who lived in his realm.
- 18 Valentim Fernandes, *Déscription de la Côte occidentale d’Afrique* (Sénégal au Cap de Monte, Archipels), trans. Théodore Monod et al. (Bissau, 1951), 70: “Ho rey desta terra se chama Jagara e he muy temido porq. faz grande justiça e se alhue faz o q no deve logo el rey lhe manda cortar a cabeça e pôer em hu paco pello caminho onde ha vejan.” The original manuscript is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich: Codex hispanicus 27, MF 1282 363 Aüfn.
- 19 Fernandes, *Déscription de la Côte occidentale d’Afrique*, 40: “Qualquer maleficio q algu Negro fizer ou furto q seja acusado, corta lhe elrey mesmo a cabeça e lhe manda tomar toda sua fazenda a elle e a toda sua geração assy q por causa do malfeitor fica todos seus parentes destruidas” [Whatever ill deed any Black does or is accused of, the king himself cuts off his head and orders that all his riches be taken and from all his family [lineage] and so it is that by reason of the evil doer, all of his relatives are ruined] (translation by the author).
- 20 “. . . y los portuguesses quiriendo matarlos y echarlos de alli corieron mucho riesgo porque acudio el Rey y les dijo que su tieria era feria donde podia auitar todo genero de jente y que nadie se descompassiese en ella que les mandaria cortar las cabeças; que la guera si la querian la hiciessen en la mar y no en su tieria que ya dicho que era feria.” Unpublished ms., circa 1607 or 1608 by Sebastião Fernandes Cação, untitled [Relacion de todo el distrito de Guinea y gouierno de Caboberde], Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), cód. 51–IX–25, ff. 87–90v [Madrid], [s.d.], fls. 87v. See also José da Silva Horta and Peter Mark, “Two Portuguese Jewish Communities in early 17th-century Senegal,” in *History in Africa* 31 (2004), 233.
- 21 Wilson Trajano Filho, “Narratives of National Identity in the Web,” *Etnográfica* 6, no. 1 (2002).
- 22 Although the Executioner saltcellar is undocumented prior to its acquisition by the Museo Pigorini in 1973 (see Ezio Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts*, 238, cat. no. 736), many Luso-African ivories entered European princely collections at an early date. See, for example, cat. nos. A-5 to

- A-8 in the exhibition catalogue.
- 23 A. F. C. Ryder, "A note on the Afro-Portuguese ivories," *Journal of African History* 5, no. 3 (1964), 363–65. Avelino Teixeira da Mota, "Gli avori africani nella documentazione Portoghese dei secoli XV–XVII," *Africa* (December 1975), 580–92.
 - 24 The customs records refer to *colhares de marfy*; the modern Portuguese orthography is *colheres de marfim* (ivory spoons); see also n. 23. National Archives, Torre do Tombo (henceforth ANTT), *Nucleo Antigo* 799, f. 13v: "de hum salleyro e tres colhares de marfy de Diego Lopez capitão de Myna que pagou pello todo avallyado em . . ." [of one saltcellar and three spoons of ivory of Diego Lopez Capitain at El Mina who paid for the entirety the value of . . .], Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* (Lisbon, 1988), 117, "E a maior parte dos moradores desta terra por um nome são chamados Boulões, e é gente belicosa que poucas vezes estão em paz . . ." (p. 118): Nesta terra se fazemos mais sotís colares de marfim e melhor lavrados que em nenhua parte." Note that the writer uses a similar orthography for "spoon" to that found in the customs records.
 - 25 "Codex hispanicus 27," Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, f. 136r; see also "Códice Valentim Fernandes," leitura paleográfica, notas e índice de José Pereira da Costa (Lisboa, Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997), III. I wish to express my gratitude to José da Silva Horta for calling my attention to the latter document.
 - 26 It should be noted that the Portuguese *lh* (virtually unpronounceable by non-Portuguese) is properly pronounced in *colheres* in a manner that approximates "lhey." Fernandes was not a native speaker, and the mistaken orthography reflects the sounds he was attempting to transcribe. I wish to thank José da Silva Horta for sharing with me both his knowledge of the Fernandes manuscript and his insight into non-native pronunciation (including my own efforts) at *lh*.
 - 27 Fernandes, *Description de la Côte occidentale d'Afrique*.
 - 28 Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo*, 117. Note that the modernized Portuguese text reads *colares*, i.e., necklaces, and makes the accorded adjective *lavrados*, but the available manuscripts, both later copies from the eighteenth century, read the feminine *lavradas* (the correct gender for "spoons" in Portuguese) and not *colares* but *collares* or *cohares*. This means that one of the copyists misread *ll* as *h*. (See the two passages on ivories in Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho's édition critique (Lisbon, 1991), 285, 287–88, and 468–69). Hence, in the original the writer would have used a similar orthography for "spoon" to that found in the customs records. (The sound *lh* in *colhares* could also be given by *ll*.)
 - 29 See E. Bassani and W. Fagg, *Africa and the Renaissance* (Prestel, 1988). This work, published as the catalogue to an exhibition at the Center for African Art, New York, is co-authored by Bassani and Fagg, with an independent historical essay by me. I had nothing to do with the proposed dating of the ivories. At the time the book was written, Fagg was in ill health; the central essays appear to represent in large measure the ideas of Bassani. The bifurcated dating proposed, with everything after 1530 being ascribed to Benin, essentially contradicts Fagg's earlier assessment of the ivories. In his 1959 essay he wrote: "In fact, there is no similarity between Afro-Portuguese and Bini work, and I cannot discover that any piece or fragment in this style has been found at Benin, or indeed anywhere in Africa in modern times. It is easy to rule out Benin. . . ." See William Fagg, *Afro-Portuguese Ivories* (London: Batchworth Press, [1959?]), xix. See also Kathy Curnow, "Alien or Accepted: African Perspectives on the Western 'Other' in 15th and 16th Century Art," *Society for Visual Anthropology Review* (spring 1990), 38–44.
 - 30 Adam Jones, "Who Were the Vai," *Journal of African History* 22 (1981), 168.
 - 31 In the Gambia, the term "Soninké" is applied to the local, non-Muslim population who, at least during the later pre-colonial period, spoke the same language as the Muslim Manding or Mandinka. This group is not identical to the Soninké of western Mali.
 - 32 The Manes, like the Mandinka, were outriders of the Mande culture. Both groups probably migrated gradually, the Mandinka west into the Gambia and the Manes southward into Sierra Leone.
 - 33 In 1975 Avelino Teixeira da Mota published an article in the Italian journal *Africa*, in which he cited a series of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents, including the citation from Father Alvares, below. These documents demonstrate convincingly that ivory carvings were produced in Sierra Leone from the late fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century.
 - 34 *Etiópia Menor* was transcribed by Teixeira da Mota and translated into English by P. E. H. Hair, who made his translation available to scholars in 1990. See "An interim translation of Manuel Alvares S. J. 'Etiópia Menor e Descrição Geográfica da Província da Serra Leoa' [c. 1615]," transcription from an unpublished manuscript by the late Avelino Teixeira da Mota and Luís de Matos on behalf of the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga of Lisbon, translation and introduction by P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: Department of History, University of Liverpool, 1990), hereafter *Etiópia Menor*.
 - 35 *Etiópia Menor*, f. 54r.
 - 36 *Etiópia Menor*, f. 55 v. The original Portuguese description of the dishes reads: "que são huas escudellas grandes de pao, mui curiosas, e lindas, que iá servem nos mesas; das quais huas são mais pequenos, outros maiores. . . ."
 - 37 On the attribution of specific spoons to Benin, see Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts*, 4–6, 13, 101ff, 126–27, 147–49.
 - 38 ANTT, *Inquisição da Lisboa*, livro 59 film 5120 f. 153v.
 - 39 Tobias Green, "Further considerations on the Sephardim of the Petite Côte," *History in Africa* 32 (2005), 175. Green's observations are consistent with my own findings about the same trading communities. See Horta and Mark, "Two Portuguese Jewish Communities."
 - 40 In his seminal, but largely ignored, article from 1975, Teixeira da Mota (p. 587) includes a 1621 reference to ivory spoons from Benin (cf. Garcia Mendes Castelo Branco, "Relação da costa da Africa da Mina . . . até ao cabo Negro"). This reference is important to the overall reattribution of Benin ivories to Sierra Leone, as it is possible evidence for spoon production in Benin.
 - 41 See the exhibition *Der Furienmeister*, held at the Liebighaus Museum, Frankfurt-am-Main (April 4–July 9, 2006).
 - 42 See the introduction to Francisco de Lemos Coelho, *Description of the Coast of Guinea* (1684), trans. P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: University of Liverpool, History Department, 1985).
 - 43 Lemos Coelho, *Description of the Coast of Guinea*, chapter 9, paragraphs 72 and 73.
 - 44 In 1995 W. A. Hart cited both of these seventeenth-century references (Alvares and Lemos Coelho) to ivory making in Sierra Leone. He nevertheless accepted Bassani and Fagg's dating of Sierra Leone ivories to the period 1490 to 1530. While Hart correctly states that the "Mani invasion" was not a catastrophe for the arts in Sierra Leone, he discounts post-1530 ivory production. See W. A. Hart, *Continuity and Discontinuity in the Art History of Sierra Leone* (Milan: Quaderni Poro, 1995), 429, 443, 450, 459.
 - 45 Alan Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans 1485–1897* (London: Longman's, 1969, 84. Furthermore, as Stefan Eisenhofer points out in his 1993 study, it is not at all clear that even this reference, by an English ship's captain named James Welsh, refers specifically to Benin. Eisenhofer's monograph is a thoroughgoing critique of the widely accepted association of Benin ivory carving with the early history of this kingdom. Eisenhofer applies critical historical methodology to the "oral traditions" that art historians have used to argue for the antiquity of the institution of the Oba and for the early introduction of ivory carving in Benin. In the course of this critique he pretty well dismantles the argument for Benin origins of any sizeable number of "Afro-Portuguese" ivories. See Stefan Eisenhofer, *Höfische Elfenbeinschnitzerei im Reich Benin* (Munich, Münchner Ethnologische Abhandlungen, 1993).
 - 46 Ryder, *Benin*, 64. "Ivory, however, had by this time seemingly priced itself entirely out of the market, for the Portuguese bought none in Benin after 1522."
 - 47 Ryder, *Benin*, 67.

- 48 See Horta and Mark, “Two Portuguese Jewish Communities,” 231–56. See also Antonio Mendes, “Le rôle de l’Inquisition en Guinée, vicissitudes des présences juives sur la Petite Côte (Xve–XVIIe siècles),” in *Revista Lusófona de Ciencia das Religiões* 111, no. 5 (2004), 137–55. See also Green, “Further considerations,” 175.
- 49 Some New Christians who were already in West Africa traveled to Amsterdam to reconvert, as a result of the contact with the Jews who had come directly from Holland.
- 50 ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, livro 202, f. 643 and livro 203 ff. 515–16. The sources are a relação (report) and a denunciation both made in Lisbon by João Cansuel, Flemish. On Brasil see ANTT livro 59, f. 153.
- 51 ANTT, *Inquisição da Lisboa*, livro 59, film 5120, 13 October 1612, f. 153v. “No ditto Porto de Ale, e no de Joala, . . . E todos tratavão em courama e cera, e marfim que aly compravaõ a negros gentios, e a homens branquos cristãos novos, e en mandavão pera Frandes. . . .”
- 52 A palmo was 22 cm. in length.
- 53 José da Silva Horta and I are studying the New Christian weapons trade to Senegambia. Our study is based on recently discovered documents from the Portuguese archives in Torre do Tombo, including the following: “And these said merchants, who are all New Christians, send a great quantity of the said espadas [daggers, short swords] to the Rivers of the Coast of Guinea [sic] who are non-Christians and who live adjacent to the Muslims.” ANTT, *Inquisição de Lisboa*, livro 208 MF 5178 640v/; witness Adrião de Abreu, violeiro.
- 54 See ANTT, *Inquisição da Lisboa*, livro 208, microfilm 5178, f. 640 ff; Denúnciação contra alguns mercadores desta cidade (Lisbon) que mandão armas a infieis e mouros . . . 13 July 1618: “And there they give them to tribal Blacks and the same ‘espadas’ were fashioned [finished] most often eight or nine years ago [1609–10] from these parts to various merchants and the sailors who transport them and deliver them to Guiné, and they would be 500 or 600, the number that were finished in this period.” The original Portuguese and the English translations of the text, along with commentary, are available online at the “Early Modern” website [www.earlymodern.org].
- 55 Labelle Prussin, “David in West Africa: No More Forever?” in *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* 2005, 88–109.
- 56 Another saltcellar showing similar subject matter (published by Bassani and Fagg 1988 as no. 119 in their catalogue raisonné) should likewise be reattributed from Benin to Sierra Leone.
- 57 See Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts*, cat. no. 748. I believe this double-headed image was initially carved as a dagger handle.
- 58 Bassani, *Africa and the Renaissance*, 146: “certainly fewer than the forty previously suggested.”
- 59 Elke Bujuk, “Africana und Americana im Fickler-

schen Inventar der Münchner Kunstkammer von 1598,” *Münchner Beiträge zur Völkerkunde* 8 (2003), 64; “Aus der Münchner Kunstkammer sind nur 4 der 120 subsaharischen Africana mit Sicherheit erhalten.” Only four of 120 ivories cited in 1598 are known to have survived. Even allowing for the possibility that some of the inventoried objects were not lost, but rather found their way into other European collections, it is clear that a great many of the ivories did not survive.

CROSSES AND HUNTING CHARMS

Jean Michel Massing

This article looks at the early impact of crosses and crucifixes among the Bakongo from the late fifteenth century onwards. I have often used the terminology found in early sources, as it illustrates the historical moments I try to understand. The reader, I am sure, will appreciate that the sources studied are not neutral, but also that numerous late nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors, especially some of the missionaries mentioned here, were among the finest ethnographers of their time genuinely interested in Bakongo culture. The problem of using nineteenth-century labels and explanations to understand Bakongo religion has been studied by Wyatt MacGaffey, “African objects and the idea of fetish,” ‘Res. Anthropology and Esthetics,’ 25, Santa Monica 1994, pp. 123–31, who concluded (p. 130) that “it may be that all this analysis does is to translate certain Congo realities into the categories developed in the emergent social sciences of nineteenth century, post-Enlightenment Europe,” which, too, is ideologically tainted. Finally, I thank Elizabeth McGrath for her assistance.

- 1 William Holman Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, Oxford 1900, p. 36; see also Harry Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, 1, London 1908, p. 86. Bentley, of the Baptist Missionary Society, wrote a most informative *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language*, London 1887. According to Robert L. Wannyn, *L’art ancien au Bas-Congo*, Champles 1961, p. 36, the hunting fetish is also called *klusi*, from the Portuguese *cruz* (*kulusu*, *klusu* and *klusi*, in Congolese). Although part of his conclusions first appeared elsewhere (see ns 56–57) I have used this book throughout this article as his final synthesis.
- 2 Ernst Olson-Manke, “Santu, der kreuzförmige Jagdfetisch der Bakongo,” *Völkerkunde*, iv (Heft 10–12), Vienna 1928, pp. 219–20, figs. 1–3, lists a number of *santu* in Swedish collections. For more examples, see Josef Franz Thiel and Heinz Helf, *Christliche Kunst in Africa*, Berlin 1984, pp. 116–17, nos. 134–38, with ills. See also Jeanne Maquet-Tombu and René Tonnoir, *Exposition d’objets de collections. Catalogue des objets prêtés* held in Kinshasa (Léopoldville) in 1938 and published in *Arts et métiers indigènes de la province de Léopoldville*, fasc. 6 (March–April 1938), Léopoldville 1938, p. 12, no. 25: as “Croix de chasse, en bois, formée de quatre croix de Malte et montée sur manche pointu,” lent by the Mission des R.R. PP. Rédemptoristes de Kimpangu. The cross reproduced as fig. 2 has been published by Barbara Thompson, “The African collection at the Hood Museum of Art,” *African Arts*, xxxvi.2, Los Angeles 2004, pp. 28–30, fig. 23.
- 3 John Henry Weeks, “Notes on some customs of the Lower Congo People,” *Folk-lore*, xix, London 1908, p. 433, and xx, 181–82, pl. x; see also his book *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, London 1914, pp. 183–84, ill. after p. 188. See also the account given by Robert Haldane Carson Graham of the Baptist Missionary Society, *Under Seven Congo Kings*, London 1931, p. 23: . . . of Roman Catholic origin . . . probably are the carved wooden crosses which are often smeared with blood in ceremonies to procure success in hunting. These ceremonies are generally performed before the grass-burning season, around the grave of some famous hunter, upon which palm-wine oblations are poured by the king and his chief men; and what seems like prayer to the departed spirit is then offered by a young relative of the deceased, in such words as: “E yaya yame, yaya, umpana mpakasa kuna diadia!” which means, “O my great ancestor, grant me a buffalo in the bush-burning!” Due to the documentary importance of such texts, I sometime paraphrase and quote them verbatim.
- 4 Olson-Manke (as in n. 2), p. 219; this information is already found in Weeks, 1909 (as in n. 3), p. 182. Crosses with holes at their center are still found today, on Congolese tombstones; see Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa. The BaKongo of Lower Zaire*, Chicago and London 1986, p. 119, pl. 5.
- 5 Olson-Manke (as in n. 2), pp. 221–22, fig. 4; Ernst Manker, *Bland kristallbergens folk. Bilder ur Etnografiska Riksmuseets arkiv*, Stockholm 1929, p. 112, fig. 92; see also Sigbert Axelsson, *Culture Confrontation in the Lower Congo. From the Old Congo Kingdom to the Congo Independent State with Special Reference to the Swedish Missionaries in the 1880s and 1890s*, Stockholm 1970, p. 332 and ill. 3. For a cross of this type, see the hunting fetish reproduced by Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), p. 116, no. 34, from Kimona on the Lower Congo. Various brass crosses collected from the Lower Congo are still covered with remains of blood: see *idem*, pp. 116–17, nos. 135 and 137.
- 6 M. Maquet, “Contribution à l’étude des crucifix anciens indigènes du Bas-Congo,” *Arts et métiers indigènes dans la province de Léopoldville*, fasc. 6, (March–April 1938), Léopoldville 1938, p. 8.
- 7 [“Communication du Lieutenant Lemaire”], “Le Sântou, incantation des fusils,” *Le Mouvement géographique*, xiii (no. 27), Brussels 1896, cols 322–23. For the use of the shells of the African land snail (*Archachatina marginata swains.*) in Minkisi, see Wyatt MacGaffey, “The eyes of understanding Kongo Minkisi,” in *Astonishment*

- and Power: Kongo Minkisi and the Art of Renée Stout, Exhibition catalogue, Washington D.C., National Museum of African Art, April 28, 1993–January 2, 1994, p. 89, fig. 57. According to Axelson (as in n. 5), p. 81, “For a Congolese at the time, a crucifix could have had the same function as a *nkisi* and received approximately the same significance, perhaps that the difference was that the crucifix was stronger and mightier. To exchange one with the other did not meet much opposition and it is probable that people in general kept their old *nkisi* at the same time as they accepted the new crucifix”; see also *idem*, p. 175.
- 8 For this definition, see Wyatt MacGaffey, *Art and Healing of the Bakongo Commented by Themselves: Minkisi from the Laman Collection*, Stockholm 1991, p. 4.
- 9 Olson-Manke (as in n. 2), p. 220 (“*Kaku kia Santu*, eigentlich sog. *Kinganga*, Aberglaube oder Magie, sie können aber auch zu den *Nkisi* gehören und tun dies in der Regel”; in the same letter (see p. 222) he wrote, however, that “Der Brauch des *Santu* gehört der Magie an neben dem eigentlichen *Nkisi*-Kultus, in welchem das *Santu* keine Wurzel oder Tradition hat.” The *santu*, incidentally, is not found mentioned in the four volumes by Karl Edward Laman, *The Kongo*, I–IV (Studia ethnographica Upsaliensia, IV, VIII, XII, and XVI, London 1953–68; for him, the *Nkisi mavundu* can also have the form of a nail fetish.
- 10 James Kingstone Tuckey, *Narrative of an Expedition to explore the River Zaire, usually called Congo, in South Africa, in 1816*, London 1818, pp. 79–80; this information was used by Richard Burton, in his *Two Trips to Gorilla Land and the Cataracts of the Congo*, 2, London 1876, pp. 76 and 217, adding that “the crucifixes, left by the missionaries, were strangely mixed with native fetishes, and that the people seemed by no means improved by the muddle of Christian and Pagan idolatry.” For these two reports, see Axelson (as in n. 5), pp. 175 and 193–94.
- 11 Burton (as in n. 10), p. 217.
- 12 Joseph Van Wing, *Etudes Bakongo. Histoire et sociologie*, Brussels 1920, p. 112. See also below, n. 106.
- 13 Tuckey (as in n. 10), pp. 375–76, with ill.
- 14 Van Wing (as in n. 12), p. 112; see also Ivon Struyf, “De Godsdienst bij de Bakongo’s,” *Onze Kongo*, 1, Leuven 1910–11, p. 362. In the traditional context, the heads of people crucified in honour of deceased chiefs were hanged on the symbolic tree at the entry (*mavitu*) of the cemetery (*manene*); see Robert Verly, “La statue de pierre du Bas-Congo (Bamboma-Mussurongo),” *Zaire*, IX, Brussels-Antwerp 1955, p. 481.
- 15 Adolf Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Congo*, Bremen 1859, p. 190; see Axelson (as in n. 5), pp. 190–91.
- 16 Olson-Manke (as in n. 2), p. 220, fig. 3; see also Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), p. 117, no. 138. According to Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 37 (pl. xxiii), “On rencontre . . . sous le nom de Santus un fétiche en bois, de formes féminines, les mains se joignant au creux de la poitrine, le bas du corps se terminant en une sorte de tige pointue destinée à être piquée dans le sol. Ce fétiche-protecteur de la chasse est très connu; il ne rappelle en rien l’aspect d’une croix.” I do not intend to discuss in this article the female characteristics of some of the crucifixes as stressed by various authors. For a necklace with *santu* crosses finally, Olson-Manke (as in n. 2), pp. 219–20, no. and fig. 2.
- 17 Joachim John Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, 2, London 1875, p. 275. This conclusion is found elsewhere, for example in Graham (as in n. 3), p. 22: “The name by which these ancient crucifixes are known is *Ntinu Nkangi*, two archaic Kongo words meaning ‘King Saviour,’ but no native now has any idea what the name implied, nor do they recognise them as being identical with modern crucifixes.” For the latter, see already Thomas Lewis, “The Ancient Kingdom of Kongo,” *The Geographical Journal*, XIX, London 1902, p. 547.
- 18 For the discovery of the Lower Zaïre, Rui de Pina, *Croniqua de D. João II*, Lisbon 1989, pp. 112–15.
- 19 For the inscription he had engraved there, Wilhelm Kalthammer, *Die Portugiesenkreuze in Afrika und Indien*, Basel 1984, p. 27, n. 1.
- 20 For the christianisation of Kongo, William Graham Lister Randles, *L’ancien royaume du Congo des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle*, Paris-La Haye 1968 and Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, Oxford 1985, both with rich bibliographies.
- 21 For a French translation of this Bernardo da Gallo’s manuscript account, Louis Jadin, “Le Congo et la secte des Antoniens. Restauration du royaume sous Pedro IV et la ‘Saint Antoine’ congolaise (1694–1718),” *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome*, XXXIII, Brussels-Rome 1961, pp. 481–82. For the Inquisition document, José da Silva Horta, “Africanos e Portugueses na documentação inquisitorial, de Luanda a Mbanza Kongo (1596–1598),” *Actas do seminário “Encontro de Povos e Culturas em Angola,” Luanda*, 3 a 6 de Abril de 1995, Lisbon 1997, p. 312; see also pp. 307–11, for more relevant information.
- 22 Ann Hilton, “European sources for the study of religious change in sixteenth and seventeenth century Kongo,” *Paideuma*, 33, Frankfurt am Main 1987, p. 292.
- 23 I have used the conclusions, sometimes even the wording, of Anne Hilton (as above, n. 22), p. 292; see also John Thornton, “The development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750,” *Journal of African History*, 25, Cambridge 1984, pp. 147–67.
- 24 For the terminology, Joseph van Wing and Constantijn Penders eds, *Le plus ancien dictionnaire bantu. Vocabularium P. Georgii Gelensis*, Brussels 1928, p. 217; see also Hilton (as in n. 20), p. 92.
- 25 For the notion of *nganga* in a Christian context, van Wing and Penders (as in n. 24), pp. 210, 237, and 251. See also Hilton (as in n. 20), pp. 94 and 255, n. 138, with further manuscript references. For the notion of *nkisi* in a Christian context, van Wing and Penders (as in n. 24), pp. 173, 319, and Hilton (as in n. 20), p. 94.
- 26 See note 19; also José Manuel Garcia, in *Portugal and the Discoveries. The Meeting of Civilisations*, Exhibition catalogue, Seville, Universal exhibition of Seville, Portuguese pavilion, 1992, pp. 102–3, with ill.
- 27 Kalthammer (as in n. 19), pp. 26–27.
- 28 For this cross, François Bontinck, “Les croix de bois dans l’ancien royaume du Congo,” in *Dalla Chiesa antica alla Chiesa moderna (Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, 50), Rome 1983, pp. 210–11, no. 12. For the raising of crosses Louis Jadin, “Les survivances chrétiennes du Congo au XIXe siècle,” *Études d’histoire africaine*, 1, Kinshasa, Louvain and Paris 1970, pp. 138 and 141–42.
- 29 Bontinck (as in n. 28), pp. 199–200, no. 1. According to Filippo Pigafetta, *Relatione del Reame di Congo e delle circonvicine contrade tratta dalli scritti e ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez Portoghese*, Roma 1591, p. 54 and A Report of the Kingdom of Congo and the Surrounding Countries drawn out of the Writings and Discourses of the Portuguese Duarte Lopez, London 1881, p. 88, King Afonso I “commanded each of his lords to build a church, and erect crosses in the city of the province where they ruled, as he had given them example.”
- 30 Jadin (as in n. 21), pp. 586–89.
- 31 Antonio Zucchelli da Gradisca, *Relazioni del viaggio e missione di Congo*, Venice 1712, p. 243. For the cross, Bontinck (as in n. 28), pp. 208–9.
- 32 António Brásio, D. António Barroso, Lisbon 1961, pp. 79–80. For the cross, Bontinck (as in n. 28), pp. 201–3, no. 4. Bastian (as in n. 15), pp. 107–8, also reports the mixture of traditional and Christian symbols on tombs. For a report on excavations made in the cemetery, see n. 50. Crosses were painted on the walls of a natural grotto, which contained bones from about ten people, probably in the early sixteenth century: Georges Mortelmans and R. Monteyne, “La grotte peinte de Mbafu, témoignage iconographique de la première évangélisation du Bas-Congo,” *Actes du IVe Congrès panafricain de préhistoire et de l’étude du quaternaire*, (Musée royal de l’Afrique Centrale, Annales, Série in 8°, Sciences humaines, 40), Tervuren 1962, esp. pp. 468–73 and 481–83, fig. 6.
- 33 See n. 28.
- 34 Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo, *Istorica descrizione de tre regni Congo, Matamba et Angola*, Bologna 1687, p. 449 (in his words, “Qui per difesa della Santa, e vere Fede cadde ucciso il Maestro D. Bonaventura”; for the cross, see n. 32).
- 35 Francesco da Troyna’s account is found in Jadin (as in n. 30), p. 583 and Calogero Piazza, *La Missione del Soyo (1713–1716)*, Rome 1973, p. 189.

- 36 Paul Raymaekers, "La croix, le canon et la pierre de Mbata Makela," in *Ngonge Kongo*, No. 24, Léopoldville 1961, n.p.; mentioned by Bontinck (as in n. 28), p. 211.
- 37 Girolamo Merolla da Sorrento, *Breve e succinta relatione del viaggio nel regno di Congo nell'Africa meridionale*, Naples 1692, pp. 312–13. For the cross, Bontinck (as in n. 28), see pp. 206–7. A ritual involving crosses was found in the *Munkukusa*, a purification, anti-witchcraft movement that spread on the Lower Zaïre in the years 1951–53. In this rite, "the villagers had to prepare two crosses (*kulunsi*). The first cross they dug in a trench from just before the front doors of the church; this one is the "cross of Jesus." The second cross is a wooden one that signifies the death of the witch who does not want to abandon the entirety of his witchcraft. Finally, there are on hand two crosses, a Bible, some nails, and a hammer." In the ceremony, "the subject must kneel over the cross of wood," in which the person doing the *kukusa* drives a nail, then leaps over the two crosses and the Bible, three times each way. For the whole ritual, see John M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaïre*, Lawrence, Kansas, 1974, pp. 83–86, no. 26 (information provided by Rev. Makanzu, Kinshasa).
- 38 See Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 559. For headhunting in Soyo, see *idem*, p. 584.
- 39 Matheus Cardoso, *Doutrina christã*, Lisbon 1624; for the passages, see *Le catéchisme Kikongo de 1624. Réédition critique*, François Bontinck and Ndembe Nsasi eds, (Académie Royale des Sciences d' Outre-Mer. Classe des Sciences Morales et Politiques, N.S. XLV.5), Brussels 1978, esp. pp. 64–65, 68–75, and 248–51.
- 40 For the Order, José Vieira da Silva Guimarães, *A Ordem de Christo*, Lisbon 1901; for a short account, Joseph Francis O'Callahan, "Order of Christ," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 10, Washington, D.C. 2003, p. 631. The cross of the Order is found on an early Kongolese cap in either raphia palm or banana fibre: Ezio Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts in European Collections 1400–1800*, London 2000, pp. 279–80 and 20, no. and fig. 51.
- 41 For this account, Jean Cuvelier transl., *Relations sur le Congo du Père de Lucques (1700–1717)*, Brussels 1953, p. 246 and Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 548.
- 42 Pigafetta, *Relatione* (as in n. 29), pp. 43 and 45. For the translation, *Report* (as in n. 29), pp. 71 and 74 ("vestments of the priests, ornaments for the altar, crosses, pictures of the saints, and banners").
- 43 Pigafetta, *Relatione*, (as in n. 29), p. 44 and *Report* (as in n. 29), p. 72.
- 44 Randles (as in n. 20), p. 95.
- 45 Pigafetta, *Relatione* (as in n. 29), p. 54; *Report* (as in n. 29), p. 88.
- 46 For this document, Louis Jadin et Mireille Dicorato, *Correspondance de Dom Afonso, roi du Congo 1506–1543* (Académie royale des Sciences d'Outre-Mer. Classe des Sciences morales et politiques, n.s. xli-3), Brussels 1974, pp. 49–53, no. 9. For the popularity of crosses, see Thornton (as in n. 23), p. 157, n. 56.
- 47 Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 504.
- 48 Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 483. A systematic survey of the documents in António Brásio, *Monumenta missionaria Africana*, I–xv, Lisbon 1952–88, would provide much information.
- 49 Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 596; he also complained that the only altar cross he had was made of bamboo (this is also mentioned in a report of another Capuchin, Simpliciano da Borgia, *idem*, p. 598).
- 50 For this excavation, Jeanne Wannijn, "Un martyr belge en Afrique Noire," *Illustration Congolaise*, 222, Brussels 1940, pp. 112–13; G. Schellings, "Belangrijke ontdekking uit de eerste beschaving," *Sint-Gerardus-Bode*, 53 Jg., Nr. 8, Brussels 1949, pp. 10–13; see also J. van den Houte, *De begraafplaats van Ngongo-Mbata (Neder-Zaire)*, thesis, Hoger Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis en Oudheidkunde, Ghent 1972–73 (not consulted). For the medals found there, Victor Tourneur, "Médailles religieuses du XVIII^e siècle trouvées au Congo," *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie*, xc1 (1939), Brussels 1940, pp. 21–26, pls. II–III, and Olivier de Bouveignes, "Saint Antoine et la pièce de vingt reis," *Brousse*, 3–4, Léopoldville 1947, pp. 17–22; also Léopold Denis, "Le culte marial au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi," in Maria. *Etudes sur la Sainte Vierge*, sous la direction d'Hubert du Manoir, Paris 1958, p. 163. A médaillon of the Order of Christ found in the old church of Ngongo Mbata (Kimpangu) is reproduced in Giovanni Francesco de Roma, *Breve relation de la fondation des Frères Mineurs Capucins . . . au Royaume de Congo*, François Bontinck ed., Louvain-Paris 1964, fig. 14. For an excavation done at Pângala-velho in Soyo in 1980, see Henrique Abraches, *Sobré os Basolongo. Arqueologia da tradição oral*, Ghent 1991, p. 47. For the old cemeteries on the Lower Congo, Jean Cuvelier, "Lusansu lua nsi a Kongo," *Kukiele*, 12, 1930, pp. 69–70.
- 51 [Bernardino Ignazio d' Astri], "Missione in pratica de Padri Cappuccini ne Regni di Congo, Angola, et adiacenti," in Paolo Collo and Silvia Benso, *Sogno, Bamba, Pemba, Ovando e altre contrade dei Regni di Congo, Angola e adiacenti*, Milano 1986, p. 62; *La pratique missionnaire des PP. Capucins italiens dans les royaumes du Congo, Angola et contrées adjacentes brièvement exposée pour éclairer et guider les missionnaires destinés à ces saintes missions*, Jacques Nothomb transl., Louvain 1931, p. 41. The aspect of the crosses found on the Lower Congo was sometimes mentioned by visitors; Lewis (as in n. 17), p. 547, mentions that these crosses are generally made of a brass figure fixed on an ebony cross. Julius Falkenstein, *Afrikas Westküste. Vom Ogowe bis zum Damara-Land*, Leipzig und Prag 1885, p. 7, mentions that King Antonio, of the village of Quichichy, had "ein hölzernes schwarzes Kruzifix mit Messingverzierungen an den Enden"; from such an account it is not possible to say if it is European or African.
- 52 As far as I know there is no catalogue to these exhibitions; for the second, however, Giovanni Dellepiane, "Inauguration de l'Exposition d'Art religieux de Léopoldville (18 Juin 1936). Discours . . .," *L'artisan liturgique*, 43, Lophem 1936, pp. 892–94, fig. 22 (in the same volume appeared an article by Pierre Ryckmans, "Peut-on parler d'art religieux congolais?," pp. 895–96, with three crosses on p. 896, under fig. 37 and another by Leo Bittremieux, "Ce que je pense de l'art indigène," pp. 910–16, with two illustrations of two crosses each, pp. 910, fig. 92 and 911, fig. 93. In the same journal, but in an earlier number, had already appeared the following article: J. C. van Cleemput, "Quelques oeuvres d'art chrétien congolais datant du XVe siècle," *L'artisan liturgique*, 40, Lophem 1936, p. 389, fig. 79. The earliest publication of such a cross I have traced is in Diogo de Macedo and Luiz de Montalvor, *Arte indígena Portuguesa*, Lisbon 1934, fig. 66. See, however, already the interesting material in Alexander Ihle, *Das alte Königreich Kongo*, Leipzig 1929, pp. 120–21.
- 53 Maquet-Tombu and Tonnoir (as in n. 2), pp. 9–29; see also Maquet (as in n. 6), p. 5.
- 54 For the Louvain Exhibition, *Exposition d'art du Congo*, Exhibition catalogue, Louvain, Musée de la Ville, October 5–November 9, 1949, p. 11, n. and pl. 11. Joseph de Borchgrave d'Altena, "Christs de l'ancien Congo," *L'artisan et les arts liturgiques*, xviii(4), Saint-André-lez-Bruges 1949, pp. 376–81.
- 55 *Mostra d'arte missionaria. Catalogo*, Exhibition catalogue, Vatican City 1950, n.p., no. 460 ("Basso Congo. Serie di Crocifissi dell'epoca della evangelizzazione portoghese"), fig. 460 ("Crocifisso del Basso Congo . . ."); for the second, see *Exposição de arte sacra missionária. Edição comemorativa*, Lisbon, 1952, n. p., with three unnumbered plates with six Lower Congo crucifixes. And Celso Costantini, *L'arte cristiana nelle Missioni*, Vatican City 1940, p. 355, ill. For a fine crucifix in the Vatican Museums, Jozef Penkowski, in *The Vatican Collections. The Papacy and Art*, Exhibition catalogue, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, February 26–June 12, 1983, etc., p. 231, no. 148; this work, incidentally, was shown in the *Esposizione Missionaria* held in the Vatican in 1925.
- 56 Robert L. Wannijn [sic], "Insignes religieux anciens au Bas-Congo," in *Les Arts au Congo Belge et au Ruanda-Urundi*, Brussels 1950, pp. 40–54, 87, figs. 68–69 and 72–73a–b (with well diffused Dutch and English versions of this book).
- 57 Robert L. Wannyn, "Les crucifix anciens au Bas-Congo," *Belgique d'Outremer*, 5, Brussels 1945, pp. 4–18; "Objets anciens en métal du Bas-Congo," *Zaire*, 5, Brussels 1951, pp. 391–93; the overall synthesis is found in his book (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 31–40 and 69–78, pls. I–xx. Georges

- Ballandier, *La vie quotidienne au royaume de Kongo du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1965, pp. 240–45, presents a wide ranging, but second hand, synthesis. More recently, Paul Taylor, “Christus bij de Congo,” *Kunstschrift* 43/6, Lochem 1999, esp. pp. 42–43.
- 58 Other early studies are by Sepp Schüller, “Christlich-afrikanische Kunst aus der ersten Kongomission (15–16 Jahrh.),” *Die katholischen Missionen*, 65, Düsseldorf 1937, pp. 34–40; Tata Nsiesie [J. De Donder], “Notes sur les Christs et statues de l’Ancien Congo,” *Brousse*, 3, Léopoldville 1939, pp. 32–34; M. Maquet, “Ancient native crucifixes of the Belgian Congo,” *Belgium*, IV, New York 1943, pp. 124–27; J. De Donder, “Les vieux crucifix du Bas-Congo,” *Grands Lacs*, 63e année, no. 8 (N.S. 110), Namur 1948, pp. 431–34; Jeanne Maquet-Tombu, “Chronique artistique. Un émouvant crucifix indigène,” *Bulletin de l’Union des Femmes Coloniales*, 130, Brussels 1950, p. 9. Most interesting material was included in *Christliches Afrika. Kunst und Kunsthandwerk in Schwarzafrika*, Sankt Augustin, Haus Völker und Kulturen, 1980, esp. pp. 9–10, nos. 32–37.
- 59 Good selections of these crucifixes are found in Wannyn (as in n. 1) and in Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), pp. 81–93, nos. 84–87 and 84–93, nos. 90–98, and pp. 100–101, with ill. An unillustrated catalogue of a collection of Lower Congo crucifixes was established by Joseph de Munck, “La collection de Nkangi (Crucifix) du Vicariat de et à Matadi (September 1959),” *Ngonge Kongo. Carnets d’Histoire et de Literature*, 3 (October 1960), n. p., [pp. 15–17] and 4 (December 1960), [pp. 14–17].
- 60 A technical and typological study of these crucifixes should provide much interesting information. A systematic catalogue would be welcome.
- 61 This is claimed by Eugenia W. Herbert, *Red Gold of Africa: Copper in Precolonial History and Culture*, Madison 1984, p. 220.
- 62 Maquet (as in n. 6), p. 6, mentions that “ces crucifix auraient été coulés” à l’air, “c’est-à-dire qu’au lieu d’être complet, le moule imprimé dans le sable n’aurait reproduit que la face antérieure des crucifix”; see also Wannyn 1961 (as in n. 1), p. 35. Frans M. Olbrechts, “Le Congo au XVIe siècle,” *Les Arts Plastiques*, 1, Brussels 1951, p. 32, who studied the objects in Tervuren, including the collection of Charles Ralet which was then on loan, and concluded that “la technique dans les deux cas semble être celle de la fonte à moule ouvert. Sans doute le sujet a d’abord été sculpté en bois et ce modèle a été imprimé dans un moule en argile . . . [later] rempli de laiton,” a technique still found among the Bateke and on the Lower Congo. Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), p. 88, mentioned that a crucifix pressed in clay could have been used to form the mould.
- 63 Herbert (as in n. 61), p. 140.
- 64 Herbert (as in n. 61), pp. 125–40. The fact that the crosses are in brass infirm Carson’s conclusion (as in n. 3), p. 22, that “some very old metal crucifixes have evidently been made by the native themselves at the Mbembe copper mines.”
- 65 For this conclusion, Maquet (as in n. 6), p. 7.
- 66 For the formulae used, Borchgrave d’Altena (as in n. 54), pp. 376–81.
- 67 For an analysis of the crosses, Wannyn (as in n. 1), pp. 32–33, for example. See also Olbrechts (as in n. 62), pp. 32–34.
- 68 Ezio Bassani, in *Via Orientalis*, Exhibition catalogue, Brussels, Galerie de la CGER, September 24–December 15, 1991, p. 93, no. and fig. 69; *Le Geste Kongo*, Exhibition Catalogue, Paris, Musée Dapper, September 18, 2002–19 January 2003, pp. 207 and 156, for ill.; see also Olbrechts (as in n. 62), p. 35, no. 21.
- 69 See above, n. 14. For fig. 7, see Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 71, pl. vi. Two crucifixes with cut heads were in the Ralet collection: see Borchgrave d’Altena (as in n. 54), ill. pp. 378, fig. 5 and 379, fig. 14; for the second, see also Wannyn (as in n. 56), p. 87, pl. 69 and Olbrechts (as in n. 62), p. 35, fig. 21. See also Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), p. 82, no. 87 and Gilberto Freyre, *Em tôrno de alguns túmulos Afro-Cristãos de uma área africana contagiada pela cultura brasileira*, Bahia 1959, pp. 34–35, non-numbered plates [but 2]. See also the crucifix from Songa described by de Munck (as in n. 59), 3, [p. 16], no. 08. More recently, a crucifix of this type was sold in Paris, Christie’s, Friday 8 December 2004, *Art africain, océanien et précolombien*, p. 72, lot 201, with ill. Richard Edward Dennett, *Seven Years among the Fjort, being an English Trader’s Experiences in the Congo District*, London 1887, pp. 10–11, mentioned that the Pegasario or Badungo mask in Cabenda “is supposed to watch over . . . morals and punish any offender by crucifixion,” another practice with Christian overtones.
- 70 Verly (as in n. 14), p. 515; for an up-to-day account of these nineteenth- and twentieth-century sculptures, Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun. Kongo Art in Two Worlds*, Exhibition catalogue, Washington, National Gallery of Art, August 30, 1981–January 17, 1982, Washington 1981, esp. pp. 95–132 and 234–43, nos. 37–76 with ill.
- 71 Wannyn (as in n. 1), pp. 69–70, pl. 1. He provides an account of what he has been told about the iconography in the 1930s.
- 72 Luca da Caltanisetta, “Relazione del viaggio e missione fatta per me,” in Romain Rainero ed., *Il Congo agli inizi del Settecento nella relazione di P. Luca da Caltanisetta*, Florence 1973, p. 353; *Diàire congolais (1690–1701)*, translated by François Bontinck, Louvain-Paris 1970, p. 176.
- 73 Bentley, *Pioneering* (as in n. 1), p. 35.
- 74 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 33. According to de Munck (as in n. 59), [p. 16], the praying figures are probably representing “des morts ressuscités lors de la mort du Christ.”
- 75 Mentioned by Jean Cuvelier, *L’ancien royaume de Congo. Fondation, découverte, première évangélisation de l’ancien royaume de Congo. Règne du grand roi Affonso Mvemba Nzinga († 1541)*, Bruges-Paris 1946, p. 336, ill. p. 144, pl. 12.
- 76 Maquet (as in n. 6), p. 7.
- 77 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 36. See also De Donder (as in n. 58), p. 432; in n. 1, he adds that “Au mot Nkangi, les notables donnent le sens de Nkanga, attaché, lié, fixé. Nkanga Kiditu signifierait donc: Christ attaché,” without however being fully convinced of it.
- 78 Wannyn (as in n. 1), pp. 23–24; De Donder (as in n. 58), p. 432, mentioned that in 1911, “les vieux de Lombo et d’autres encore racontaient que, lorsqu’un Père Flamand, ‘Tata Fulamingo’ (?) était parvenu à s’introduire dans un village, il faisait cadeau au Chef d’un Crucifix en lui disant: ‘Toma lunda kiditu nkangi a Ndona Maria: gardez bien le Christ, le Crucifié de la Dame Marie.’” See also Etienne Ugeux, “Les Nkangi Kidetu étaient-ils des fétiches?” in *Jeune Afrique*, 8e année, 22, Elisabethville 1954, p. 24, clearly quoting De Donder (for this link, see below, n. 84).
- 79 *La pratique missionnaire* (as in n. 51), p. 91: “Ces interprètes ont coutume de porter comme insigne un bâton en forme de croix.” See Frans M. Olbrechts, “Bijdrage tot de kennis van de chronologie der afrikaansche plastiek,” *Institut Royal Colonial Belge. Section des sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires*, in 8°, x. 2, Brussels 1941, p. 16 and pl. 3. For this staff, called *ngwanda* and *mwala*, see Cuvelier (as in n. 75), p. 202. Joseph van Wing, *Etudes Bakongo. Sociologie—religion et magie*, Louvain 1959, p. 38; J. Troesch “Le royaume de Soyo,” *Aequatoria*, 25(3), Coquilhatville 1962, p. 98; Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), pp. 98–99, figs. 112–14.
- 80 Adolf Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, 1, Jena 1874, pp. 282–83 and 286–87.
- 81 Louis Jadin, “Relations sur le Congo et l’Angola tirées des Archives de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1621–1631,” *Bulletin de l’Institut historique belge de Rome*, 39, Brussels 1968, pp. 378 and 380–81; for the conclusions, Hilton (as in n. 20), pp. 99–100 and 256, n. 169.
- 82 Manuel Laranjeira Rodrigues de Areia, “Essai sur les structures du pouvoir chez les Kongo,” in *Angola. Os símbolos do poder na sociedade tradicional*, Coimbra 1983, pp. 29–30. Crosses are not mentioned by Joseph Mertens, *Les chefs couronnés chez les Ba Kongo orientaux*, Brussels 1942.
- 83 Troesch (as in n. 79), pp. 98–99; see also Areia (as in n. 82), p. 31.
- 84 Ugeux (as in n. 78), p. 26; this, he claims, is based on a short study, written by a deceased missionary (who must be J. De Donder; see n. 78), which was given to him by Mgr. Edmund Verwimp, S. J., the Apostolic Vicar from Kisantu, “qui possède une des plus remarquables collections de crucifix congolais du XV et XVIe siècle.”
- 85 Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira, “Insignas

- do poder entre os Cabindas,” in *Angola* (as in n. 82), pp. 14–15, ill. p. 26; Carlos Moreira Henriques Serrano, “Poder, símbolos e imaginário social,” in *Angola* (*idem*), p. 52, ill. p. 66. Large numbers of authors mention that crucifixes are part of chiefs’ regalia: for example Bentley, *Pioneering* (as in n. 1), pp. 35 and 36. For crucifixes in the Museu Nacional de Antropologia in Luanda, see *Museu de Angola. Coleção etnográfica*, Luanda 1955, pp. 88, nos. and figs. 147–53 (including a rare pendant, no. and fig. 152). Another pendant is reproduced in *Le Geste Kongo* (as in n. 68), pp. 207 and 154, for ill.
- 86 Robert L. Wannyn, “Les armes ibériques et autres du Bas-Congo,” *La revue coloniale belge*, 6e année, 137, Brussels 1951, pp. 428–30, esp. ill. on p. 429 and Wannyn (as in n. 1), pp. 63–67 and 85–87, pls. 34–38; see also Diane M. Pelrine, *African Art from the Rita and John Grunwald Collection*, Exhibition catalogue, Bloomington, Indiana Museum of Art, September 27–December 16, 1988, etc., Bloomington and Indianapolis 1988, pp. 108–9, no. 43, with ill.
- 87 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 40. This was already noticed by Bastian (as in n. 15), pp. 107–8.
- 88 For this conclusion, Leo Bittremieux, “Overblijfselen van den katholieken godsdienst in lager Kongoland,” *Anthropos*, xxi, Vienna 1926, p. 800; see also Wannijn (as in n. 56), p. 47 and Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 39. De Munck (as in n. 59), 4, [p. 17], no. 56, describes a crucifix from Tumba (Mawete), “dont la croix est recouverte d’une étoffe à fil doré . . . Il n’est pas impossible que l’étoffe ait été mise pour utiliser le crucifix à des buts profanes.” For the importance given to such crosses, see Lewis (as in n. 17), pp. 547–48: “The only crucifix I have seen in Zombo belongs to a chief who rejoices in the name of Nkila-nkosi (‘the Lion’s tail’), whom I found one day sitting outside his hut polishing it with a piece of cloth and ashes. I was at once deeply interested, and he conversed freely with me about it, but it had no supernatural significance to him, and it was only a symbol of his chieftainship. He waxed eloquent at my asking him what would happen if it was lost or stolen from him and he assured me that he would wage war with any offending clan who attempted such a thing. And he meant it.” For the importance given traditionally to them, Tata Nsiesie (as in n. 58), pp. 33–34.
- 89 Merolla (as in n. 37), p. 319.
- 90 Graham (as in n. 3), p. 22; Lewis (as in n. 17), p. 548, wrote that “Speaking of crosses, it is interesting to note that at the Kibokolo marketplace, in the Zombo country, there is a large wooden cross erected, as I have been told, to commemorate a treaty of peace made between the different clans of the district when they agreed to make this their common market, and their cause a common cause. Hence, the mere existence of wooden crosses does not necessarily mean that they mark the site of an ancient Catholic mission.”
- 91 Bittremieux (as in n. 88), pp. 800–801, with the wording of the prayers he has witnessed (in the original and in a Netherlandish translation).
- 92 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 39. That the chief had a crucifix is confirmed by numerous sources, as for example Liévin Bonaventure Proyard, *Histoire de Loango, Kakongo et autres royaumes d’Afrique*, Paris 1776, p. 329, when he mentioned that the chief called a slave “qui portoit son Crucifix, & il nous le montra.”
- 93 According to Bernardo da Gallo, who wrote in 1710, D. Pedro IV fought his enemies with his crucifix in hand: see Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 476 and 532; Bernardo himself (p. 528) opposed his Antonian enemies armed with nothing else than a crucifix. See also Francesco da Troyna’s account for Pope Clement XI, which mentions that Antonio Bareto, Prince of Soyo, fought in 1705, with a crucifix in his left hand and a sword in the other: Jadin (as in n. 21), p. 583. More interesting is the passage (p. 351–32) where D. Pedro IV asks the missionary for his crucifix, so that he could wear it during a battle.
- 94 Wannyn (as in n. 1), pp. 38–39.
- 95 De Donder (as in n. 58), p. 432.
- 96 Maquet (as in n. 6), p. 8.
- 97 De Donder (as in n. 58), p. 433.
- 98 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 40.
- 99 De Donder (as in n. 58), pp. 432–33.
- 100 Quoted by Olson-Manke (as in n. 2), pp. 220–1. According to Börrisson, “*Kimpanzu-mpanzu* ist ein Kind von *Me’Mpanzu*, der an Volumen groß ist und aus vielen *Zimba-nza* (eine Art zusammengeflochtener Späne) besteht. Wenn jemand einen *Mbanza* (Bauholz, das gewöhnlich in den Dörfern verstreut umherliegt) in der Nähe des Kranken abbricht, dann soll es einen Stich geben in der Brust oder der Seite des Kranken- *lubanzi* (man beachte die Verwandtschaft der Wörter).”
- 101 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 39.
- 102 Verly (as in n. 14), p. 432; for a rare sculpture with a cross around the neck, Thiel and Helf (as in n. 2), p. 114, no. 32.
- 103 Cavazzi (as in n. 34), p. 85: (“ . . . il Demonio hà loro suggerito, che vi dipingano in varij modi il Segno della Santa Croce” on their *Idoli* parlando con i Caratteri della vera Religione gl’interni sentimenti d’una sacrilega empietà.” Mentioned by Ihle (as in n. 52), p. 120 and Douwe Geert Jongmans, “Nail fetish and crucifix. Some consideration in connection with a nail fetish in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden,” *The Wonder of Man’s Ingenuity, being a series of studies in archaeology, material culture, and social anthropology by members of the academic staff of the National Museum of Ethnology, published on the occasion of the Museum’s 125th anniversary*, Leiden 1962, p. 59. The presence of crosses on the glass or the mirrors of *nkisi* has been noticed by MacGaffey (as in n. 7), p. 65. For the sculpture in Cologne, see *Christliches Afrika* (as in n. 58), p. 15, no. and fig. 58, and, for that in Berg en Dal, *Forms of Wonderment. History and collections of the Afrika Museum, Berg en Dal*, Jan-Lodewijk Grootaers and Ineke Eisenburger eds, Berg en Dal 2002, p. 573, with ill. Another *nkisi* with a cross was sold in Paris, Sotheby’s, Friday, December 3, *Art africain et océanien*, vol. 2: *Collection Peter and Veena Schnell*, p. 58, lot 139, with ill.
- 104 Wannyn (as in n. 1), p. 40. For excavations, see n. 50.
- 105 Jean Cuvelier, “La sorcellerie appelée *kindoki*,” in *La sorcellerie dans les pays de mission*, Brussels and Paris 1937, p. 107, describing the ceremony in great detail.
- 106 De Donder (as in n. 58), p. 433. A more outlandish reminiscence of Christian origin is mentioned by Graham (as in n. 3), pp. 22–23: “Another shadow of the cross in use among the San Salvador people is a kind of bow or knot made of palm-leaf in the shape of a cross, which is fixed in the stopper of all demijohns of beer or palm-wine presented to the King. This, too, is doubtless of Roman Catholic origin . . .” A letter account of this tradition is given by Lewis (as in n. 17), p. 548: “The traveler also sees arranged on the walls of houses of chiefs little crosses made of folded palm leaves. These represent presents of palm-wine made by visitors, and in accordance with strict etiquette, a leafy cross is inserted at the side of the stopper of each calabash or demijohn as a sign of respect to the recipient. He in turn displays these loving tokens on the walls of his hut to let passers-by know what an important man he is. And there is often a keen competition among rival chiefs as to who can display the greatest number.” This lead Thomas Lewis to add, “So it has come to pass that the most holy of symbols can be degraded to one of petty jealousies and debauchery.”
- 107 Carson (as in n. 3), p. 23.
- 108 The symbolism of Christian crucifixes of the Lower Congo does not seem to have much bearing on the wider use of the cross as a cosmological symbol, as studied by Thomson and Cornet (as in n. 70), esp. pp. 43–44; Anita Jacobson-Widding, *Red-White-Black as a Mode of Thought: A Study of Triadic Classification by Colours in the Ritual Symbolism and Cognitive Thought of the Peoples of the Lower Congo*, Uppsala 1979, pp. 332–36; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit. African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*, New York 1983, pp. 108–11; and MacGaffey (as in n. 4), esp. pp. 44–45 and 116–20.
- 109 I did not try to cover the wider, geographical influence of the use of the crucifix in Congolese syncretism, nor the cross as fetish for the hunt as found elsewhere in Congo; for this, see for example Marie-Louise Bastin, *Art décoratif Tshokwe* (Subsidios para a história, arqueologia e etnografia dos povos da Lunda, 55), Lisbon 1961, pp. 36, 66, 133, 147–53 and pl. 103 (also for the influence among the Holo). Crosses are also found among the Hanya, for example. In the royal family of Tomé in the region of Caconda, the king,

at his intronisation, was led, blindfolded, to a seat on which was carved a cross; sitting there, he chose his new name: see Alfred Hauenstein, "Considérations sur le motif décoratif croix ainsi que différentes coutumes accompagnées de gestes et rites cruciformes chez quelques tribus d'Angola," *Bulletin der schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Anthropologie und Ethnologie*, 43, 1966–67, p. 44. Finally, I am not convinced that the crosses on some American ceramics have a Bakongo cosmological meaning, as claimed by Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground. Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800*, Washington and London 1992, pp. 110–16.

110 Although there are large numbers of books and catalogues on African art, which include Congolese crosses, I have only mentioned those specific to my argument. An interesting little publication, however, is *Christian Imagery in African Art: The Britt Family Collection*, Exhibition catalogue, University of Notre Dame, The Snite Museum of Art, November 9, 1980–December 28, 1980.

111 Tata Nsiesie (as in n. 58), pp. 33–34.

112 The basic synthesis is by John Kelly Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony. Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706*, Cambridge 1998. For numerous unpublished documents in French translation, Jadin (as in n. 21), pp. 411–614.

113 Jadin (as in n. 21), pp. 414, 498, 501–4, 515, 534, 553, and 583.

114 Jadin (as in n. 21), pp. 517.

115 Jadin (as in n. 21), pp. 534–35. For such little statuettes, see Wannyn (as in n. 1), pp. 40–43, and 78–80, pls. xxiv–xxv, for example.

CENTRAL-AFRICAN CRUCIFIXES

Marina de Mello e Souza

1 This essay is based on research conducted as a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, D.C., in April–May 2000. Some of its content was presented at an international conference entitled, "The Atlantic World in the Ancien Régime: Powers and Societies," in November 2005 at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa, as well as the international colloquium "Material Writing, Memory, and Life" of the "Dimensions of the Portuguese Empire" project of the Department of History at the Universidade de São Paulo in October 2006. Financial assistance from FAPESP (Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo) made the first presentation possible. The author would also like to thank her colleagues from the "Empires, Societies, Nations/Practitioners and Practices" group (affiliated with the CNRS/EHESS in Paris).

2 Carmen M. Radulet, ed. *O cronista Rui de Pina e a "Relação do Reino do Congo"* (Lisbon: Comissão

Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 1992), 150.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 51.

6 A.Fu-Kiau Bunsenki-Lumanisa, *Le mukongo et le monde qui l'entourait*, trans. C. Zamega-Butukezanga (Kinshasa: Recherches et Synthèse no 1, Office National de la Recherche et de Développement, 1969); Kimbwandande Kia Busenki Fu-Kiau, *Tying the Spiritual Knot: African Cosmology of the Bantu-Kongo: Principles of Life & Living* (Canada: Athelia Henrietta, 2001); Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa. The BaKongo of Lower Zaire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Wyatt MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture. The Conceptual Challenge of the Particular* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

7 An excerpt from Cavazzi's narrative of the conversion of the Congo mani in 1491 confirms the importance of this cross in local Catholicism:

"As a sign of gratitude, the New Christians wanted to build a church dedicated to the crucified Christ, consecrating themselves and the whole city in his holy name. This is why, according to the authors, the city took the name São Salvador.

"On May 3, the anniversary of the discovery of the Holiest Cross of Christ, Padre João, prefect of the missionaries, along with the king and the many people who came to offer their gifts and hearts, blessed the first stone of the edifice, which, despite the small number of craftsmen, the natives' lack of skill, and the dearth of many essential materials, turned out beautiful.

"(. . .) Once finished, the church was dedicated to the santo madeiro. Our Lord revealed his pleasure through a sign: a stone in the shape of a cross that was discovered on the site."

João António Cavazzi de Montecúccollo, *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola*, trans. Pe Graciano Maria de Leguzzano (Lisbon: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1965), 237–78.

8 *História do reino do Congo* (ms. 8080, Biblioteca nacional de Lisboa), (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969), 13.

9 Op. Cit., p. 68.

10 The classic article that established this standard for interpreting central African religious movements is Willy Craemer, Jan Vansina, and Renée C. Fox, "Religious Movements in Central Africa: A Theoretical Study," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18 (October 1976), no. 4: 458–75.

11 Wyatt MacGaffey, "The West in Congolese Experience," in *Africa and the West*, ed. Philip D. Curtin, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 49–74.

12 Radulet, 143.

13 José da Silva Horta, "Africanos e portugueses na documentação inquisitorial, de Luanda a Mbanza Kongo (1596–1598)," in *Actas do Seminário Encontros de povos e culturas em Angola* (Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997), 303.

14 Hilton, 62–63.

15 Robert L. Wannyn, *L'Art du métal au Bas-Congo* (Belgium: Editions du Vieux Planquesaule Champles, 1961), 36.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid., 33.

18 Joseph van Wing, *Études Bakongo. Sociologie–Religion et Magie*; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*; and Anne Hilton all have definitions of *bisimbi*.

19 MacGaffey, *Religion and Society*, 85.

BRAZIL AND THE NEW WORLD

ALBERT ECKHOUT AND
FRANS POST

Jean Michel Massing

1 For a detailed and clear account of the WIC and the Dutch involvement in Brazil, see the essential work of Charles Ralph Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil 1624–1654* (Oxford, 1957). For early publications of the VOC, John Landwehr, *VOC: A Bibliography of Publications relating to the Dutch East India Company 1602–1800* (Utrecht, 1991).

2 John Franklin Jameson, *Willem Usselinx, Founder of the Dutch and Swedish West India Companies*, (Papers of the American Historical Association, 11.3) (New York, 1887) and Catharina Ligtenberg, *Willem Usselinx* (Utrecht, 1914); see also Boxer (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 2–4.

3 For this pamphlet, see Georg Michael Asher, *A Bibliographical and Historical Essay on the Dutch Books and Pamphlets relating to New-Netherland and to the Dutch West-India Company and its Possessions in Brazil, Angola etc.* (Amsterdam, 1854–67), p. 116, no. 106; see also *Zo wijd de wereld strekt. Tentoonstelling naar aanleiding van de 300ste sterfdag van Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen op 20 December 1679*, Exhibition catalogue, The Hague, Mauritshuis, December 21, 1979–March 1, 1980 (The Hague, 1979), p. 79, no. 59.

4 Manoel Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno e triumpho da liberdade* (Lisbon, 1648), pp. 8–9; for the English translation, Boxer (as in n. 1), p. 35.

5 Here I rely on Boxer (as in n. 1), pp. 2–4, who gives a summary of Usselinx's views mainly based on his *Vertoogh hoe nootwendich, nut ende profijtelich het sy . . . te behouden de vryhey van te handelen op West-Indien* (n.p., 1608).

6 Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da terra e gente do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1925), p. 334.

7 The standard modern synthesis is by Boxer (as in n. 1). For the de Bry's *Grands and Petits Voyages*, see Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du*

- libraire et de l'amateur de livres, 1 (Paris, 1860), cols. 1309–63 and National Maritime Museum, *Catalogue of the library*, 1: *Voyages and Travels*, London 1968, pp. 9–12; Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of De Bry's Great Voyages* (Chicago and London, 1981). For the chronicles and pamphlets relating to Dutch Brazil, Asher (as in n. 3); see also Otto van Rees, *Geschiedenis der Staathuishoudkunde in Nederland*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1865–68).
- 8 Studies of Johan Maurits and his patronage include *Maurits de Braziliaan*, Exhibition catalogue, The Hague, Mauritshuis, April 7–May 17, 1953 (The Hague, 1953); *Soweit der Erdkreis reicht: Johann Moritz von Nassau-Siegen 1604–1679*, Exhibition catalogue, Cleve, Städtisches Museum Haus Koekkoek, September 20–November 11, 1979 (Cleve, 1979); *Zo wijd de wereld strekt* (as in n. 3); Ernst van den Boogaart, Hendrik Richard Hoetink, and Peter James Palmer Whitehead, *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen: Essays on the Occasion of the Tercentenary of his Death* (The Hague, 1979).
 - 9 For his houses and gardens, see various articles in Boogaart, Hoetink and Whitehead (as in n. 8), esp. pp. 54–141, 142–89, 190–96, and 197–236.
 - 10 Willem Pies and Georg Marcgraf, *Historia naturalis Brasiliae* (Leiden and Amsterdam, 1648); for Pies see Eike Pies, *Willem Piso (1611–1678). Begründer der kolonialen Medizin und Leibarzt des Grafen Johann Mauritz von Nassau-Siegen in Brasilien: Eine Biographie* (Düsseldorf, 1981). For the natural history of Brazil, see Peter James Palmer Whitehead and Marinus Boeseman, *A Portrait of Dutch 17th Century Brazil: Animals, Plants and People by the Artists of Johan Maurits of Nassau* (Amsterdam, Oxford and New York, 1989), and pp. 27–31 for the *Historia*.
 - 11 Thomas Thomsen, Albert Eckhout, *ein niederländischer Maler und sein Gönner Moritz der Brasilianer* (Copenhagen, 1938), p. 177, and Erik Larsen, *Frans Post, interprète du Brésil* (Amsterdam and Rio de Janeiro, 1962), pp. 254–55, doc. 52.
 - 12 Rüdiger Joppien, “The Dutch vision of Brazil: Johan Maurits and his artists,” in Boogaart, Hoetink and Whitehead (as in n. 8), p. 297, n. 4.
 - 13 For the artist, Thomsen (as in n. 11) and Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), esp. pp. 162–78, with further references.
 - 14 For these works, see Bente Dam-Mikkelsen and Torben Lundbæk, *Etnografiske genstande i Det kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1650–1800. Ethnographic Objects in the Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1650–1800* (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 34–37, nos. and figs. EN38A1–EN38A6, and 40–43, nos. and figs. EN38A7–EN38A8, with the early inventory references; and Bente Gundestrup, *Det kongelige danske Kunstkammer 1737: The Royal Danish Kunstkammer 1737*, 2, (Copenhagen, 1991), pp. 125–33, nos. and figs. EN38A1–EN38A8; Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), esp. pp. 66–75, pls. 38–45.
 - 15 Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pp. 73–74, pl. 44, with a thorough account of the botanical, zoological and ethnographic information.
 - 16 For Ashanti swords, see mainly René Aaron Bravmann, “The State Sword, a Pre-Ashanti tradition,” *Ghana Notes and Queries*, 10 (Accra, December 1968), pp. 1–4, figs. 1–4; Albert van Dantzig, “A note on ‘The state sword, a Pre-Ashanti tradition,’” *Ghana Notes and Queries*, 11 (Accra, June 1970), pp. 47–48; Christopher Spring, *African Arms and Armour* (London, 1993), pp. 56–58, fig. 47; Adam Jones, “A collection of African Art in Seventeenth-Century Germany. Christoph Weickmann’s *Kunst- und Naturkammer*,” *African Arts* 27.2 (1994), esp. pp. 30–32, figs. 5 and 8–10; Ezio Bassani, *African Art and Artefacts in European Collections 1400–1800* (London 2000), pp. xxxii–xxxiv, figs. 29–32 and pp. 23–24, no. and fig. 61, 131–32, no. and fig. 456; see also pp. 169, no. and fig. 534 and 224–26, nos. and figs. 694–96. For the trade of skate skins in Western Africa and their purchase in Ghana, see Ray Arthur Kea, *Settlements, Trade and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore and London, 1982), p. 208.
 - 17 For these works, see Bassani, *above*, in n. 16; for Rembrandt’s *St Paul in Meditation* (Nuremberg, Germanisches National Museum), see Josua Bruyn, Bob Haak, Simon H. Levie, Pieter Jacobus Johannes van Thiel and Ernst van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings*, 1 (The Hague, Boston and London, 1982), pp. 266–71, no. A26, fig. 1.
 - 18 For Guinean dress and weapons, see Pieter de Marees, *Beschryvinge ende historische verhael, vant Gout Koninkrijk van Gunea* (Amsterdam, 1602), resp. pp. 44, 17, 44, and 46, for the last two quotes; for the translations, Pieter de Marees, *Description and Historical Account of the Gold Kingdom of Guinea* (1602), Albert van Dantzig and Adam Jones transls and, eds. (Oxford, 1987), resp. pp. 89, 35, 89, 92 and 92–93.
 - 19 Ezio Bassani and Malcolm McLeod, “African Material in Early Collections,” in Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, *The Origins of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 245–50; more recently Jones (as in n. 16), pp. 28–43 and 92–94, with rich bibliography. For Johan Maurits’s collection, Baerle, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia . . . historia* (Amsterdam, 1647), p. 151; see Peter James Palmer Whitehead, “Georg Markgraf and Brazilian Zoology,” in Boogaart, Hoetink and Whitehead (as in n. 8), p. 429.
 - 20 Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pp. 74–75, pl. 45.
 - 21 Dam-Mikkelsen and Lundbæk (as in n. 14), p. 42, strangely mention that the woman wears “a hat of an oriental type which Dutch merchants had brought from Asia to their allies in the Sohio kingdom at the mouth of the Congo” but they don’t give any supporting evidence for this statement.
 - 22 Jones (as in n. 16), p. 42, notes the similarities of the designs on the basket with those of a pile cloth, probably from the Congo Kingdom (pp. 38–40, figs. 23–24) and a gourd flask probably from the same area (pp. 39 and 28–29, fig. 4); for early African baskets with or without a wooden base, see pp. 38–39 and 41, fig. 25, with further references.
 - 23 Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pp. 151–61, esp. pls. 79 and 81, for a different lookout tower.
 - 24 For this work, see Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares, eds., *Brasil–Holandês. Dutch–Brazil*, 5 (Rio de Janeiro, 1995), ill. p. 16; Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), p. 171, pl. 84b.
 - 25 *Thierbuch*, no. 97: Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares, “The *Thierbuch* and *Autobiography* of Zacharias Wagener” in *Dutch-Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1997), 2, p. 173, pl. 97 (text pp. 172 and 174); Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pl. 28a. For Guinean shields, see Marees, *Beschryvinge* (as in n. 18), pp. 43–44 and 46, pl. 6 and *Description* (as in n. 18), pp. 89 and 93, pl. 6.
 - 26 Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 172 and 174; for the German text, see Paul Emil Richter, “Zacharias Wagner,” *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des 25. Jährigen Bestehens des Vereins für Erdkunde zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1888), pp. 85–86; for a transcription of the German text, see also Zacharias Wagener, *Zoobiblion. Livro de animais do Brasil*, Edgar de Cerqueira Falcão, ed., (Brasiliense Documenta, 4) (São Paulo, 1964), pp. 217–19, fig. 97. The black man and woman were also drawn in watercolor by John Locke in the seventeenth century: see Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pp. 85–88 (esp. p. 86, pls. 54a and 54b).
 - 27 *Thierbuch*, no. 98: Ferrão and Monteiro Soares, (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 175–77, pl. 98; see Richter (as in n. 26), p. 88–89; Wagener (as in n. 26), p. 219, fig. 98. For the illustration, see also Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pl. 28b.
 - 28 For the branding of slaves, see Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade 1600–1815*, pp. 235–37 and for the instructions on branding, p. 368 (from *Private Instructions for Captains and Officers of the Ship De Nieuwe Hoop of the Commercie Companie at Middelburg in Zeeland*).
 - 29 For an assessment of the African material, Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), esp. p. 165. For Johan Maurits van Nassau’s botanical garden and his museum with African material, Whitehead (as in n. 19), esp. pp. 428–29.
 - 30 Thomsen (as in n. 11), pp. 98 and 97, fig. 52; Joppien (as in n. 12), p. 306; Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), p. 169, pl. 15b; see also Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 24), 1, ill. p. 204.
 - 31 Thomsen (as in n. 11), pp. 98 and 96, fig. 51; Joppien (as in n. 12), p. 306, col. pl. before p. 313; Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), p. 170, pl. 12a; see also Ferrão and Monteiro Soares

- (as in n. 24), 5, ill. p. 12.
- 32 Pies and Marcgraf (as in n. 10), p. 268; Thomsen (as in n. 11), p. 98.
- 33 Isaac Vossius, *De Nili et aliorum fluminum origine*, (The Hague, 1666), pp. 67–69; Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche gewesten van Egypten, Barbaryen, Libyen, Biledulgerid, Negrosland, Guinea, Ethiopien, Abyssine* . . . (Amsterdam 1668), p. 541. For a later, curiously different, African view on albinos, see Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, or Gustavus Vassa, the African*, 1 (London, 1789), pp. 21–22: “I remember while in Africa to have seen three negro children, who were tawny, and another quite white, who were universally regarded by myself, and the natives in general, as far as related to their complexions, as deformed.”
- 34 For Wagener, Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), esp. pp. 48–51; for the *Thierbuch*, Wagener (as in n. 26), esp. pp. 28–39 and Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 5–23, and 24–240 for the reproduction of the manuscript and the translation of the text.
- 35 Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 184–207, for the maps, plans and other scenes.
- 36 *Thierbuch*, no. 106; Wagener (as in n. 26), pp. 224–25, fig. 106 and Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, p. 197, fig. 106.
- 37 See above, n. 36. For the topos of African resistance to pain see also, for example, Vicente Joachim Soler, *Cort ende sonderlingh verhael* (Amsterdam, 1639), which is translated in Cristina Ferrão and José Paulo Monteiro Soares, “Documents in the Leiden University Library,” in *Dutch–Brazil* (as in n. 25), pp. 143–44; the information on burial ceremonies is also taken over by Wagener.
- 38 Richter (as in n. 26), p. 87; Wagener (as in n. 26), pp. 224–25, and Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 195–96; for the marketing and profitability of the Dutch slavetrade, Postma (as in n. 28), esp. pp. 259–83.
- 39 Augustus van Quelen, *Kort verhael vanden staet van Fernanbuc* (Amsterdam, 1640), p. 12; see also Boxer (as in n. 1), pp. 138–39.
- 40 For these early instances of the slave trade, Postma (as in n. 28), pp. 10–14.
- 41 For the Dutch slave trade with Brazil, Boxer (as in n. 1), pp. 137–40 and Postma (as in n. 28), *passim*.
- 42 *Thierbuch*, no. 105; Wagener (as in n. 26), pp. 223–24, fig. 105, and Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 192–94, pl. 105.
- 43 *Thierbuch*, no. 99; Richter (as in n. 26), pp. 89–90; Wagener (as in n. 26), p. 220, fig. 99, and Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 178–80, pl. 99.
- 44 *Thierbuch*, no. 100; Richter (as in n. 26), p. 90; Wagener (as in n. 26), pp. 328–29, and Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 181–83. For the mixing of ethnic groups in the Americas, Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston, 1967) and Jack Douglas Forbes, *Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples* (Oxford, 1988). For Casta paintings, see Ilona Katzew, *New World Order: Casta Painting and Colonial Latin America*, Exhibition catalogue, New York, Americas Society Art Gallery, September 26–December 22, 1996 (New York, 1996) and her book *Casta Painting: Image of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven and London, 2004).
- 45 For Frans Post, see Larsen (as in n. 11); Joaquim de Sousa-Leão, *Frans Post 1612–1680* (Rio de Janeiro, 1973) and Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), esp. pp. 178–93, pls. 89–98.
- 46 Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pp. 181–82, figs. 89a–91b, with further references. More recently there reappeared a *View of Paraíba*: see *Important Old Master Paintings*, Sale catalogue, New York, Sotheby’s, January 30, 1997, no. 10, with ills. See also the eight copies by Luc-Vincent de Thiery de Sainte Colombe, dated 1765, in Whitehead and Boeseman (as above), p. 186, pls. 99–100.
- 47 For the documents relating to the gifts to Louis XIV, see Larsen (as in n. 11), pp. 251–61; for a summary, Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), pp. 30–34.
- 48 Larsen (as in n. 11), pp. 96 and 185, no. 2 and fig. 23; Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), pp. 23 and 54–55, no. and fig. 1, col. pl. after p. 16; *Zo wijde wereld strekt* (as in n. 3), p. 98, no. 87, with col. pl.; Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), p. 181, no. 4a, pl. 89a, with further references.
- 49 For the book and the map, Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), resp. pp. 184–85, pls. 79–82; also Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), pp. 152–56, nos. and figs. 023–054 and p. 158, nos. 057–060 and end papers.
- 50 For this painting see Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), pp. 74–75, no and fig. 25, with ills.; *Zo wijde wereld strekt* (as in n. 3), p. 104, no. 96, with ill.; Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), p. 190, pl. 94.
- 51 Calado (as in n. 4), p. 52; for the translation, Boxer (as in n. 1), p. 115.
- 52 Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), nos. 33–34, 39, 42, 44–45, 53, 55, 60, 64–65, 67–72, for example (see also 021 and 022).
- 53 I have derived information on sugar production from Boxer (as in n. 1), esp. pp. 32 and 140–48; p. 147 he confirms that there are no reliable figures to assess the total value and the importance of the sugar trade to the Dutch economy (see, however, pp. 276–79, Appendix 11).
- 54 For sugar mills in the work of Post, Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), p. 190. For the two drawings by Post, Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), pp. 150–51, nos. 021 and 022, with ills; for the diagrams in Wagener’s *Thierbuch*, Ferrão and Monteiro Soares (as in n. 25), 2, pp. 200–203, nos. 108 and 109; for a view of the *Engenho Maciape* in the parish of São Lourenço da Mata, Pernambuco, see pp. 186–87, no. 102. For the architecture of sugar mills in the colonial period, Esterzilda Berenstein de Azevedo, *Arquitetura do Açúcar: Engenhos do recôncavo baiano no período colonial* (São Paulo, 1990), with further references and numerous illustrations.
- 55 arsen (as in n. 11), pp. 104 and 188, no. 20, fig. 46; Sousa-Leão (as in n. 45), pp. 100–101, no. and fig. 64.
- 56 Sugar production flourished in South America and the Caribbean, and produced a rich iconography from the sixteenth century onwards: see Jean Michel Massing, “From Dutch Brazil to the West Indies. The paper image of the ideal sugar plantation”, in *Fragments. Architecture and the Unfinished. Essays Presented to Robin Middleton*, Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin, eds. (London, 2006), pp. 275–88. The present analysis of the imagery of sugar mills is taken more or less directly from there. For exotic animals and plants in Post’s work, see Whitehead and Boeseman (as in n. 10), pp. 187–89.
- 57 Lech Brusewicz, “The paintings by Pieter Nason in Polish collections,” *Bulletin du Musée national de Varsovie* 19 (Warsaw, 1978), esp. pp. 4 and 34–38, no. 9; *Zo wijde wereld strekt* (as in n. 3), p. 226, no and fig. 294; *Onder den Oranje boom. Niederländische Kunst und Kultur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert an deutschen Fürstenhöfen*, Exhibition catalogue, Krefeld, Kaiser-Wilhelm-Museum, April 18–July 18, 1999; Oranienburg, Schloss Oranienburg, August 15–November 14, 1999 and Apeldoorn, Nationaal Museum, Stichting Paleis Het Loo, December 16, 1999–March 20, 2000 (Munich, 1999), p. 156. For the black page in Netherlandish art, see Marysa Otte, “‘Somtijts een Moor’: De neger als bijfiguur op Nederlandse portretten in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw,” *Kunstlicht*, viii, 1987, pp. 6–10.
- 58 For an incomplete list of the autograph variants and the copies, see Brusewicz (as in n. 57), pp. 34–37; for the painting in Brussels, pp. 34–35, ill. p. 37, and *Zo wijde wereld strekt* (as in n. 3), p. 226, no. and fig. 295; for the version in Potsdam, *Onder den Oranje boom* (as in n. 57), p. 160, no. 7/4.
- 59 For Sonnenburg, see J. J. Terweren, “The buildings of Johan Maurits van Nassau,” in Van Den Boogaart, Hoetink and Whitehead (as in n. 8), pp. 104–116.

ECKHOUT AND CANNIBALISM *Adone Agnolin*

- 1 Regarding the problem of the term *Tapuia* as a characteristically colonial linguistic and conceptual category, see Cristina Pompa, *Religião como Tradução: Missionários, Tupi e Tapuia no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo: EDUSC/ANPOCS, 2003).
- 2 For a historical and religious analysis of Tupi cannibalistic practices during the second half of the seventeenth century, and for a characterization of its historiographical interpretations up to

current anthropological scholarship see: Adone Agnolin, *O Apetite da Antropologia. O Sabor Antropofágico do Saber Antropológico: Alteridade e Identidade no caso Tupinambá* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2005).

- 3 Pierre Chaunu, preface to Frank Lestringant, *Le cannibale: grandeur et décadence* (Paris: Perrin, 1994), pp. 5–6. [“Deux interprétations pendant quatre siècles d’un fait anthropologique incontestable s’opposent: le cannibalisme noble de vengeance est catolique, il est missionnaire, le cannibalisme de nécessité est protestant, lourd de mépris, plus tard ‘éclairé, mécaniste, matérialiste.’ Il est du côté de l’abaissement de l’homme. Le mépris craché sur l’Autre revient—Dieu est juste—en boomerang sur la face de celui qui crache. Pour les uns, ces hommes quand même sont pécheurs, ils transgressent comme nous, comme nous ils ont besoin de pardon; pour les autres, le test de l’extrême barbarie dresse un mur que rien ne traverse. L’anthropophagie sépare l’humanité, la civilisation d’une sous-espèce, d’une moins qu’humanité.”].
- 4 Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, *Essais* (1580; Paris: Gallimard, 1950), book III, chapter VI (*Of Coaches*), pp. 1030–31. “The world was an infant: we whipped it and subjected it to our teaching, but not from any superior worth or our natural energy; we neither seduced it by our justice and goodness nor subjugated it by our greatness of soul. Most of the responses of its peoples, and most of our negotiations with them, witness that they are in no ways beholden to us where aptitude and natural clarity of mind are concerned. The awe-inspiring magnificence of the cities of Cuzco and Mexico [. . .] were, in size and arrangement [. . .] all but excellently wrought in gold . . . And as for their piety, observance of the laws, goodness, liberality, loyalty and frankness: well, it served us well that we had less of that than they did; their superiority in that ruined them, sold them and betrayed them.” [English trans. M. A. Screech. London: Penguin, 1991].
- 5 See Peter Mason, *Infelicitities. Representation of the Exotic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).
- 6 On this point, see John Manuel Monteiro’s introduction to Pompa, *Religião como Tradução*, cited above.
- 7 See Ronald Raminelli, “Canibalismo em nome do amor,” *Revista Nossa História* 2, no. 17 (March 2005).
- 8 In his *Lives*, Giorgio Vasari writes that Antonio Pollaiuolo “was the first to demonstrate the method of searching out the muscles, in order that they might have their due form and place in his figures, and he engraved on copper a battle of nude figures all girt round with a chain; and after this one he made many other engravings, with much better workmanship than had been shown by the other masters who had lived before him.” This practice quickly became indispensable to a large number of painters, in particular

Michelangelo and Leonardo. The renovation of art from the *Quattrocento* occurred under the dual sign of classical models and nature. From Giotto to Masaccio, Florentine painting developed the naturalistic representation of volume. This example for progressively reinforced by the solemn example of classical art, and in particular, Roman portraiture. This can be seen in Donatello’s sculpture and in Andrea Mantegna’s painting (particularly in his *Triumphs*), which is rich with antiquarian and mythological echoes. Realism and proximity to nature implied first and foremost attention to the structure of living beings, which explains the loving anatomical studies undertaken by Renaissance artists not merely of the human body, but of horses. In the cases of Leonardo and Albrecht Dürer, for example, anatomical studies involved mathematics in an effort to establish with the greatest precision possible the proportions between the various parts of the human body. In the drawings of the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini, mathematics were used to establish the perfect proportions for a building’s base and façade. Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painter, Sculptors and Architects*, 3 vols., trans. Gaston Du C. De Vere (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1979), vol. 1: 665.

9 I am thankful to Prof. Alberto Gallo of the University of Milan for his suggestions regarding this point.

MANIOC
Leila Mezan Algranti

- 1 See Fernand Braudel, *Civilização material, economia e capitalismo, séculos XV–XVIII: As estruturas do cotidiano* (Lisbon: Teorema, 1992), p. 143.
- 2 See Massimo Montanari, *Il Cibo come cultura* (Rome: Editoria Laterza, 2004), p. 25.
- 3 See Jack Turner, “Spices and Christians,” in *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th & 17th Centuries*. Exhibition catalogue. (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2007), pp. 45–53.
- 4 Braudel, p. 136.
- 5 As Márcia Moisés notes, “the coconut palm arrived here [i.e., Brazil] around 1553, on ships arriving from Cape Verde, but which had originally embarked from Asia. The tree became a symbol of Brazil, and remains so today.” Prof. Moisés is from the Institute for Brazilian Studies, University of São Paulo. See “Em se plantando, dinheiro dá” (When you plant, the money grows), Joana Monteleone’s commentary on Moisés’s *Jovem Pesquisador* (Young Researcher) project, supported by FAPESP, *Pesquisa-ciência e tecnologia no Brasil, Revista da FAPESP*, São Paulo, August 2004, p. 90, n. 102.
- 6 Pero de Magalhães, *The Histories of Brazil*, trans. John B. Stetson, Jr. (New York: The Cortes Society, 1922, no. 5; reprinted by Kraus Reprint

Co., New York, 1969, p. 47). Documents and narratives concerning the discovery and conquest of Latin America.

- 7 Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional/Edusp, 1971), Coleção Brasileira, vol. 117, p. 172. (1587); Magalhães, p. 43.
- 8 Luís da Câmara Cascudo, *História da Alimentação no Brasil*, 1962 (São Paulo: Global Editora, 2004), p. 96.
- 9 Gabriel Soares de Sousa, pp. 172–73.
- 10 Jean de Léry, *Viagem à Terra do Brasil*, 1578 (Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia), p. 23. Quotation translated from the original.
- 11 Soares de Sousa, p. 174.
- 12 [Ambrosio Fernandes] Brandão, *Dialogos das Grandezas do Brasil*, 1618 (Salvador: Livraria Progresso Editora, 1956), vol. 1, p. 213.
- 13 See Leila Mezan Algranti, “Famílias e Vida Doméstica” in Laura de Mello e Souza, *Cotidiano e Vida Privada na América Portuguesa*, vol. 1 of *História da Vida Privada*, ed. Fernando Novais (São Paulo: Editora Companhia das Letras, 1997), pp. 142–48.
- 14 See Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada—guerra e açúcar no Nordeste 1630–1654* (Rio de Janeiro: TopBooks Editora, 1998), pp. 269–72.
- 15 Paula Pinto e Silva, *Feijão, farinha e carne-seca—um tripé culinário no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo: Editora Senac, 2005).

SUGAR AND SLAVERY IN BRAZIL
Pedro Puntoni

- 1 Jean de Lery, *Narrativa de uma viagem feita à terra do Brasil* [1578]. São Paulo/Belo Horizonte, Portuguese translation, 1980, p. 168.
- 2 Stuart Schwartz, *Segredos Internos: engenhos e escravos na sociedade colonial*. São Paulo, Portuguese translation, 1988, p. 31 and Noel Deer, *The History of Sugar*. London, 1949, vol. 1:102–14.
- 3 Frédéric Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico, (1570–1670)*. Lisbon, Portuguese translation, 1989, vol. 1, p. 243. For a history of sugar, see Noel Deer, *The History of Sugar*. London, 1949, 2 vols.; Edmund Oskar von Lippmann, *História do Açúcar desde a época mais remota até o começo da fabricação de açúcar de beterraba*. Rio de Janeiro, Portuguese translation, 2 vols., 1941–42; and J. H. Galloway, *The Sugar Cane Industry: an historical geography from its origins to 1914*. Cambridge, 1989.
- 4 For a discussion of the significance of mercantilist policy, which is better described as a *practice* or a set of *stimuli for action* on the part of European imperial governments, see E. F. Heksher’s classic study, *La época Mercantilista*. Mexico, Spanish translation, 1983, along with Pierre Deyon’s brief, interesting, *O Mercantilismo*. São Paulo, Portuguese translation, 1973.
- 5 Alexander Marchant, *Do Escambo à Escravidão: as relações econômicas de portugueses e índios na*

- colonização do Brasil. São Paulo, 1980. For an interesting critique of some of Marchant's positions, see Stuart Schwartz, *Segredos Internos*. São Paulo, 1988, pp. 43–45 and 68.
- 6 Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835*. Cambridge, 1985, p. 171.
 - 7 Fernando Novais, *Portugal e o Brasil na Crise do Antigo Sistema Colonial*. São Paulo, 1978, pp. 102–3. For an explanation of the difference between colonies of “exploitation” (*exploração*) and “settlement” (*povoamento*), see Novais's “Colonização e Sistema Colonial: discussão de conceitos e perspectiva histórica,” *Anais do IV Simpósio da ANPUH*, 1969, pp. 243–68.
 - 8 Adam Smith, *A Riqueza das Nações* (1776). São Paulo, Portuguese translation, 1988, vol. 2, p. 152.
 - 9 Fernando Novais, *Portugal e o Brasil na Crise do Antigo Sistema Colonial*. São Paulo, 1978, p. 103; translated from the original. For a historical discussion of the “open frontier” thesis, see Barbara L. Solow's “Slavery and colonization” in Wolfgang Binder, ed., *Slavery and the rise of Atlantic System*. New York, 1991, pp. 32–47. For a discussion of modern slavery, see Sidney Mintz's important article, “Was the Plantation Slave a Proletarian?,” *Review* 2, no. 1: 81–98, summer 1978.
 - 10 Fernando Novais, *Portugal e o Brasil na Crise do Antigo Sistema Colonial*. São Paulo, 1978, p. 105 (os grifos são meus). As Alencastro has noted, we should not forget that “in reality, we are confronted here by an economic fueled by European demand. Land and labor do not represent independent components of this economy, but are variables that are the ‘results’ of the forces that govern commercial capitalism. The overlooking or the insufficient attention paid to this essential feature of colonization has given rise to errors of which a certain part of the relevant historiography has had difficulty avoiding.” Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, “O Aprendizado da colonização,” *Economia e Sociedade* vol. 1 (August 1992): 161.
 - 11 Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism*. London, 1978, p. 76.
 - 12 Stuart Schwartz and Russel R. Mennard have studied the transition to African slave labor in Brazil, Mexico, and South Carolina, suggesting that the structure of the Atlantic economy played an important role in all three contexts. The insertion of the market for African slave labor within a vast, stable, and reliable network of international trade led planters to “prefer” African slaves. The argument maintained by Schwartz and Mennard does not seem to contradict Novais's interpretation—far from it. See “Why african slavery? Labor force transitions in Brazil, Mexico and the South Carolina Low-country,” in Wolfgang Binder, ed., *Slavery in the Americas*. Erlangen-Nuremberg, 1990, pp. 89–114.
 - 13 “The metropolis was invested with the greatest share of power, since the slave trade it controlled allows it to manage the reproduction of the slave system in Portuguese Africa. For three centuries, economic complementarity connected Portuguese Africa to Brazil, precluding the possibility of divergent, competing colonies developing within the territories of the Portuguese tropics that ringed the south Atlantic.” Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Videntes: a formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVIII*. São Paulo, 2000, p. 34.
 - 14 Alencastro, pp. 34ff.
 - 15 On the topic of legislation concerning Amerindians, see Georg Thomas's *Política Indigenista dos Portugueses no Brasil*. São Paulo, 1982. The March 20, 1570, law on the freedom of indigenous persons is published in the book's second appendix, pp. 221–22.
 - 16 John Monteiro, *Negros da terra*. São Paulo, 1994.
 - 17 Florestan Fernandes, “A sociedade Escravista no Brasil,” in *Circuito Fechado*. São Paulo, 1976, p. 18.
 - 18 Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Videntes: a formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos XVI e XVIII*. São Paulo, 2000, p. 122; translated from the original.
 - 19 Caio Prado, Jr. *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil*. Trans. of *Formação do Brasil Contemporâneo* by Suzette Macedo. Berkeley, 1967, p. 97.
 - 20 Vera Lúcia Amaral Ferlini, *Terra, Trabalho e Poder*. São Paulo, 1988, pp. 15–16.
 - 21 Antônio Vieira, “Carta ao Rei D. João IV, 20/05/1653” in *Cartas*, Rio de Janeiro, 1949, pp. 89–90; translated from the original.
 - 22 *Relacam annual das cousas que fizeram os padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia oriental e no Brasil, Angola, Cabo Verde e Guiné, nos anos de 1602–1603*. Lisbon, 1605, p. 114.
 - 23 Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada*. Rio de Janeiro, 1975, pp. 176 and 180; the italics are mine.
- ### THE ARTS IN BRAZIL BEFORE THE GOLDEN AGE
- Nuno Senos
- 1 István Jancsó, ed., *Formação do Estado e da Nação* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2003) contains several essays on this topic.
 - 2 On this topic see, for instance Emanuel Araujo, ed., *Mostra do Redescobrimento. Negro de Corpo e Alma*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: Associação Brasil 500 anos Artes Visuais, 2000).
 - 3 Anna Maria Fausto Monteiro de Carvalho, *Mestre Valentim* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify Edições, 1999).
 - 4 When João VI was crowned king of Portugal (Brazil was not yet independent), it was the first and only time ever that a European coronation ceremony took place in the New World. Nuno Senos, “The Art of Silver in Colonial Brazil” in *The Arts of Colonial Latin America*, exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2006: 230–44).
 - 5 Myriam Ribeiro de Andrade, *O Aleijadinho e a sua Oficina* (São Paulo: Capivara, 2002) is the most important recent addition.
 - 6 Gilberto Freyre, “Sugestões para o Estudo da Arte Brasileira em Relação com a de Portugal e a das Colônias,” *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, no. 1 (1937): 41–44. The quotations, from pp. 41–42, are given in my own translation. The *Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional* was created in 1937. Its mission is to promote the study of Brazil's artistic heritage and its preservation and began publishing the journal the year it was founded.
 - 7 Robert Smith, “The Arts in Brazil. Baroque Architecture” in *Portugal and Brazil, an Introduction*. ed. H. V. Livermore (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 349–84, 365.
 - 8 John Bury, “The Architecture and Art of Colonial Brazil” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (10 vols.), ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984–1995), vol. 2: 747–69. Both quotations are from p. 769.
 - 9 Rafael Moreira, “O Arquiteto Miguel de Arruda e o Primeiro Projeto para Salvador” in *Anais do 4º Congresso de História da Bahia* (2 vols.) (Salvador: Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia and Fundação Gregório de Matos, 2001), vol. 1: 123–45.
 - 10 The classic study on Jesuit architecture is Lúcio Costa, “A Arquitectura dos Jesuítas no Brasil,” *Revista do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, no. 5 (1941): 9–104. See also Germain Bazin, *A Arquitectura Religiosa Barroca no Brasil* (2 vols.) (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 1983). The first edition of Bazin's book (Paris and São Paulo, Librairie Plon and Museu de Arte, 1956–58) instantly became and remains an important reference. The Portuguese edition, which was revised, is the preferred version.
 - 11 Clemente da Silva Nigra, O. S. B., “Francisco de Frias da Mesquita, Engenheiro-Mor do Brasil,” *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, no. 9 (1945): 9–93.
 - 12 Bazin, 1983, devotes an important chapter to woodcarving.
 - 13 Clemente da Silva Nigra, O. S. B., “A Prataria Seiscentista do Mosteiro de São Bento do Rio de Janeiro,” *Revista do Serviço do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional*, no. 6 (1942): 241–75.
 - 14 Clemente da Silva Nigra, O.S.B., *Os Dois Escultores Frei Agostinho da Piedade, Frei Agostinho de Jesus, e o Arquiteto Frei Macário de São João* (Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1971).
 - 15 Kátia Santos Bogéa, Emanuela Sousa Ribeiro and Stella Regina Soares Brito, *Olhos da Alma: Escola Maranhense de Imaginária* (São Luís: 2002).
 - 16 Nuno Senos, *Franciscan Art and Architecture in Colonial Brazil: 1650–1800*, Ph.D. diss., New York University, 2006.
 - 17 Clemente da Silva Nigra, O. S. B., *Construtores e Artistas do Mosteiro de São Bento do Rio de Janeiro* (Salvador: Tipografia Beneditina da Bahia, 1950) is the most important reference on this monastery.
 - 18 Costa, 1941, and Bazin, 1983, summarize the most important data available and place the church in context.
 - 19 Like other Jesuit churches in the Portuguese world vacated after the suppression of the

Society, it became a cathedral.

- 20 The category was forged for the analysis of Portuguese woodcarving. Robert Smith, “The Portuguese Woodcarved Retable, 1600–1700,” *Belas Artes: Revista e Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes*, 2nd series, no. 2 (1950): 14–56.
- 21 Clemente da Silva Nigra, O. S. B., *Três Artistas Beneditinos. Frei Bernardo de São Bento, o Arquiteto Seiscentista do Rio de Janeiro. Frei Domingos da Conceição, o Escultor Seiscentista do Rio de Janeiro. Frei Ricardo do Pilar, o Pintor Seiscentista do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1950).
- 22 The reference title is João Miguel dos Santos Simões, *Azulejaria Portuguesa no Brasil: 1500–1882* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1965).
- 23 See Myriam Ribeiro’s texts in *Mostra do Redescobrimto. Arte Barroca*, exh. cat. (São Paulo: Associação Brasil 500 anos Artes Visuais, 2000).
- 24 Senos, 2006.
- 25 Art historian Myriam Ribeiro de Oliveira is one of the few voices struggling to correct this error. In a recent book, *O Rococó Religioso no Brasil e seus Antecedentes Europeus* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2003), she calls attention to the startling fact that many of those designing buildings and carving altars in Minas were born and trained in Portugal. Ribeiro is still working on this topic and future publications are much anticipated.

Asia

THE INDIAN OCEAN

ASIAN EXPANSIONS

Diogo Ramada Curto

- 1 K. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance* (1953), p. 23.
- 2 Afonso de Albuquerque, *Cartas*, R. de Bulhão Pato and H. Lopes de Mendonça, eds. 7 vols. (1884–1935). Panikkar, pp. 93–94. J. Goody, *The East in the West* (1996); D. Washbrook, “Progress and Problems: South Asian Economics and Social History c. 1720–1860,” *Modern Asian Studies* 22 (1988); Idem, “India in the Early Modern World Economy,” *Journal of Global History* 2 (2007); C. Bayly, “The First Age of Global Imperialism, c. 1760–1830,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 26 (1998).
- 3 W. Reinhardt, “The Seaborne Empires,” *Handbook of European History 1400–1600*, vol. 1 (1994), p. 642. V. Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial* (1981); Idem, *Mito e Mercadoria, Utopia e Prática de Navegar: séculos XIII–XVIII* (Lisbon, 1990).
- 4 F. M. de Melo (Count de Ficalho), *Coloquios dos simples e drogas da Índia* (1891); Zāin Al Dīn al-Ma’barī, *Historia dos portugueses no Malabar* (1896); D. Lopes, ed., *Chronica dos reis de Bisnaga*

- (1896). W. Thackston, ed., *The Baburnama* (1996). D. Curto, ed., *O Tempo de Vasco da Gama* (1998); F. Bethencourt & K. Chaudhuri, eds., *História da Expansão Portuguesa: A Formação do Império (1415–1570)* (1998); D. Curto & F. Bethencourt, eds., *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400–1800* (2007).
- 5 E. Jones, *The European Miracle* (1987); N. Steensgaard, *Carracks, Caravans, and Companies* (1973); H. Furber, *Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient, 1600–1800* (1976); G. Parker, *The Military Revolution* (1996).
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- 7 F. Fernández-Armesto, *Millennium* (1995).
- 8 M. Hodgson, *Rethinking World History* (1993).
- 9 K. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean* (1985); Idem, *Asia Before Europe* (1990).
- 10 F. Braudel, *Civilisation and Capitalism, 15th–18th century*, vol. 3 (1984), pp. 79, 91. V. Godinho, *A Estrutura da Antiga Sociedade Portuguesa* (1971).
- 11 J. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society* (1955); K. Polany, C. Arensberg, & H. Pearson, eds., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires* (1957); B. King & M. Pearson, eds., *The Age of Partnership* (1979); L. Blussé & F. Gaastra, eds., *Companies and Trade* (1981); P. Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History* (1984); Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean*; A. Das Gupta & M. Pearson, eds., *India and the Indian Ocean, 1500–1800* (1987); D. Lombard & J. Aubin, eds., *Marchands et homes d’affaires asiatiques dans l’Océan Indien et la Mer de Chine* (1988); I. Habib, “Merchant Communities in Precolonial India,” *The Rise of Merchant Empires* (1990); D. Lombard, *Le Carrefour Javanais* (1990); C. Bayly & S. Subrahmanyam, “Portfolio Capitalists and the Political Economy of Early Modern India,” in *Merchants, Markets and the State in Early Modern India* (1990); R. Ptak & D. Rothermund, eds., *Emporia, Commodities and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400–1750* (1991); S. Subrahmanyam, ed., *Merchant Networks in the Early Modern World* (1996); C. Markovits, *The Global World of Indian Merchants, 1750–1947* (2000); Das Gupta, *The World of the Indian Ocean Merchant, 1500–1800* (2002); Goody, *The East in the West*; Idem, *The Theft of History* (2006).
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- 13 J. Coelho, *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegações e conquistas portuguesas* (1892), pp. 160–97.
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SURPASSING SYLVESTER

Liam Matthew Brockey

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- 2 Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Tratado de la Religion y Virtudes que deve tener el Principe Christiano, para gobernar y conservar sus Estados* (Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1599–1601), vol. 2, pp. 793–94.
- 3 Ibid., p. 794.
- 4 Ibid., pp. 70–71.
- 5 The Jesuit motto is “for the greater glory of God.” The citation is Proverbs 21:1, “the heart of the king is in the hand of the Lord.”
- 6 Baltasar Tellez, *Cronica da Companhia de Iesu, na Provinica de Portugal*, 2 vols. (Lisbon: Paulo Craesbeeck, 1645–47), vol. 1, pp. 39–40.
- 7 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 57.
- 8 For more on the conversion of the raja of Tanur, see Paolo Aranha, *Il Cristianesimo Latino in India nel XVI Secolo* (Milan: Francoangeli, 2006), pp. 217–35.
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- 10 *Documenta Indica*, ed. Joseph Wicki, 18 vols. (Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 1948–88), vol. 1, pp. 555–57.
- 11 João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, *Da Ásia*, 24 vols., 1777–88 (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica. Facsimilie, Lisbon: Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973–75), vol. 15, p. 98.
- 12 Aranha, 2006, p. 232.
- 13 Luís Fróis, *Historia de Japam*, ed. José Wicki, 5 vols. (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1976–84), vol. 1, pp. 23–24.
- 14 Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Compañia de Jesús en las India Orientales (1542–64)*, ed. Josef Wicki (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944), p. 167. A discussion of Xavier’s first missteps in Japan is in George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 30–37.
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- 16 For further information on the early Jesuits in Japan, see J. S. A. Elisonas, “Christianity and the Daimyo,” in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall and James McClain, 6 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988–99), vol. 4, pp. 301–72, esp. 302–26.
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 - 27 Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 282–83.
 - 28 Elison, pp. 85–106.
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 - 32 Citation in Elisonas, p. 339.
 - 33 Ibid., pp. 333–35.
 - 34 On the two national unifiers, see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies/Harvard University Press, 1982) pp. 35–39 (Nobunaga) and pp. 137–205 (Hideyoshi).
 - 35 Fróis, vol. 2, pp. 271–76.
 - 36 Rodrigues's dealings with Hideyoshi are discussed in Michael Cooper, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China* (Tokyo and New York: Weatherhill, 1974), pp. 82–95.
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 - 40 Antonio Monserrate, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J. On His Journey to the Court of Akbar*, trans. J. S. Hoyland and ed. S. N. Banerjee, 1922 (Reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1992), pp. 196–97.
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 - 42 Abu al Fazl, *The Akbar Nama of Abu-l-Fazl*, trans. H. Beveridge, 3 vols., 1902–39 (Reprint, Lahore, Pakistan: Book Traders, 1977), vol. 3, pp. 365–66.
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 - 44 Correia-Afonso, pp. 42–43.
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 - 46 Monserrate, p. 28; and Correia-Afonso, p. 98.
 - 47 *Documenta Indica*, vol. 12, p. 18.
 - 48 Monserrate, p. 39.
 - 49 Correia-Afonso, pp. 57 and 61.
 - 50 Monserrate, p. 42.
 - 51 Ibid., p. 28.
 - 52 Correia-Afonso, p. 34.
 - 53 Ibid., p. 50.
 - 54 Ibid., pp. 78–79.
 - 55 Ibid., pp. 72–73, and 47.
 - 56 Ibid., p. 94.
 - 57 Ibid., pp. 81, and 83–86.
 - 58 Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 456.
 - 59 Monserrate, p. 192.
 - 60 Valignano, p. 255.
 - 61 On Matteo Ricci and the early China Jesuits, see Jonathan Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York: Viking, 1984).
 - 62 Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação Anual das Coisa que fizeram os Padres da Companhia nas Suas Missões . . . dos annos 1600 a 1609*, ed. Artur Viegas (pseud.), 3 vols., 1605–11 (Reprint, Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1930–42), vol. 1, pp. 241 and 246.
 - 63 Timothy Brook, “The Early Jesuits and the Late Ming Border: The Search for Accommodation,” in *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing Perspectives on Chinese-Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Wu Xiaoxin (Nettetal and Sankt Augustin, Germany: Steyler Verlag and Monumenta Serica, 2005), pp. 23–26.
 - 64 Niccolò Longobardo, *Informação da Missão da China, Japonica-Sinica Collection 113* (Nanchang, Jiangxi Province, China: Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (Rome) 15 October 1612), f. 270v.
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 - 66 Manuel Jorge, *Annual Letter for the Vice-Province of China for 1657, Jesuitas na Ásia Collection 49-v-14* (Nanjing, China: Biblioteca da Ajuda (Lisbon), 12 May 1658), f. 168v.
 - 67 On the Calendar Case, see Harriet Zurndorfer “One Adam having driven us out of paradise, Another has driven us out of China,” *Yang Kuanghsien's Challenge of Adam Schall von Bell*. In *Conflict and Accommodation in Early Modern East Asia*, ed. Leonard Blussé and Harriet T. Zurndorfer (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), pp. 141–68.
 - 68 H. Jossion and L. Willaert, *Correspondence de Ferdinand Verbiest, SJ, Directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1938), p. 150.
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 - 71 Lapidus, p. 463.
- INCARNATE IMAGES
Gauvin Alexander Bailey
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 - 2 On the origins of the Catholic reform of the visual arts, see G. Scavizzi, *The Controversy on Images from Calvin to Baronius* (New York, 1992); G. Scavizzi, *Arte e architettura sacra, cronache e documenti sulla controversia tra riformati e cattolici (1500–1550)* (Rome, 1981); G. Scavizzi, “La teologia cattolica e le immagini durante il XVI secolo,” *Storia dell'Arte* 2 (1974), 171–212; and Anthony Blunt, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450–1600* (London, 1940), 103–36. The original texts of many of these treatises have been compiled in Paola Barocchi, *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento* (Bari, 1961). For a thorough bibliography on post-Tridentine image theory, see Pamela Jones, *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana* (Cambridge, 1993), 117–26. On imagery after Trent, see also Ilse von zur Mühlen, “Imaginibus honos-Ehre sei dem Bild: Die Jesuiten und die Bilderfrage,” in Reinhold Baumstark, *Rom in Bayern* (Munich, 1997), 161–70. See the texts defending imagery by John of Damascus quoted in Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 503–505. For the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent, see also Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 554–55.
 - 3 On the curative properties of images during times of plague, see the various chapters in Gauvin Alexander Bailey, et al., *Hope and Healing: Painting in Italy in a Time of Plague 1500–1800* (Worcester and Chicago, 2005); for a good study of the visionary aspects of religious imagery in Spain, see Victor I. Stoichita, *Visionary Experience in the Golden Age of Spanish Art* (London, 1995).
 - 4 For a recent study of Rubens' decorations for the Antwerp church, see Anna C. Knaap, “Seeing in Sequence: Peter Paul Rubens' Ceiling Cycle at the Jesuit Church in Antwerp,” in *Rubens and the Netherlands* (Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 55, 2004), 155–95. For a thorough study and excellent bibliography of the Jesuits' campaign in the print medium, see Ralph Dekoninck, *Ad Imaginem: Status, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva, 2005).
 - 5 For classic studies of intellectual Europe's reaction to the non-European world, see Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982); Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, 2 vols. (Chicago and London, 1965); and Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians* (Chicago, 1959).
 - 6 Christopher Dawson, *Mission to Asia* (Toronto, 1980); Robert Ricard, *La conquista espiritual de México*, reprt. (Mexico City, 1991), 33.
 - 7 Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: The Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire, and Beyond* (Stanford, 1996), 25–28.
 - 8 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1999).
 - 9 For an analysis of the extirpation of Aztec idols in early colonial Mexico, see Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner (1492–2019)* (Durham and London, 2001).

- Prominent studies of the extirpation of idolatry in Peru include Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640–1750* (Princeton, 1997); Pierre Duviols, *Cultura andina y repression. Procesos y visitas de idolatrias y hechicerías, Cajatambo siglo XVII* (Cuzco, 1986); and Pierre Duviols, *La lutte contre les religions autochtones dans le Pérou colonial. L’extirpation de l’idolatrie entre 1535 et 1660* (Lima, 1971).
- 10 Craig Clunas, *Art in China* (Oxford, 1997), 130.
 - 11 Jacques Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, Janet Lloyd trans., (Cambridge, 1985), 124.
 - 12 On Portugal’s debt to Flanders, see George Kubler and Martín Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and their American Dominions 1500–1800* (Baltimore, 1959), 183–87, 328–35.
 - 13 On Portugal’s debt to Italy, see the various chapters in K. J. P. Lowe, ed., *Cultural Links Between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance* (Oxford, 2000); Vasco Graça Moura, *A pintura maneirista em Portugal: Arte no tempo de Camões* (Lisbon, 1995); and Kubler and Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal*, 341.
 - 14 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “Creating a Global Artistic Language in Late Renaissance Rome: Artists in the Service of the Overseas Missions,” in Pamela Jones and Thomas Worcester, eds., *From Rome to Eternity: Catholicism and the Arts in Italy, ca. 1550–1650* (Leiden, 2001), 225–52. Teresa Gisbert has recently identified an original Laire painting on copper of Saint Catherine of Alexandria at the Museo de Arte in La Paz. I was able to examine it during an exhibition there in 2005. I am grateful to Professor Gisbert for her generosity in allowing me access to the collections.
 - 15 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 93; “The Synthesis of East and West in the Ottoman Architecture of the Tulip Period,” *Oriental Art* XLVIII, 4 (Winter 2002), 2–3.
 - 16 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (hereafter cited as ARSI): *Goa 461, 30a* (letter from Jerome Xavier, Agra, 8 September 1596); Goa State Archives, Panjim (hereafter GSAP): 2570 *Livro de registo de efeitos reinetidos e recebidos do Reino pelos Jesuitas 1664–1708*, 31a (1691–93).
 - 17 David M. Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation: The Jesuit Contribution to Architectural Development in Portuguese Asia,” in John W. O’Malley et al., eds., *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1999), 480–504; David Kowal, “The Evolution of Ecclesiastical Architecture in Portuguese Goa,” in José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal, eds., *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions* (Bombay, 2001), 70–87.
 - 18 Pedro Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo (1415–1822): O espaço do Índico* (Navarre, 1998), 212; Pedro Dias, *Arte indo-portuguesa* (Coimbra, 2004), 267. The translation from the Portuguese is my own.
 - 19 “Se bendo da muita reverência com que os pintores gentios e outros officiaes infieis tratavão as imagens e figuras de nossa Santa Religião Xp[ist]ão pello odio q[ue] ilhes te[m] mandar nenhum Xp[ist]ão mandase pintar imagens nem outra couza algu[m]a pertencente a o Culto Divino a pintor infiel nem mandase fazer ourives fundidores ou latoeiros infieis caleços cruces castiçais ne[m] outra couz algu[m]a q[ue] ouvesse de servir em as igreias . . .” [GSAP: 9529 *Provsões a favor da cristandade* (1595): 54a–b]. The Father of Christians (Pai dos Cristãos) was an official in charge of promulgating Christian doctrine in colonial Goa.
 - 20 Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 263.
 - 21 Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 213.
 - 22 Josef Franz Schütte, *Valignano’s Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. John J. Coyne, S.J., vol. 1 (St. Louis, 1980), 236. The original letter of 1591 is in ARSI Goa 14 (Epp. Goan. et Malab., 1590–99): 395a–396b.
 - 23 Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 83, 262.
 - 24 Vítor Serrão, “A pintura na antiga Índia portuguesa nos séculos XVI e XVII,” *Oceanos* 19/20 (September/December 1994), 107.
 - 25 Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 211, 262; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 116.
 - 26 Michael Sweerts, 1618–1664: *Flemish Master of the Sacred and Profane* (Amsterdam, 2002). See also Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 212.
 - 27 Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 88.
 - 28 GSAP: 2570: *Livro de registo de efeitos reinetidos e recebidos do Reino pelos Jesuitas (1664–1708)*: 28a, 31a.
 - 29 Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation,” 481; Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 81.
 - 30 Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation,” 488.
 - 31 Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation,” 490; Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 83–90.
 - 32 The indigenous decoration was first noted by Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation,” 493.
 - 33 Dias, *História da arte portuguesa no mundo*, 142–43.
 - 34 I am currently completing a book on the subject titled *The Hybrid Baroque Churches of Colonial Peru*, the first chapter of which is a historiography of the field. For a recent (if short) bibliography on the subject, see Antonio San Cristóbal, *Puno: esplendor de la arquitectura virreinal* (Lima, 2004), 185–86.
 - 35 Kowal, “Innovation and Assimilation,” 500; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, fig. 12.
 - 36 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “A época áurea dos marfins esculpidos Luso-Cingaleses,” in Amândio de Sousa, ed., *Um Olhar do Porto—Uma coleção de artes decorativas* (Funchal, 2005), 29–34; Regalado Trota José, *Images of Faith: Religious Ivory Carvings from the Philippines* (Pasadena, 1990), 9.
 - 37 Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, *Portuguese Expansion Overseas and the Art of Ivory* (Lisbon, 1991), 101.
 - 38 Margarita Mercedes Estella Marcos, *Ivories from the Far Eastern Provinces of Spain and Portugal* (Monterrey, 1997): 274–75.
 - 39 Marcos, *Ivories*, 269–71.
 - 40 See Bailey, “A época áurea dos marfins esculpidos,” 29–34. See also Trota José, *Images of Faith*, 9–10; J. Tilakasiri, “Ivory Carving of Sri Lanka,” *Arts of Asia* 4 (1974), 43; Charles Platten Woodhouse, *Ivories, A History and Guide* (New York, 1976), 72; and Anand Coomaraswami, *Medieval Sinhalese Art* (London, 1929), 2–3, 183.
 - 41 Heinz Bechert, “Die Periode der portugiesischen Herrschaft und die Anfänge der römisch-katholischen Kirche auf der Insel Ceylon,” in Wilfried Seipel, ed., *Exotica: Portugals Entdeckungen im Spiegel fürstlicher Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Renaissance* (Milan, 2000), 87–99; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 152, 169, 188.
 - 42 Melanie Anne Schwabe, “Schatzkunst auf Ceylon,” in *Exotica*, 102; Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 153; E. Peiris and A. Meersmann, *Early Christianity in Ceylon* (Colombo, 1972), 45; and Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, 154.
 - 43 Schwabe, “Schatzkunst auf Ceylon,” 101–104; Nuno Vassallo e Silva, ed., *A herança de Rauluchantim* (Lisbon, 1996), 142–46, cat. nos. 3, 5, 6–9, 12, 20–21; Gulbenkian Foundation, *Portuguese Expansion Overseas*; Amin Jaffer and Melanie Anne Schwabe, “A Group of Sixteenth-Century Ivory Caskets from Ceylon,” *Apollo* (March 1998), 3–14; Bernardo Ferrão, *Mobiliário Português, Índia e Japão* (Lisbon, 1990), 9–43; Wilhelm Slomann, “Elfenbeinreliefs auf zwei singhalesischen Schreinen des 16. Jahrhunderts,” *Pantheon*, vol. xx (1937), 357–63, and vol. xxi (1938), 12–19; Luís Keil, “Influência artística portuguesa no oriente: três cofres de marfim indianos do século XVI,” *Boletim de Academia de Belas Artes* (1938), 9–43; Luís Keil, “Alguns exemplos da influência portuguesa em obras de arte indianas do século XVI,” 1 Congresso da historia da expansão Portuguesa no mundo, 11 secção (1938), 5–21.
 - 44 Bailey, *Counter Reformation Symbolism and Allegory in Mughal Painting*, Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996, 481, fig. 22.
 - 45 For a recent discussion of Xavier imagery in Japan, see Midori Wakakuwa, “Xavier in the ‘Fifteen Mysteries of the Rosary’ at Kyoto University,” in *St. Francis Xavier: An Apostle of the East* (Tokyo, 1999), 210–26. See also Tobu Museum of Art, *St. Francis Xavier—His Life and Times* (Tobu, 1999), 63–99.
 - 46 The Latin inscription, taken verbatim from the original print, reads: “Divine Love, after overcoming the Profane, shatters those arrows of love conceived in Hell, refreshes the harmless ones at the newly gushing fountain and prepares to pierce hearts with a life-giving dart.” [Gulbenkian Foundation, *Portuguese Expansion Overseas*, 132]. The identification of the engraving is my own, and the original can be found in Stefania Macioce, *Undique Splendent: Aspetti della pittura sacra nella Roma di Clemente VIII Aldobrandini* (Rome, 1990), fig. xxxvi (b).
 - 47 Gulbenkian Foundation, *Portuguese Expansion Overseas*, 64–65. For the Marcantonio Raimondi version, see Adam von Bartsch, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, ed. Walter L. Strauss (New York, 1978), 589 iii/iii. The identification of the engraving

- is my own.
- 48 Gulbenkian Foundation, *Portuguese Expansion Overseas*, 86.
- 49 Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, *Exotica: the Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstskammer* (Lisbon, 2001), 188–89; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580–1630* (Washington, 1998), fig. 7.
- 50 See Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “The Lahore *Mirat al-Quds* and the Impact of Jesuit Theater on Mughal Painting,” *South Asian Studies* 13 (1997), 95–108; Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting,” *Art Journal* (Spring 1998), 24–30; Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul*; Bailey, “The Truth-Showing Mirror: Jesuit Catechism and the Arts in Mughal India,” in O’Malley, *The Jesuits*, 380–401; Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 112–41; and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, “The End of the ‘Catholic Era’ in Mughal Painting: Jahangir’s Dream Pictures, English Painting, and the Renaissance Frontispiece,” in *Marg* 53, 2 (December 2001), 46–59.
- 51 This anonymous painter is only mentioned in one published letter (Sir Edward Maclagan, “Jesuit Missions to the Emperor Akbar,” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 65 [1896], 67) and in the history of Du Jarric (Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, trans. C. H. Payne [London, 1926], 67). I have found two additional letters that mention him (ARSI, Goa 14, f. 288a; and Goa 461, f. 30b).
- 52 See Bailey, *Counter Reformation Symbolism*, 163–69. The reference to Basawan is noted in Milo C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India* (Williamstown, 1978), 183 n. 6.
- 53 Bailey, *Counter Reformation Symbolism*, 168; Milo Beach, “The Gulshan Album and its European Sources,” *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bulletin* 63 (1965), 63–91. Professor Beach and I made the identifications.
- 54 The translation from the Persian is my own.
- 55 Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul*, 228; Antonio Monserrate, *The Commentary of Father Monserrate, S.J.*, trans. and ed. J. S. Hoyland (London, 1922), 176. This tradition of displaying the picture on the feast of the Assumption was carried on in the years after the first mission left, when priests were no longer at the court.
- 56 One of them is the Lahore manuscript mentioned below. The other, recently acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art, is discussed in Bailey, “Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia,” in John O’Malley and Gauvin Alexander Bailey, eds., *The Jesuits and the Arts* (Philadelphia, 2005), figs 10.34–10.42.
- 57 For the text from John of Damascus, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence*, 504.
- 58 See Bailey, “The Truth-Showing Mirror,” 395.
- 59 Lahore Museum, M-645/MSS-46, *Mirāt al-Quds*, 2a. The translation from the Persian is my own. See also Bailey, “The Lahore *Mirat al-Quds*,” 95–108. For a brief sketch of the manuscript, see M. Abdullah Chaghatai, “*Mirat al-Quds*: A Illustrated Manuscript of Akber’s Period about Christ’s Life,” *Lahore Museum Bulletin* 1, 2 (July–December 1988), 93–99.
- 60 Amin Jaffer, *Luxury Goods from India: the Art of the Cabinet-Maker* (London, 2002), 33–35; Richard Ettinghausen, “New Pictorial Evidence of Catholic Missionary Activity in Mughal India (early XVIIth Century),” in H. Rahner, ed., *Perennitas: P. Thomas Michaels O.S.B. zum 70 Geburtstag* (Münster, 1963), fig. 11.
- 61 See Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 137–41.
- 62 The literature includes Bailey, “The End of the ‘Catholic Era’ in Mughal Painting,” 46–59; Amina Okada, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court* (New York, 1992), 45–59; Robert Skelton, “Imperial Symbolism in Mughal Painting,” in Priscilla P. Soucek, ed., *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (University Park and London, 1988), 177–87; Ebba Koch, “The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors,” in Christian Troll, ed., *Islam in India 1* (New Delhi, 1982), 14–32; Milo Beach, *The Imperial Image* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 167–72; Milo Beach, “The Mughal Painter Abu’l-Hasan and some English Sources for his Style,” *Walters Art Gallery Journal* 38 (1980), 7–33; Asok Kumar Das, *Mughal Painting During Jahangir’s Time* (Calcutta, 1978), 213–28; Stuart Cary Welch, *Imperial Mughal Painting* (New York, 1978), 80–83; Richard Ettinghausen, “The Emperor’s Choice,” in Millard Meiss, ed., *De Artibus Opuscula XL* (New York, 1961), 98–120; and Richard Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections* (Delhi, 1961), pls. 11–14. These paintings were all executed when the court was residing at Ajmir.
- 63 Xavier records that he brought oil paintings of the Madonna and Child and the Annunciation, as well as an illustrated Bible, and he wrote in a set of instructions to missionaries about the importance of using imagery to communicate with the Japanese. See Michael Cooper, S.J., ed., *The Southern Barbarians* (Tokyo, 1971), 147.
- 64 Shinzo Kawamura gave a presentation on this topic called “Jesuit Confraternities in Japan before 1587” at the conference “The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts” at Boston College, May 1997.
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- 66 For the Calera de Tango, see Bailey, “The Calera de Tango of Chile (1741–67): The Last Great Mission Art Studio of the Society of Jesus,” in *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* LXXIV, 147 (January–June 2005): 175–206. For the Reductions in Paraguay, see chapter six of Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*.
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- 68 *As ruínas de S. Paulo* (Lisbon and Macao, 1994), cat. III. I am grateful to the late Fr. Manoel Teixeira for allowing me to examine this painting in 1993.
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- 78 For recent assessments of the contributions of Matteo Ricci, see Francesco D’Arelli, ed., *Le marche e l’oriente* (Rome, 1998).
- 79 Georg Schurhammer, “Die Jesuitenmissionäre des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts und ihr Einfluss auf die Japanische Malerei,” in Georg Schurhammer, *Orientalia* (Rome, 1963), 773; Henri Bernard, “L’art chrétien en Chine du temps du P. Matthieu Ricci,” *Revue d’histoire des missions* 12 (1935), 220–21; Pasquale d’Elia, *Le origini dell’arte cristiana cinese* (Rome, 1939), 36–38; and John McCall, “Early Jesuit Art in the Far East: (iv) In China and Macao before 1635,” *Artibus Asiae* 11 (1948), 49–51.
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- 81 Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions*, 99–105.
- 82 These illustrations are published in Pasquale d’Elia, *Le origini dell’arte cristiana cinese* (Rome, 1939), and Eugenio Menegon, *Un solo cielo: Giulio Aleni S.J. geografia, arte, scienza, religione dall’Europa alla Cina* (Brescia, 1994).

- 83 *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* iv (Toulouse, 1810), 129.
- 84 José Roberto Teixeira Leite, *A China no Brasil* (Campinas, 1999), 175.
- 85 Craig Clunas, *Pictures and Visuality in Early Modern China* (Princeton, 1997), 172–88.
- 86 Francis X. Clooney, S.J., “De Nobili’s Dialogue and Religion in South Asia,” in O’Malley, *The Jesuits*, 406–408.

“THEY HAVE DISCOVERED US”
Jorge Flores

- 1 The original reads: “que mercadorias havia lá para trazerem e que coisas queriam de cá a troco delas” and “Dessa maneira eles são os que nos descobriram a nós.” Anonymous, *Ditos portugueses dignos de memória. História íntima do século XVI*, 3rd ed., José Hermano Saraiva, ed. (Mem-Martins: Europa-América, 1997), 113.
- 2 Anonymous [Álvaro Velho], *Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497–1499*, trans. and ed. E. G. Ravenstein (repr. New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1995), 60–2.
- 3 In the original Portuguese, “Senhor da Navegação, Conquista e Comércio da Etiópia, Arábia, Pérsia e Índia.” See António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, “Conceitos de Espaço e Poder e seus reflexos na titulação régia portuguesa da época da expansão,” in *La Découverte, le Portugal et l’Europe*, ed. Jean Aubin (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugais, 1990), 105–29.
- 4 *Bandar* is a Persian word that means “port.” In sixteenth-century Portuguese, the word *bandel* also referred to a Portuguese colony in a given Asian port-city.
- 5 ———, “L’idée impériale manuéline,” in *La Découverte, le Portugal, et l’Europe*, 35–103.
- 6 Aubin, “Francisco de Albuquerque. Un Juif Castillan au service de l’Inde Portugaise (1510–1515),” in *Le Latin et l’Astrolabe*, vol. 11: *Recherches sur le Portugal de la Renaissance, son expansion en Asie et les relations internationales* (Lisbon and Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000), 251–73. Luís Filipe Thomaz, “Gaspar da Gama e a génese da estratégia portuguesa no Índico”; unpublished paper. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, “When the World Discovered Portugal: Ten Years of Luso-Asian Interaction, 1498–1508”; unpublished paper presented at “Novos Mundos–Neue Welten.” *Portugal und das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, a conference organized by The Deutschen Historischen Museums, Berlin, November 23–25, 2006.
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MUSCAT AND THE PORTUGUESE IN OMAN

Enrico d'Errico

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EXPORT ART FROM PORTUGUESE INDIA

Nuno Vassallo e Silva

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MERCHANTS AND MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

MACAO

Rui Manuel Loureiro

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FROM MARCO POLO TO MANUEL I Jean Michel Massing

This article integrates passages from a previously published article: Jean Michel Massing, “Observations and Beliefs: The World of the ‘Catalan Atlas,’” in ‘Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration,’ Jay A. Levenson, ed., *Exhibition catalogue*, Washington, The National Gallery of Art, October 12, 1991–January 12, 1992 (Washington, New Haven and London, 1991), 27–33, but also from the catalogue entries pp. 126, no. 7, 129–30, no. 12 and 131–32, nos. 15–16. Finally, I would like to thank Regina Krahl for sharing with me her knowledge of Chinese porcelain and Elizabeth McGrath for her advice.

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- 35 Lightbown 1978, 29.
- 36 Pelliot 1959–73, 2: 808–9.
- 37 Eugène Grésy, "Inventaire des objets d'art composant la succession de Florimond Robertet, Ministre de François Ier, dressée par sa veuve, le 4e et jour d' août 1532," *Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France* 3 sér., x (1868), pp. 60–61; see Pelliot 1959–73, 2: 809. Robertet, incidentally, had forty porcelains.
- 38 Pelliot 1959–73, 2: 805–8.
- 39 Rose Kerr and Nigel Wood, *Science and Civilisation in China*, Joseph Needham gen. ed., 5 (*Chemistry and Chemical Technology*), xii (*Ceramic Technology*) (Cambridge, 2004), 749–52.
- 40 Polo 1938, 1: 352. The inventory of Florimond Robertet, for which Grésy (as in n. 37), p. 60, mentions "qu' il faut qu' elle soit cent ans durant enterrée bien avant dans la terre auparavant qu' elle soit en sa perfection."
- 41 Pelliot 1959–73, 2: 809.
- 42 Duarte Barbaso, *The Book . . . An Account of the Countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants, Written . . . and Completed about the Year 1518 AD*, Mansel Longworth Dames, ed., 2 (London, 1921), 213–14.
- 43 A short, useful account of the slow Portuguese progression along the coast of Africa is found in *Prince Henry the Navigator and Portuguese Maritime Enterprise*, Exhibition catalogue, London, British Museum, September–October 1960 (London, 1960), esp. 16–17 and 21.
- 44 For the trade with Africa, Stéphane Pradines, "L'Afrique noire et la Chine. La céramique chinoise en Afrique orientale, symbole du pouvoir des marchands Swahilis," in *L' Odyssée de la porcelaine chinoise. Collections du Musée national de Céramique, Sèvres et du Musée national Adrien Dubouché, Limoges*, Exhibition catalogue, Sèvres, Musée national de Céramique, November 20, 2003–February 16, 2004; Limoges, Musée national Adrien Dubouché, March 6–June 1, 2004 and Marseilles, Musée de la Faïence–Château Pastré, June 25–October 10, 2004 (Paris 2003), 35–41. For the documents referring to the early porcelain imports to Portugal, see Luís Keil, "Porcelanas Chinesas do século XVI com inscrições em português," *Boletim da Academia Nacional de Belas-Artes* x (1942), 27–29; Pedro Dias, "Símbolos e imagens do Cristianismo na porcelana chinesa," in *Reflexos. Símbolos e imagens do Cristianismo na porcelana Chinesa*, Exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, Museu de São Roque (Lisbon, 1996), 22–24; Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, "Porcelana Chinesa. De presente régio a produto comercial. Chinese porcelain. From royal gifts to commercial products," in *Caminhos da porcelana. Dinastias Ming e Qing. The Porcelain Route: Ming und Qing Dynasties*, João Rodrigues Calvão, ed., Exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, Fundação Oriente (Lisbon, 1999), esp. 109–22; Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, "Chinese porcelain in Portuguese written sources," *Oriental Art* xlviii.5 (2002/03), 36–40. For an overall survey, Monique Crick, "Nefs et galions portugais sur la route du Cathay. Le commerce de la porcelaine chinoise au XVIe siècle," in *L' Odyssée de la porcelaine chinoise* 2003 (as above), 42–52.
- 45 Pinto de Matos, *Caminhos* 1999, 110; Pinto de Matos, Chinese porcelain 2002/03, 36–52.
- 46 Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, Rodrigo José de Lima Felner, ed., 1 (Lisbon, 1858), 100–101; Dias 1996, 22.
- 47 Correa 1858, 1: 140; Dias 1996, 22.
- 48 Dias 1996, 22–23. See also José Meco, "A azulejaria e a cerâmica escultórica nos Jerónimos," in *Jerónimos—4 séculos de pintura*, 1, Exhibition catalogue, Lisbon, Mosteiro de Santa Maria de Belém (Lisbon, 1992), 108. For Manuel's gifts of porcelain to the Church, see Pinto de Matos, Chinese porcelain 2002/03, 37.
- 49 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, "Cartas de quitação del Rei D. Manuel," *Arquivo Historico Português*, iv (Lisbon, 1906), 75–76; see Dias, 1996, 24. In another document dated September 25, 1517, Manuel ordered his accountant to inventory, among other, forty-seven pieces of porcelain he had given to António Salvago: Pinto de Matos 2002/03, 38.
- 50 Anselmo Braamcamp Freire, "Inventário da Infanta D. Beatriz. 1507," *Arquivo Historico Português* (1914), ix: 70 (see also pp. 69 and 99); see Dias 1996, 24.
- 51 Jean Charles Davillier, *Les origines de la porcelaine en Europe* (Paris and London, 1882), 126; see Dominique Carré, Jean-Paul Desroches and Franck Goddio, *Le San Diego. Un trésor sous la mer* (Paris, 1994), 309. In a letter to the Spanish sovereigns, dated August 28, 1501, King Manuel I mentions that "some porcelain vases were so delicate that only one of them could cost as much as a hundred cruzados": Pinto de Matos 2002/03, 36.
- 52 Correa 1860, 2: 409; see Dias 1996, 24 and Pinto de Matos, *Caminhos* 1999, 110.
- 53 Correa 1858, 1: 909; see Pinto de Matos, *Caminhos* 1999, 110.
- 54 Kerr and Wood 2004, 728–34. For Malacca as a trading place for porcelain in early Portuguese sources, see Pinto de Matos 2002/03, 37.
- 55 T'ien-Tsê Chang, *Sino-Portuguese Trade from 1514 to 1644: A Synthesis of Portuguese and Chinese Sources* (Leiden, 1933), 23, quoting Chu-Yü. On the Belitung wreck of the 840s, unfortunately still basically unpublished, the Changsha bowls were packed in large storage jars, tied together in stacks of ten; I would like to thank Regina Krahel for this information.
- 56 T. Volker, *Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company as Recorded in the Dag-Registers of Batavia Castle, those of Hirado and Deshima and Other Contemporary Papers 1602–1682* (Leiden, 1971), 6, for example.
- 57 João de Barros, *Décadas*, iii, liv. II, cap. IV: João de Barros, *Da Asia*, 5 (Lisbon 1777–1788), 150. For the tradition of the *padrão*, see Wilhelm Kalthammer, *Die Portugiesenkreuze in Africa und Asien* (Basel, 1984).
- 58 João de Barros, *Décadas*, iii, liv. II, cap. VI. Barros 1777–1788, 5:184.
- 59 Armando Cortesão, *Primeira embaixada Europeia à China: O boticário e embaixador Tomé Pires e a sua 'Suma Oriental'* (Lisbon, 1945). See also Tomé Pires, *A Suma Oriental* (Coimbra, 1978) and *The Suma Oriental: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India*

- in 1512–1515, Armando Cortesão transl., 2 vols (London, 1944) who, incidentally, mentions porcelain (I, 43, 93, 98, 115 and 125).
- 60 A good survey of the early contacts covered above is provided by Raffaella D’Intino, “La découverte de la Chine. L’aventure portugaise,” in *Du Tage à la mer de Chine: Une épopée portugaise*, Exhibition catalogue, Queluz, Palácio Nacional de Queluz, March 9–April 30, 1992 and Paris, Musée national des Arts asiatiques–Guimet, May 19–August 31, 1992 (Paris, 1992), esp. 55–57.
- 61 Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronológico pt.1, mç. 41, doc. 29, fl. 7: see Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos “The Portuguese Trade,” *Oriental Art* xlv.1 (1999), 23.
- 62 Pinto de Matos *Caminhos* 1999, 134–35, with ill. For that in the Fundação Medeiros e Almeida, John Carswell, *Blue & White: Chinese Porcelain around the World* (London, 2000), 134–35, fig. 153.
- 63 José Teixeira, in *Circa 1492* 1991, 146.
- 64 See n. 62.
- 65 A good coverage of the material is found in *Reflexos* 1996, esp. 62–67, nos. 1–6; Pinto de Matos, *Caminhos* 1999, 134–53, nos. 1–10. The earliest surviving pieces made for the Portuguese market are large dishes, like Topkapi Saray no. 750 which has the monogram IHS. Their much coarser workmanship, their peculiar shape with a strong undercut foot and their outside designs link them to a group of wares made around 1500: Regina Krah, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum, Istanbul*, 11: *Yuan and Ming Dynasty Porcelains* (London, 1986), pp. 568–69, no. and fig. 750; also William R. Sargent, “. . . it is proposed to make a Cabinet: Building the Asian Export ceramic collection at the Peabody Essex Museum,” in *The History of Collecting Oriental Ceramics in East and West*. Proceedings of the Symposium in the Groninger Museum, November 13 and 14, 2003, *Vormen uit vuur. Mededelingsblad Nederlandse Vereniging van Vrienden van Ceramiek en Glas* 191/192 (2005), 65, fig. 7. Krah also published there a bowl with flared rim, with two armillary spheres with the Portuguese word EMPERO and the inscription PEM TEMPO DE PERO DE FARIA and the date 1541: see *idem*, pp. 589–90, no. and fig. 812, with much interesting information on specific porcelains for the Portuguese market.
- 66 António da Silva Rego, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Índia*, 1 (Lisbon, 1947–58), 90–93; see Dias 1996, 24.
- 67 For the Portuguese factors, see Jan Veth and Samuel Muller, *Albrecht Dürers Niederländische Reise*, 2 (Berlin and Utrecht, 1918), 251–60; also Albert Goris, *Etude sur les colonies marchandes méridionales (Portugais, Espagnols, Italiens) à Anvers de 1488 à 1567* (Louvain, 1925), 215–36.
- 68 Hans Rupprich, *Dürers. Schriftlicher Nachlass*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1956–69), 1:165; Jan-Albert Goris and George Marlier, *Albrecht Dürer. Diary of his Journey to the Netherlands 1520–1521* (London, 1971), 82. For the journey, Jean Michel Massing “The Quest for the Exotic: Albrecht Dürer in the Netherlands,” in *Circa 1492* 1991, 115–19.
- 69 Rupprich 1956, 1: 166; Goris and Marlier 1971, 83.
- 70 Rupprich 1956, 1: 290; Goris and Marlier 1971, 185, no. 66, fig. 66. For the drawing, see Walter Leopold Strauss, *The Complete Drawings of Albrecht Dürer*, 4 (New York, 1974), 2012–13, no. and fig. 1521/8; Jean Michel Massing, in *Circa 1492* 1991, 289, no. 193.
- 71 For the portrait, Strauss 1974, 4: 2014–15, no. and fig. 1521/9. For the St. Jerome, Erwin Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, 1 (Princeton, 1945), 211–13 and Fedja Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer. Das malerische Werk* (Berlin, 1971), 259–60, no. 162, fig. 177, pl. 7.
- 72 Respectively Rupprich 1956, 1: 156 and 166; Goris and Marlier 1971, 65 and 83–84. For the gifts of porcelain, see Veth and Muller 1918, 2: 192–93.
- 73 Rupprich 1956, 1: 156, 162, 165 and 166; Goris and Marlier 1971, 65, 76, 81, and 84.
- 74 See Davillier 1882, 12–13 and Heinrich Zimerman, “Urkunden und Regesten aus der K. und K. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-archiv in Wien,” *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* III (Part 2) (1885), cv, no. 339 (227). Dagmar Eichberger, *Leben mit Kunst, Wirken durch Kunst. Sammelwesen und Hofkunst unter Margarete von Österreich, Regentin der Niederlande* (Turnhout, 2002), 132, 364, and 383.
- 75 A. I. Spriggs, “Oriental Porcelain in Western Paintings,” *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society* 36 (1964–65 and 1965–66) (1967), 74, pls. 60 a–c.
- 76 For this drawing, Strauss 1974, 3: 1588–89, no and fig. 1515/61; John Rowlands, *Drawings by German Artists and Artists from German-Speaking Regions of Europe in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum: The Fifteenth Century, and the Sixteenth Century by Artists born before 1530* (London, 1993), 1: 90–91, no. 194 and 11: pl. 131; Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy. The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London, 2002), 191–92, no. and fig. 133. For a study of Dürer’s column in regard to its context, see Friedrich Teja Bach, *Struktur und Erscheinung. Untersuchungen zu Dürers graphischer Kunst* (Berlin, 1996), 248–56.
- 77 Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, “Albrecht Dürers Aberglaube. Zu einigen Handzeichnungen und graphischen Blätter,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 7 (1940), 185, fig. 12; Panofsky 1945, 2:144, no. 1532.
- 78 Anna Coreth, “Der Orden von der Stola und den Kanneln und dem Greifen” (Aragonischer Kannenorden), *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* v (1952), 34–51 (esp. fig. 3); for Dürer’s Drawing of the Visor of a Helmet, Strauss 1974, 3: 1644–45, no. and fig. 1517/3; see also Walter Koschatzky and Alice Strobl, *Dürer Drawings in the Albertina* (London, 1972), 258–59, no. and fig. 104.
- 79 Robert Schmidt, “China bei Dürer,” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1939), 103–8, fig. 1; Jurgis Baltrusaitis, *Le Moyen Age fantastique. Antiquités et exotismes dans l’art gothique* (Paris, 1955), 177, for the vase on the right; Jessica Rawson, *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art* (London, 1992), 283–84, fig. 213.
- 80 Spriggs 1967, 73, pls. 57a–c; Marco Spallanzani, *Ceramiche orientali a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1978), 95, fig. 14; Rosamond E. Mack, *Bazaar to Piazza: Islamic Trade and Italian Art, 1300–1600* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 2002), 105 (with interesting information on imitations of Oriental ware). For the painting, see Fern Rusk Shapley, *Washington, National Gallery of Art. Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, 1 (Washington, D.C. 1979), 62–63 and 2: pl. 36.
- 81 Spriggs 1967, 74 and pls. 58 a–b. Spallanzani 1978, 95–96, fig. 15 (also 16–18); Mack 2002, 105. For the painting see Ronald Lightbown, *Mantegna, with a Complete Catalogue of the Paintings, Drawings and Prints* (Oxford, 1986), 445–46, no. 43, pl. 16.
- 82 Spriggs 1967, 74, pls. 59 a–b; Spallanzani 1978, 96, figs. 19–20; Mack 2002, 105–6, fig. 206; Shapley 1979, 1: 38–47 and 2: pls. 26–268. For the definite identification, John Carswell 1985, esp. 88, no. 32, fig. 32.
- 83 Pinto de Matos, *Caminhos* 1999, 110.

THE PORTUGUESE PRESENCE IN THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF CHINA Regina Krah

- 1 See James Watt et al., *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–750 A.D.* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004).
- 2 Ch’ên Yüan, *Western and Central Asians in China under the Mongols. Their Transformation into Chinese* (Los Angeles: Monumenta Serica at the University of California, 1966).
- 3 In a deliberate move to wipe out Mongol influence, the first Ming emperor reversed the foreigner-friendly and free-trade policies of his predecessors and permitted trade exchanges only under government-supervised tribute relationships. This policy lasted throughout the Ming dynasty, even if its effectiveness varied over the centuries.
- 4 Zheng He (1371–1433) made seven voyages to thirty-seven countries between 1405 and his death. Ma Huan, a Muslim translator, accompanied Zheng on several trips and recorded details of them. See J. Mills, *Ma Huan. Ying-yai sheng-lan. The Overall Survey of the Ocean’s Shores* (New York: Hakluyt Society, 1970).
- 5 Gaspar da Cruz, who left a vivid and informative report of his brief stay, noted that Portuguese exports from China at that time represented no more than a trickle from that rich country: “Nothing cometh from without China, neither goeth out of it. And that which the Portugals do carry, and some that they of Siam do carry, is so little in comparison with the great traffic of the

- country, that it almost remaineth as nothing, and unperceived; seeing that out of China there goeth no more but that which the Portugals and they of Siam do carry; the which is, though much, as though they brought nothing out of China, five or six carracks coming laden with silk and porcelain. The great plenty and riches of the country doth this, that it can sustain itself alone. Pepper and ivory which is the principal that the Portugals do carry, a man may well live without it." C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century. Being the Narratives of Galeote Pereira, Fr. Gaspar da Cruz, O.P., Fr. Martín de Rada, O.E.S.A. (1550–1575)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1953), 112.
- 6 See, for example, a "bed cover" at Hatfield Hall, Hertfordshire, in Margaret Jourdain and R. Soame Jenyns, *Chinese Export Art in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Country Life, 1950), no. 143; a "coverlet" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in *Os descobrimentos Portugueses* 1983, no. 226 (see fig. 2); and a similar embroidery adapted as a cope (see Christa C. Mayer-Thurman, *Raiment for the Lord's Service* [Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1975], no. 87); and compare a Dalmatic in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (see Simonetta Luz Afonso et al., *Via Orientalis* [Tokyo: Sezon Museum of Art, 1993], no. 138).
- 7 In 1651 an embroidery the size of a bed cover was donated as a processional baldachin cover to the parish of Chiavari in Italy. See Maria Teresa Lucidi, ed., *La seta e la sua via* (Rome: Edizione de Luca, 1994), no. 156.
- 8 Anna Jackson and Amin Jaffer, *Encounters: The Meeting of Asia and Europe 1500–1800* (London: V & A Publications, 2004), no. 8.22.
- 9 G. F. Wingfield Digby, "Some Silks Woven Under Portuguese Influence in the Far East," *Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (August 1940), 52–63.
- 10 The Portuguese chronicler António Bocarro reports in 1635 that the permanent residents of Macao comprised only 850 Portuguese and about the same number of natives; see C. R. Boxer, *Seventeenth Century Macau in Contemporary Documents and Illustrations* (Hong Kong: Heine-mann [Asia], 1984), 15.
- 11 Galeote Pereira was in China from 1539 to 1553, first on trading voyages, then in exile in Guilin, to where he traveled from Fujian via Jiangxi and Guangdong. He talks about porcelain being sold everywhere in Jiangxi province and acquired particularly in Ningbo, where the Portuguese originally thought it was made. According to Gaspar da Cruz, silks of various kinds were available in Guangzhou. See Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, 5, 32, 146, 190.
- 12 According to Pinto de Matos, the earliest references to porcelain in Portuguese documents date from 1499, the year of Vasco da Gama's return from his epic journey around the Cape of Good Hope. See Maria Antónia Pinto de Matos, *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Museum of Anastácio Gonçalves, Lisbon* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 1996), 37 n. 14.
- 13 The earliest porcelains with Western motifs seemingly are large dishes of relatively coarse workmanship decorated with Portuguese religious and secular emblems. Their form, style of decoration, and material still belong to the period when trade was dominated by Arabs and Persians. See Le Corbeiller 1974, no. 2; Regina Krah! with Nurdan Erbahar, *Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul*, ed. John Ayers, vol. 2 (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1986), nos. 750 and 750a; and Regina Krah! and Jessica Harrison-Hall, *Ancient Chinese Trade Ceramics from the British Museum, London* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 1994), no. 1.
- 14 Pinto de Matos in João Rodrigues Calvão, *Caminhos da Porcelana. Dinastias Ming e Qing/ The Porcelain Route. Ming and Qing Dynasties* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1998), 114.
- 15 The use of the IHS emblem on Chinese porcelain predates the founding of the Society of Jesus, which later adopted the symbol.
- 16 Boxer, one of the greatest authorities on Portuguese history, did not recognize the inscription now believed to record the name "Jorge Alvarez" as such; see John Alexander Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine* (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1956), 57.
- 17 One dish is reputed to have originally formed part of the Santos Palace ceiling in Lisbon.
- 18 Besides the pieces preserved in Topkapı Saray in Istanbul and the Safavid ancestral shrine at Ardabil, many other examples with Middle Eastern metals mounts are extant.
- 19 The hydra, for example, appears together with a Latin proverb on a dish from the Santos Palace ceiling. See Daisy Lion-Goldschmidt, "Les porcelains chinoises du palais de Santos," *Arts Asiatiques* 39 (1984), 5–72, figs. 80–82.
- 20 Such motifs are often seen in *imprese*, the badges composed of an image and a motto, which were then popular with individuals and families.
- 21 Previous interpretations of the fountain motif are discussed in Krah!, *Chinese Ceramics*, 597, no. 1013, where a fountain ewer of Jiajing mark and period is illustrated.
- 22 Among the earliest porcelains with explicit Christian motifs are small jars of the early seventeenth century with lugs in the form of cherub heads with pendant vines, and emblems of Christ's Betrayal, Crucifixion, Passion, and Descent from the Cross; see *Du Tage à la Mer de Chine. Une épopée portugaise* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), no. 75. The earliest Western shapes are copies of silver salts (e.g., Victoria and Albert Museum, London, acquisition no. C.566-1910).
- 23 Excavations at the convent of Santa Clara-a-Velha in Coimbra, which took in daughters of affluent families, brought to light remains of some 170 porcelain bowls and plates, mostly with blue-and-white designs. The convent was abandoned in 1677; see Paulo César Santos, "As porcelanas da China no velho mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha de Coimbra," *Oriente* 3 (2002), 53–59.
- 24 Affixed to the pyramidal ceiling of the *casa das porcelanas* of Lisbon's Santos Palace between 1664 and 1687 were 260 Chinese porcelain vessels of the early sixteenth to mid-seventeenth century. These vessels were not the only porcelains owned by the family. An inventory of 1704 lists an additional 375 Chinese pieces. See Lion-Goldschmidt, "Les porcelains chinoises du palais de Santos."
- 25 It is believed that porcelain services were deliberately smashed after a royal visitor had been served from them to prevent the pieces from being reused. The sherds were then combined with stones and shells to form mosaics of garden walls and grottoes as, for example, in the Palácio dos Marquês de Fronteira in Lisbon, which was built between 1650 and 1675 for the Mascarenhas family. See also note 36.
- 26 Regina Krah!, "China Ships and Porcelain Rooms. Collecting Chinese Ceramics in the Middle East," *Vormen uit Vuur* 191/192 (2005), 38–47.
- 27 As far away as Madagascar, Chinese porcelain represented the most important tomb furniture in terms of quantity. See Elie Vernier and Jacques Millot, *Archéologie malgache. Comptoir musulmans*, vol. 1 (Paris: Catalogues du Musée de l'Homme, Série F, Madagascar, 1971), 81. In the Middle East, imports of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain completely transformed the local ceramic industry; see Lisa Golombek, Robert B. Mason, and Gauvin A. Bailey, *Tamerlane's Tableware. A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Toronto: Mazda Publishers, 1996); Yolande Crowe, *Persia and China. Safavid Blue and White Ceramics in the Victoria and Albert Museum 1501–1738* (La Borie, 2002).
- 28 Of thirteen recorded Portuguese ships wrecked before 1650 off the South African coast, nine were laden with large quantities of blue-and-white porcelains; see L. V. Esterhuizen, *Dit Kom Van Ver Af—It Came from Afar: Chinese porcelain shards on the South African coast* (n.p., n.d.), and Laura Valerie Esterhuizen, "Chinese Ming Blue and White Porcelain Recovered from 16th and 17th Century Portuguese Shipwrecks on the South African Coast," *Taoci* 1 (2000), 93–99. Shards of a similar date from unidentified wrecks that had washed ashore in Namibia were presented at the 2004 Maritime Archaeology Conference, Centre for Portuguese Nautical Studies in South Africa.
- 29 Paintings showing Europeans dressed as "Chinamen," with a pagoda in the background to indicate the foreign setting, confirm that a market for such goods existed. See Rupert Faulkner in Jackson and Jaffer, *Encounters: The*

- Meeting of Asia and Europe, 186 and no. 14.6.
- 30 Lion-Goldschmidt, "Les porcelains chinois du palais de Santos," fig. 60; Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, nos. 1115–20, 1173; Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, pl. 92, bottom right.
- 31 Lion-Goldschmidt, "Les porcelains chinois du palais de Santos," figs. 55–58, Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, nos. 1080–90, 1121–26, 1168–72; Pope, *Chinese Porcelains from the Ardebil Shrine*, pls. 93–95.
- 32 Lion-Goldschmidt, "Les porcelains chinois du palais de Santos," fig. 59; Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, nos. 854, 1081.
- 33 Krahl, *Chinese Ceramics*, no. 1167.
- 34 For examples of silk with Chinese floral designs put to use in Scotland and England around 1700, see a state bed opulently fitted for a royal visit with Genovese velvet and Chinese satin damask, and a doll dressed in Chinese silk damask, both preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum; illustrated in Verity Wilson, *Chinese Textiles* (London: V & A Publications, 2005), pls. 19–23.
- 35 A late Ming embroidery depicting Shou Lao, the Daoist god of longevity, riding a crane and accompanied by other immortals, servant boys, and auspicious fabulous beasts was donated in 1705 by Count Adam Ludwig Lewenhaupt (1659–1719), a Swedish general, and his wife to a church in Sweden. It is embroidered with their names and the date. See Agnes Geijer, *Oriental Textiles in Sweden* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1951), pl. 61.
- 36 Three of the extant examples—*The Rape of Helen*, *The Prophecy of Calchas*, and *The Sacrifice of Polyxena*—are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; see Edith Appleton Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985). Two are in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon (*The Death of Polydorus* and *The Revenge of Hecuba*); see Dario Boccard, *Les belles heures de la tapisserie* (Zoug: Clefs du Temps, 1971). Two were sold at auction at the Galleria Bellini, Florence, in 1934 (*The Dispute of Ajax and Ulysses*) and at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, in 1984 (*The Escape of Aeneas*); see *La Gazette*, Hôtel Drouot, no. 10 (10 March 2000), 127. Francisco Mascarenhas was governor of Macao from 1623 to 1626. See also note 25.
- 37 *Kinrande* (gold brocade work) porcelains received their name in Japan, where they were collected and copied and are still popular today. Count Eberhardt von Manderscheidt brought two different *kinrande* bowls back from Turkey in 1582 and had matching mounts made for them as an addition to the *Kunstkammer* of his brother Hermann. See p. 64 and Sir Harry Garner, *Chinese Export Art in Schloss Ambras* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society, 1975), frontispiece and pl. 9.
- 38 While blue-and-white porcelain—still a Chinese monopoly—was widely used as fine tableware, it remained prized enough in some parts of Europe

to be adorned with precious metal mounts and included in collections of exotica. Quantities shipped to Europe increased noticeably only after the Dutch took over the trade with Asia in the seventeenth century. Silver and silver-gilt mounts and fittings were added particularly in England, Germany, and Portugal.

- 39 See Helmut Trnek in Castel-Branco Pereira, João and Nuno Vassallo e Silva, *Exotica. The Portuguese Discoveries and the Renaissance Kunstkammer* (Lisbon: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2001), 39–67; Garner, *Chinese Export Art in Schloss Ambras; Europa und die Kaiser von China* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1985), 59–61; Harry M. Garner, "Chinese Paintings of the Sixteenth Century at Schloss Ambras," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 3 (1976), 262–64; Roderick Whitfield, "Chinese Paintings from the Collection of Archduke Ferdinand II," *Oriental Art* 22, no. 4 (1976), 406–16.
- 40 See Derek Gillman in *Chinese Ivories from the Shang to the Qing* (London: Oriental Ceramic Society jointly with the British Museum, 1984), 35–52.
- 41 The clean white, glossy porcelain from Dehua in Fujian province, known as *blanc-de-chine* in the West, became popular around the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in South China.
- 42 As the craftsmen were supplying votive figures for all creeds, similar Dehua figures turn the female deity into the Daoist mother goddess Xi Wang Mu, accompanied by a maid with a bowl of peaches; see *Chinese Ivories*, no. 102.
- 43 The earliest Christian scenes in China appeared in a compendium of ink cake designs, *Cheng shi mo yuan* (Ink garden of the Cheng family), in 1606.
- 44 The first Chinese edition has been variously attributed to João da Rocha (1565–1623) and Gaspar Ferreira (1571–1649), both Portuguese Jesuits who worked with Ricci. The Chinese artist may have come from the circle of Dong Qichang (1555–1636), renowned official, painter, and calligrapher; see Monique Cohen and Nathalie Monnet, *Impressions de Chine* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1992), 109–15.
- 45 After first wearing the typical robes of Buddhist priests, the Jesuits, discovering the low esteem in which local priests were held, changed to dressing like literati, China's learned scholar-officials.
- 46 An armillary sphere is displayed on a side table in a Kangxi-period painting of a palace setting, see Evelyn S. Rawski and Jessica Rawson, *China. The Three Emperors, 1662–1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 258, no. 173, bottom center; and one forms part of the traditional Hundred Treasures in a tapestry fragment (cat. no. c-29).
- 47 Some pictorial tapestries of the Kangxi period show a rare influence of French tapestry weaving with dramatic shading to depict volume and depth; see *Heavens' Embroidered Cloth: One*

Thousand Years of Chinese Textiles (Hong Kong: Hong Kong Museum of Art, 1995), no. 11 and further references there.

- 48 Translated by Wen Fong, in Roderick Whitfield, *In Pursuit of Antiquity. Chinese Paintings of the Ming and Ch'ing Dynasties from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Earl Morse* (Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo: Art Museum, Princeton University and Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1969), 191.
- 49 Maxwell K. Hearn and Wen Fong, *Along the Riverbank. Chinese Painting from the C.C. Wang Family Collection* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 44.

ARRIVAL OF THE SOUTHERN BARBARIANS

JAPAN'S SOUTHERN BARBARIAN SCREENS Yukio Lippit

- 1 See Ronald Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture," *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 4 (winter 1986): 415–46, and Ronald Toby, "The Indianness of Iberia and Changing Iconographies of Other," in Stuart Schwartz, ed., *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 323–51.
- 2 The study of *nanban* material culture was preceded by a "nanban boom" among poets and other cultural figures during the early 1920s. Growing mainstream interest in Japan's Christian past during this period provided the context for the emergence of the first private collections of *nanban* art among figures such as Nagami Tokutarō (1890–1950), who published the first catalogue raisonné of *nanban* screens in 1930, and Ikenaga Hajime (1891–1955), whose collection formed the basis for the impressive *nanban* collection in the Kobe City Museum. A brief but useful survey of this phenomenon can be found in Okamoto Yoshitomo and Takamizawa Tadao, *Nanban byōbu* (Tokyo: Kajima Shuppankai, 1970), 74–75. For a discussion of the fashion for *nanban* among writers such as Kinoshita Ikkutārō during the 1910s and 20s see Sakamoto Mitsuru and Yoshimura Moto'o, *Nanban bijutsu*, Vol. 34 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1974), 1–8.
- 3 The number of recent exhibitions in Japan is remarkable. Notable catalogues of the last decade include *Dai Zabieru ten* (Tokyo: Tōbu Bijutsukan, 1999); *Ikoku-e no bōke—kinsei Nihon bijutsu ni miru jōhō to gensō* (Kobe: Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 2001); *Tōzai kōryū no seika* (Sakai: Sakai shi hakubutsukan, 2003); and *Nanban bunka no seika—Zabieru, Sōrin, Kirisutokyō* (Oita: Oita Shi Bijutsukan, 2004). For a study that sheds new light on Anglo-Japanese artistic

- exchange during this period see Timon Screech, "Picture (the Most Part Bawdy): The Anglo-Japanese Painting Trade in the Early 1600s," *Art Bulletin* 87, no. 1 (2005): 50–72.
- 4 This habit of categorization is evident in publications such as Yoshitomo Okamoto, *The Namban Art of Japan*, trans. Ronald K. Jones (New York: Weatherhill, 1972), and Sakamoto and Yoshimura, *Nanban bijutsu*.
 - 5 On the Jesuit *seminarios* see Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542–1773* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 66–79, and Part Four, "Japan: The Limits of Diffusionism," in Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
 - 6 Recent publications that have focused on this fascination include Shimizu Hirokazu, *Shokuhō seiken to Kirishitan—Nichi-Ō kōshō no kigen to tenkai—* (Tokyo: Iwata Shoin, 2001), and *Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, Ieyasu no mita Tōzai kōryū* (Gifu: Gifu Shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2003).
 - 7 A useful overview of world map screens can be found in Miyoshi Tadayoshi, "Sekai chizu byōbu no shūhen," in *Nanban kenmonroku—Momoyama kaiga ni miru seiyō to no deai—* (Kobe: Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan, 2001), 89–96. For the cartographic imagination they embody, see Odaira Shūichi, "Aratanaru ibunka no shutsugen to ninshiki," in *Momoyama no bi—suki no katachi to ishō—* (Tokyo: Idemitsu Museum of Arts, 1998), 49–53.
 - 8 See Hidaka Kaoru, ed., *Nanban byōbu ni kansuru sōgōteki kenkyū*, Annual Research Report (seika hōkokusho) for the governmental Scientific Research Grant (*kagaku kenkyūhi hojokin*) (Sakura: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 2005), 8–11. I would like to thank Mito Nobue of the Suntory Museum of Art for making this publication available to me.
 - 9 Narusawa Katsushi, "Kanō Naizen kō," *Kōbe shiritsu hakubutsukan kenkyū kiyō* 2 (1985): 3–15.
 - 10 Izumi Mari, "Saisho no nanban byōbu," *Kokubungaku kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū* 51, no. 11 (October 2006): 79–89.
 - 11 Izumi, *ibid.* As Izumi discusses, Tan'yū's role in innovating new variations on *nanban* screens can be gleaned from copies of Kanō paintings stored in the Tokyo National Museum, and a pair of screens in the Kōbe City Museum—in which Tan'yū's signature has been oddly scratched out, but is still legible. In the Kōbe screens, the *nanban* screen Type A composition (discussed below) has been altered to such a degree that it resembles a so-called "city picture" (*toshi fūzoku zu*). Other works, such as a pair of screens in the Saitama Prefectural Museum, closely resemble the Tan'yū screens. For a brief discussion see Narusawa, "Nanban byōbu no tenkai," 85–86.
 - 12 Ronald Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia."
 - 13 These three compositional formulae were first fully defined by Takamizawa Tadao and have become standard in the discussion of *nanban* screens ever since.
 - 14 Because different *nanban* screens appear to depict different ships, there has been some debate as to what type of vessel is typically depicted, but most conform to the fundamental characteristics of the Portuguese *nao* or carrack as it was evolving in the mid to late sixteenth century, when the basic features of the *nanban* screen developed. For a summary of the debate see Sakamoto Mitsuru, *Nanban byōbu*, vol. 135 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1977), 52–60.
 - 15 The identity of the Japanese port city is open to some debate. It is generally assumed to be the port of Nagasaki—although depicted without any effort at topographical accuracy—which was founded in 1571 as a Jesuit colony on the island of Kyushu. Tsuji Shigebumi, however, has argued based upon an analysis of the *nanban* screens in the Nanban Bunkakan Museum that Yokose Bay is the original setting for early examples of the genre. See Tsuji, "Inoshishi-san, doko kara kitano?—Osaka Nanban bunkakan zō nanban byōbu o megutte—," *Seisen joshi daigaku Kirisutokyō bunka kenkyūjo nenpō* 7 (1999): 89–120.
 - 16 The most representative example of a Type C arrangement is found in a pair of screens in the Suntory Museum of Art attributed to Kanō Sanraku. Narusawa Katsushi has recently interpreted the left screen of this work as a narrative depicting the transport of an orb-like monstrance—the consecrated Eucharistic host—to Japan. See Narusawa, "Tama o hakobu nanban byōbu," in Hidaka, ed., *Nanban byōbu ni kansuru sōgōteki kenkyū*, 45–49.
 - 17 Although sequential development from Type A to B and C has been the most common understanding of *nanban* screen progression, Izumi Mari has recently suggested that the opposite was also possible, that in order to satisfy the curiosity of early warlord patrons artists could have been encouraged to include as much detail as possible, even in initial examples. See "Saisho no nanban byōbu," 87–88.
 - 18 Izumi Mari, "Tōsen zu no keishō—Taishokkan zu byōbu' o megutte—," *Fiorika* 5 (March 1988): 102–29.
 - 19 Tōsen zu no keishō," 114. The courtier Yamashina Noritoki, in an entry dated 7/19/1405 to the Yamashina family diary known as the *Tokitsugu kyōki*, mentions witnessing it on an old *hitatare*, a formal, lined court robe worn by aristocrats and warriors by the Muromachi period.
 - 20 Izumi notes inscriptions by such prominent monks as Kisei Reigen (1403–1488), Ōsen Keisan (1429–1493), and Banri Shūkyū (1428–1500?), among others. See "Tōsen zu no keishō," 114.
 - 21 Izumi Mari, "Soto e no shisen—hyō no yama, nanbanjin, karamono," in Tamamushi Satoko, ed., "Kazari" to "tsukuri" no ryōbun, vol. 5 of *Kōza Nihon bijutsushi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005), 233–60.
 - 22 According to the tribute trade system, all foreign lands seeking the privilege of paying tribute to the Chinese emperor were invested with a tally (Japanese: *kangō*). By accepting such investiture, Yoshimitsu effectively subordinated Japan into an international order centered on China, inviting heavy criticism. After participation in the tally trade was abandoned in 1547, Sino-Japanese trade came to be (very profitably) overseen by Portuguese and Spanish traders, as well as East Asian merchants in roundabout ways, providing an important context for the *nanban* presence and experience in Japan. See Tanaka Takeo, *Chūsei taigai kankeishi* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1975), for a detailed introduction to the Japanese engagement with the Ming tribute trade.
 - 23 See Kuroda Hideo, *Kyōkai no chūsei, shōchō no chūsei* (Tokyo: Tōkyō daigaku shuppankai, 1986), 124–25. The screens thus recorded in Matsubara family documents were discovered in 1925 and are now in the Cleveland Museum of Art.
 - 24 For a discussion of the edict see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Hideyoshi* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 91–93. Kuroda further discusses the term in *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 110–18.
 - 25 Kuroda Hideo, *Kyōkai no chūsei*, 113–20.
 - 26 "Tōsen zu no keishō," 115–17.
 - 27 *Ibid.*, 110–12. The MFA paintings include *Gift Bearers at the Chinese Court*, a pair of six-panel folding screens attributed to the Kanō school, and *Boat Escorted by Mounted Tartars*, a two-panel folding screen—but in its original incarnation a set of sliding-door panels—also attributed to a Kanō painter. The former is reproduced in color in *Bosuton bijutsukan shōzō Nihon kaiga meihin ten* (Tokyo and Kyoto: Tokyo and Kyoto National Museums, 1983), pl. 39, and the latter in *Bosuton bijutsukan hizō Kinsei Nihon byōbu-e meisaku ten* (Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha, 1981), pl. 7.
 - 28 Izumi, "Tōsen zu no keishō." The Great Woven Crown was based upon the life and legends of Nakatomi no Kamatari (614–699), the founder of the influential Fujiwara clan. For more on the ballad-drama and associated artworks, see Melanie Trede, *Image, Text and Audience: The Taishokan Narrative in Visual Representations of the Early Modern Period in Japan* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 1999).
 - 29 A detailed introduction of the Kyushu National Museum screens is provided in Hata Yasunori, "Nanban byōbu shōkō—kanzōhin no tokushoku aru shudai o megutte—," *Tōfū seisei* 3 (forthcoming 2007). I would like to thank Hata for making his article available to me in manuscript form.
 - 30 The term is borrowed from Toby, "The 'Indianness' of Iberia," 324.
 - 31 In medieval Japan, China's various nomadic neighbors tended to be subsumed under the term *Dattanjin*, translated here as "Tartars" for the sake of convenience. During the sixteenth century, Kanō painters often executed "Tartars Hunting" and Tartars Playing Sport" paintings (*Dattanjin dakyū zu*) for screens and cycles of sliding-door panels. Their portrayal of these horse-riding northerners owed much to Ming-

- period paintings on the subject of the “Eighteen Songs of a Nomad Flute” (Chinese: *Hujia shiba pai*), also known as “Wenji Returns to China” (*Wenji gui Han*), which tells the story of Wenji (Cai Yan), the daughter of a famous statesman during the Eastern Han period (25–220 C.E.), who is abducted by Xiongnu barbarians from the north and held in captivity for twelve years. During captivity Wenji marries and gives birth to two sons. Eventually ransomed and able to return to China, the protagonist mourns her separation from her family in the ballad. Paintings of the “Eighteen Songs” were highly popular at the time and numerous examples appear to have circulated in Japan as well. Their depiction of the barbarians, particularly in Episodes Eight, Ten, and Twelve, provided models for Kanō paintings of Tartars, and a foundation for the later representation of the Portuguese. For a discussion see Suzuki Hiroyuki, “Kisha to kari—Dattanjin shuryō zu o megutte,” *Kokka* 1077 (October 1984): 13–30; and Itakura Masa’aki, “The Representation of Politicalness and Regionality in *Wen-chi’s Return to China*,” *Acta Asiatica* 84 (February 2003).
- 32 On Hideyoshi’s international campaigns see Berry, *Hideyoshi*, 207–17.
- 33 The most elaborate exposition of this argument is found in “Bijutsuhin toshite no nanban byōbu,” 71–116 in Okamoto Yoshitomo and Takamizawa Tadao, eds., *Nanban byōbu* (Tokyo: Kajima Kenkyūjo Shuppankai, 1970), see especially pp. 78–79. The discovery of Hizen Nagoya Castle, a purported copy of a painting of Hideyoshi’s castle by Mitsunobu, served as the main impetus for the argument; this work was introduced and addressed in a range of articles in *Kokka* 915 (June 1968).
- 34 The Spanish missionary Francis Xavier spent approximately two weeks in Kyoto in 1550, but it was not until the 1560s that members of the Catholic mission became active in the capital. See Okudaira Shunroku, *Rakuchū rakugai zu to nanban byōbu*, vol. 25 of *Shinpen Meihō Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shōgakkan, 1991), 67–68, and Narusawa Katsushi, “Nanban byōbu no tenkai,” pp. 76–87 of *Tokubetsuten Nanban kenmonroku—Momoyama kaiga ni miru seiyō to no deai*—(Kobe: Kobe shiritsu hakubutsukan, 1992), 81–82. Narusawa observes that a fan painting by Kanō Sōshū of a Christian church or “Nanbandera” in Kyoto was most likely painted before 1587, when the church was destroyed at the order of Hideyoshi, indicating Kanō engagement with *nanban* by this time.
- 35 This resemblance is noted and discussed by Satō Yasuhiro in “Nanban byōbu no imi kōzō,” *Bijutsushi ronsō* 18 (2002): 1–34.
- 36 Li Tieguai, or Li “Iron Crutch,” was an immortal whose biography was recorded in popular compilations such as the *Complete Biographies of the Assorted Immortals* (*Liexian quanzhuan*; 1598). According to most accounts, Li had the ability to separate his ethereal soul from his physical body and travel great distances. On one such occasion, he instructed his disciple to destroy his physical self if he did not return within seven days. Having failed to return in a timely manner, Li was thus forced to assume the corpse of an emaciated, disfigured man. Li became one of the most popular immortals for pictorialization in Japan from the fourteenth century onward. See Fujita Shin’ya, “Ganki hitsu ‘Kama Tekkai zu’ to sono Nihon ni okeru tenkai,” Tsuji Nobuo sensei kanreki kinenkai, ed., *Nihon bijutsushi no suimyaku* (Tokyo: Perikansha, 1993), 835–58.
- 37 Izumi Mari notes that church architecture in the upper right corner of the right screen in many works becomes gradually indistinct. See her “Nanban byōbu shiron” in Hidaka, ed., *Nanban byōbu ni kansuru sōgōteki kenkyū*, 18–44.
- 38 This is the account offered by Izumi Mari in “Soto e no shisen.”
- 39 On the Higashiyama collection see Shimao Arata, “Higashiyama gomotsu zuisō—imeiji no naka no Chūgoku gajin tachi—,” *Nansō kaiga—saijō gachi no sekai*—(Tokyo: Nezu Institute of Fine Arts, 2004), 25–37.
- 40 On the auspicious and ritual use of coins in premodern Japan, see Kokuritsu rekishi minzoku hakubutsukan, ed., *Okane no fushigi—kahei no rekishigaku* (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1998).
- 41 The meeting took place on the eleventh day of the first month and is recorded in the *Diary of Mansai Jugō*, found in *Zoku gunsho ruijū*, suppl. vol. 1 (Tokyo: Zoku gunsho ruijū kanseikai, 1958), 728. The screen in question is referred to with an honorific, indicating that it was in the possession of the shogun.
- 42 “Tōsen zu no keishō,” 113.
- 43 The provenance of many works is discussed by Takamizawa Tadao in his entries to individual works in Okamoto and Takamizawa, eds., *Nanban byōbu*. Especially useful is the map of all areas from which *nanban* screens have been discovered on p. 193. Intriguingly, only one example has been discovered in Kyushu, and the overwhelming majority along port towns on the Japan Sea and Inland Sea coasts, indicating the importance of these regions for international maritime trade during this period.
- 44 The authoritative work on red-seal ships is Iwao Sei’ichi, *Shinpan shuinsen bōekishi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1985).
- 45 On the Kiyomizudera votive paintings, see Doi Tsugiyoshi, “Kyōto Kiyomizudera no ema,” *Nihon bijutsu kōgei* 304 (January 1964): 30–35; Yuzo Yamane, *Momoyama Genre Painting*, trans. John M. Shields (New York, Weatherhill, 1973), 161–62; and the entry by Kawamoto Keiko in Yamane Yūzō, ed., *Sanjūsangendō to Rakuchū, Higashiyama no koji*, vol. 25 of *Nihon koji bijutsu zenshū* (Tokyo: Shūeisha, 1981), 133. Kawamoto describes the votive paintings as resembling the merrymaking scenes of festive bordello paintings (*teinai fūzoku zu*) being grafted onto the ships of *nanban* screens. For an overview of the cultural projects in which the Suminokura family was involved during this period see Suminokura Soan—Kōetsu, Sōtatsu, Owari Tokugawa Yoshinao to no kōyū no naka de— (Nara: Yamato Bunkakan, 2002).
- 46 For examples see Kawata Sadamu, *Ema*, vol. 92 of *Nihon no bijutsu* (Tokyo: Shibundō, 1974), pls. 92–99. Several works, such as a pair of screens in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, are screen-sized depictions of red-seal ships similar to the votive paintings of Kiyomizudera.
- 47 See Satō, “Nanban byōbu no imi kōzō.” Narusawa Katsushi points out that one pair of *nanban* screens in the Dai’anji Temple collection includes a ship banner with a Ming-period coin as an insignia, suggesting another way in which *nanban* screens could bear auspicious associations with the generation of wealth and also be linked to medieval Chinese ship screens. See “Nanban byōbu no tenkai,” 84.
- 48 “The ‘Indianness’ of Iberia,” 328.
- 49 See “Kokubungaku no hassei,” part three in Orikuchi Shinobu *zenshū* 1 (Tokyo: Chūōkōron Shuppan, 1996), 3–62, and “Tokoyo oyobi marebito,” *Minzoku* 4, no. 2 (January 1929): 1–62.
- 50 On cargo cults, see Holger Jebens, ed., *Cargo, Cult, and Cultural Critique* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).
- 51 See Toby, “Carnival of the Aliens.”
- 52 Numerous examples of *nanban* masquerading are depicted in screens of the early modern period. One famous example is the *Hōkoku Shrine Festival*, a pair of screens by Kanō Naizen dated to 1606, which records the festivities involved in the observance of the seventh anniversary of Hideyoshi’s death.
- 53 Prints of Perry’s black ships are illustrated and discussed in Konishi Shirō, ed., *Kurobune raikō*, vol. 1 of *Nishiki-e Bakumatsu Meiji no rekishi* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1977). A highly intriguing recent study of the reception of Perry’s arrival in Japan is Iwata Miyuki, *Kurobune ga yatte kita—bakumatsu no jōhō nettowaaku* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005). On Yokohama prints see Ann Yonemura, *Yokohama: Prints from Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Washington, D.C.: Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 1990).

Photograph Credits

On the cover:
Tortoiseshell dish (p-54)
Goa, India, 16th century
Tortoiseshell; 52 × 3.8 × 42.7 cm
Kunstammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, KK 4431

The Atlantic

THE AGE OF DISCOVERY

VENICE, FLORENCE, AND LISBON
Angelo Cattaneo

Fig. 1
Terrestrial globe,
one of a pair known as the 'Brixen Globes' (p-5)
Attributed to Johannes Schöener
Germany, ca. 1522
Hand-painted wood, mounted on brass stand;
36.8 cm (diam.)
Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection,
New Haven, L.1999-3.2a

Fig. 2
World map, after Claudius Ptolemy's 'Geographia' (p-1)
Henricus Martellus Germanus (Arrigo di Federico
Martello; active 1459-96)
Florence, early 1490s
Colors and gold on parchment, 57.5 × 84 cm
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence,
MAGL. XIII, 16, ff. 88v-89r
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Fig. 3
World map, in 'Insularium illustratum . . .' (p-2)
Henricus Martellus Germanus (Arrigo di Federico
Martello; active 1459-96)
Florence, 1490-96 (miniature), before 1496
(manuscript)
Ink and color on vellum, 30 × 47 cm.
© The British Library Board, London. All rights
reserved. ms. Add. 15760, ff. 68v-69r

Fig. 4
World map, known as the 'Cantino Planisphere' (p-4)
Portugal, ca. 1502.
Ink and color on three vellum leaves, joined,
105 × 220 cm
Biblioteca Estense Universitaria, Modena, C.G.A. 2,
ms. XVI century

Fig. 5
World map (p-3)
Francesco Rosselli, Florence and Venice, Italy, ca. 1508
Hand-colored engraving on paper; 15 × 29.5 cm
© National Maritime Museum, London,
G201:1/53 A&B

THE ART OF NAVIGATION
Francisco Contente Domingues

Fig. 1
Plate (p-16)
Portugal, second half of the 15th century
Silver, 33.2 cm (diam.)
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/IMC, Lisbon, 1015 OUR
Photo: IMC/DDF/José Pessoa

Fig. 2
Mariner's azimuth compass (p-15)
Joseph da Costa Miranda, Portugal, 1711
Wood, glass, brass, iron, paper, 12.3 × 23.7 × 26.3 cm
The Whipple Museum of the History of Science,
Cambridge, WH.0328

Fig. 3
Nautical astrolabe São Julião da Barra III,
belonging to the carrack N. Sra. Dos Mártires (p-17)
Portugal, 1605
Brass, 17.4 cm (diam.)
Museu de Marinha, Lisbon, 1N-11-174

Fig. 4
'Portuguese Squadron off a Rocky Coast' (p-18)
Circle of Joachim Patinir
The Netherlands, second quarter of the 16th century
Oil on panel, 78.7 × 144.7 cm
© National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London,
BHC0705

Fig. 5
Ship from 'Livro de Traças de Carpintaria' (p-19)
Manuel Fernandes (Portugal, India)
Portugal, 1616
Ink and colors on paper, 46.7 × 39.6 cm
Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, BA52-XIV-21
Photo: Luís Marques/IGESPAR

PARADISAEA APODA
Jean Michel Massing

Fig. 1
'Birds of Paradise' (p-34)
Germany, second half of the 16th century
Watercolor and gouache on paper
59.6 × 37.5 cm (unframed), 94.5 × 69.5 cm (framed)
Graphische Sammlung, Friedrich-Alexander-
Universität Erlangen-Nuremberg, Erlangen,
B.164.11.C.4

Fig. 2.
'Der Paradyss Vogel'
Steffan Hamer ed., 1550-55
25.5 × 38.6 cm
Kupferstichkabinett, Schlossmuseum, Gotha, Germany

Fig. 3
'Bird of Paradise'
in Pierre Belon, 'Portraits d'oyseaux, animaux,
serpens, herbes, arbres, hommes et femmes d'Arabie
& d'Egypte'
Paris, 1557, f. 23v

Note: Figures in parentheses refer to
catalogue numbers in the 'Encompassing the
Globe' exhibition catalogue, the first volume
in the series.

Fig. 4
Conrad Gesner
'*Historiae animalium liber III, qui est de avium natura*'
Zurich, 1555, p. 612

Fig. 5
Luca Contile
'*Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle imprese*'
Pavia, 1574, f. 77v

Fig. 6
Guilio Cesare Capaccio
'*Delle imprese*'
Naples, 1592, f. 68r

Fig. 7
Johannes Sambucus
'*Emblemata*'
Antwerp, 1564, p. 132

Fig. 8
Geffrey Whitney
'*A Choice of Emblemes and other Devises*'
Leiden, 1586, p. 89

Fig. 9
Juan Borja
'*Empresas morales*'
Prague, 1581, f. oiv–o2r, no. 50

FROM MOLUCCAS TO KUNSTKAMMER

Jean Michel Massing

Fig. 1
Wooden shield with inlaid decoration (p-49)
Moluccan Islands, Indonesia, 17th century, before 1710
Wood, fibers, mastic, shells
136 cm (h.)
Ethnographic Collection, National Museum
of Denmark, Copenhagen, EDB60

Fig. 2
'*Inhabitants of South East India*'
in J. H. van Linschoten, '*Itinerario*'
Amsterdam, 1596, pl. after p. 64
Courtesy of the author

Fig. 3
'*Moluccans*'
Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, ms. 1889, ff. 132r–133v

Fig. 4
'*Bandanese*'
Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, ms. 1889, ff. 136r–137v

Fig. 5
'*Inhabitants of Gillolo*'
Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, ms. 1889, ff. 138r–39v

Fig. 6
Moluccan shield
Wood, decorated with shells
124 × 27 cm
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1685b no. 2

Fig. 7
Boat made of cloves
Musée de la Marine, Paris
Photo: A. Fux

Fig. 8
'*Ceramese Family*'
Universiteitsbibliothek, Amsterdam, HS. 8F. 76c

Fig. 9
Basketry box
Royal Danish Kunstkammer,
National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

RACE RELATIONS IN THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE

Francisco Bethencourt

Fig. 1
'*Map of Brazil from the Miller Atlas*' (B-2)
Pedro and Jorge Reinel, Lopo Homen,
and António de Holanda
Portugal, ca. 1519
Ink and color on parchment, 41.5 × 59.1 cm
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris,
GE DD 683 RES, ff. 5v, 5r

Fig. 2
'*Noble Portuguese in India*' (1-6)
India?, 16th century
Colors on paper; 30.5 × 128.3 cm (combined)
Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome,
ms. 1889, ff. 96a–b, 97a–b
Photo: By permission of the Ministry of Cultural
Activities and Heritage; © Biblioteca Casanatense

Fig. 3
Detail, '*Adoration of the Magi*'
Attributed to Vasco Fernandes
Portugal, early 16th century
Oil on oak panel, 131 × 83 cm
Museu de Grão Vasco, Viseu/IMC

Fig. 4
'*Saint Francis Xavier*' (1-15)
Portugal, ca. 1600
Lacquered wood, 114 × 44 × 35 cm
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/
Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, 92
Photo: Pedro Aboim Borges

Fig. 5
'*Saint Francis Xavier Preaching*' (1-16)
André Reinoso (1610–1641)
Portugal, 1619–22
Oil on canvas, 104 × 65 cm
Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/
Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, 96
Photo: Júlio Marques

Fig. 6
World map screen
Japan, 17th century
Nanban Bunkakan, Tokyo

THE AFRICAN COAST

PORTUGUESE–AFRICAN RELATIONS, 1500–1750

John K. Thornton

Fig. 1
Plaque of a Portuguese with trident (A-18)
Benin Kingdom, Nigeria, Edo people, 16th century.
Copper alloy
43 × 33.2 × 5.2 cm
Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
III C. 08358
Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/Art
Resource, New York

Fig. 2
World map (p-6)
Pero Fernandes, Portugal, ca. 1545
Colored manuscript on parchment
99.5 × 248.5 cm
Austrian National Library, Vienna, FKB 272-II
Photo: Picture Archive

Fig. 3
Fragment of a plaque with two Portuguese figures (A-19)
Benin kingdom, Nigeria, Edo people, 16th century
Copper alloy
26.3 × 20.1 × 6.5 cm
Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,
III C. 08363
Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/
Art Resource, New York

Fig. 4
'*Servant of Don Miguel de Castro, holding a box*' (A-30)
Jasper Becx (active 1627 and 1647)
The Netherlands, before 1643
Oil on panel
73 × 60 cm (painting), 79 × 67 cm (frame)
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, SMK9
Photo courtesy of The National Museum of Denmark

Fig. 5
'*Portrait of a Black Man*' (A-2)
Jan Mostaert (ca. 1475–1555/56)
The Netherlands, 16th century
Oil on panel
30.8 × 21.2 cm
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, SK-A-4986

STONE CARVING AND IVORY SCULPTURE IN SIERRA LEONE

Jean Michel Massing

Fig. 1
Saltcellar with execution scene
Sapi-Portuguese, Sierra Leone, 15th–16th century
Ivory, 43 × 14.5 cm
Museo Preistorico Etnografico Luigi Pigorini, Rome,
MPE 104079
By permission of the Ministero
per i Beni e le Attività Culturali

Fig. 2
‘The Stone God’
in George Thompson, ‘Thompson in Africa’
New York, 1852, p. 289
Courtesy of the author

Fig. 3
Nomoli
© The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Fig. 4
Stone head
© The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Fig. 5
Pombo
© The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Fig. 6
‘Sierra Leone scenes,
including a fetish under a thatched roof’
in Jean Barbot, ‘Description des côtes d’ Affrique depuis
le Cap Bojador jusques à celui de Lopo Gonzalves’
Public Record Office, London, ADM 7/830, no. 21.

Fig. 7
Pombo showing two people
supporting a reclining figure on a bier
Musée du Quai Branly, Paris

Fig. 8
Cover of a Sapi-Portuguese saltcellar
with Janus-faced quadruped
© The Trustees of the British Museum, London

Fig. 9
Pyx (detail) (A-13)
Sapi-Portuguese style
Sierra Leone, first half of 16th century
Ivory, 18 × 12 cm
Private collection, Lisbon

Fig. 10
‘Annunciation,’ in ‘Hore dive virginis Marie’
Thielman Kerver, Paris (die vero XIX mensis
Septembris), f. c.1-r

Fig. 11
‘Visitation,’ in ‘Hore dive virginis Marie’
Thielman Kerver, Paris
(die vero XIX mensis Septembris), f. c.viii-v

Fig. 12
‘Arrest of Christ,’ in ‘Hore dive virginis Marie’
Thielman Kerver, Paris (die vero XIX mensis
Septembris), f. b.iii-v

Fig. 13
Pyx
Sapi-Portuguese style, Sierra Leone, 1490–1550
Ivory, 14.5 cm (h.)
The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore

PORTUGAL IN WEST AFRICA

Peter Mark

Fig. 1
Saltcellar
Bini-Portuguese, Benin, 1525–1600
Ivory, 24.5 cm (h.)
Ethnographic Collection,
National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen

Fig. 2
Spoon, 1525–1600. Ivory, 26 cm (h.)
Museum für Völkerkunde, Kunsthistorisches Museum,
Vienna

Fig. 3
Spoon with an ibex (A-26)
Bini-Portuguese style, Nigeria, 16th century
Ivory, 26 cm
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/(SES), 43681

Fig. 4
Spoon with a monkey (A-27)
Bini-Portuguese style, Nigeria, 16th century
Ivory; 26.5 × 4 cm
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/(SES), 43683

Fig. 5
Spoon with animals (A-23)
Bini-Portuguese style, Nigeria, 16th century
Ivory, 18.3 cm
Private collection
Photo: Austin Kennedy

Fig. 6
Spoon with a goat (A-24)
Bini-Portuguese style, Nigeria, 16th century
Ivory, 27.2 cm
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/(SES), 43685

Fig. 6
Spoon with a fox (A-25)
Bini-Portuguese style, Nigeria, 16th century
Ivory, 24.9 cm
Museum für Völkerkunde Dresden/(SES), 43682

Fig. 7
Saltcellar with boat (A-20)
Bini-Portuguese style, Nigeria, 16th century
Ivory; 30 × 11 cm
© The Trustees of the British Museum, 1878, 11-1.48a-c

CROSSES AND HUNTING CHARMS

Jean Michel Massing

Fig. 1
Lower Congo crucifix (Nkangi kitudu)
18th century (?), 29 cm (h.)
Bareiss Family Collection

Fig. 2
Lower Congo hunting fetish (Santu)
19th century, 46.4 cm (h.)
Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover

Fig. 3
F. Longland, ‘Sketch of hunting fetish’
in J. H. Weeks, Notes on some customs
of the Lower Congo People, ‘Folk-lore’ xx
London, 1908, pl. x

Fig. 4
‘Capuchin monks arriving in a Lower Congo village’
in Bernardino Ignazio d’Asti,
‘Missione in prattica de Padri Cappuccini ne Regni
di Congo, Angola and adiacenti’
18 × 27 cm
Biblioteca Civica, Torino, ms 457

Fig. 5
Lower Congo brass crucifix
17th century (?), 49 cm (h.)
Private collection, Brussels (formerly Ralet collection)

Fig. 6
Crucifix with heads (Nkangi kitudu) (A-34)
Kongo peoples, Democratic Republic of the Congo
or Angola, 17th century
Brass, wood; 20.1 cm (h.)
© Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren,
1955.9.9

CENTRAL-AFRICAN CRUCIFIXES

Marina de Mello e Souza

Fig. 1
Crucifix with praying figures (Nkangi kitudu) (A-36)
Kongo peoples, Democratic Republic of the Congo
or Angola, 17th century
Brass, wood; 39.5 cm (h.)
© Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren,
1955.9.17, 19

Fig. 2
‘Saint Anthony’ (A-28)
Kongo peoples, Democratic Republic of the Congo
or Angola, 17th century
Copper alloy, 7 cm (h.)
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ethnologisches Museum,
III C. 44816
Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz/
Art Resource, New York

Fig. 3
‘Saint Anthony’ (A-29)
Kongo peoples, Democratic Republic of the Congo
or Angola, 17th century
Copper alloy, 11.7 cm (h.)
© Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren,
1955.9.23

Fig. 4
Staff finial (A-38)
Kongo peoples, Democratic Republic of the Congo
or Angola, 17th century
Bronze, tin; 28 × 11.8 × 5.7 cm
© Royal Museum for Central Africa, Tervuren,
1953.100.1

BRAZIL AND THE NEW WORLD

ALBERT ECKHOUT AND FRANS POST

Jean Michel Massing

Fig. 1

'African Man' (B-15)

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1641

Oil on canvas; 264 × 162 cm (painting),

287 × 182 cm (framed)

Ethnographic Collection, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, N.38A

Fig. 2

'View of Pernambuco'

in 'Reys-boeck van het rijke Brasilien,

Rio de la Plata ende Magallanes,' 1624.

Fig. 3

'African Woman' (B-16)

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1641

Oil on canvas; 267 × 178 cm (painting),

291 × 200 cm (framed)

Ethnographic Collection, National Museum of Denmark, Copenhagen, N.38A8

Fig. 4

'Slave Market,' in 'Thier Buch,' pl. 106

Zacharias Wagener (1614–1668)

Opaque colors, 20.2 × 33.7 cm

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, CA 22A6

Fig. 5

'Dance Scene,' in 'Thier Buch,' pl. 105

Zacharias Wagener (1614–1668)

Opaque colors, 20.2 × 33.4 cm

Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, CA 22A5

Fig. 6

'View of Itamaracá'

Frans Post (1612–1680)

Brazil, 1637

Canvas, 63.5 × 88.5 cm

The Hague, Mauritshuis

Fig. 7

'View of Mauritsstad and Recife'

Frans Post (1612–1680)

The Netherlands, 1657

Dos Santos Collection, São Paulo

Fig. 8

'Sugar Mill'

Frans Post (1612–1680)

Mid- to late 17th century

Oil on canvas; 117 × 167 cm

Louvre, Paris, inv. 1724

Fig. 9

'Johan Maurits van Nassau'

Pieter Nason (1612–1688)

1666

Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw

ECKHOUT AND CANNIBALISM

Adone Agnolin

Fig. 1

'Tapuya Woman' (B-10)

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1641

Oil on canvas, 165 × 159 cm

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N.38A2

Fig. 2

'Tapuya Man' (B-11)

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1641

Oil on canvas, 272 × 165 cm

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N.38A1

Fig. 3

'Tupi Woman'

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1641

Oil on canvas, 274 × 163 cm

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N.38A4

Fig. 4

'Tupi Man'

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1643

Oil on canvas, 272 × 163 cm

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N.38A3

Fig. 5

'Dancing Tarairiu' (B-7)

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, 1641

Oil on canvas, 168 × 294 cm

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N.38B (Not in exhibition)

Fig. 6

'Tapuya Club' (B-13)

Brazil, before 1674

Wood, bone, fiber, 96 cm

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, NB24

MANIOC

Leila Mezan Algranti

Fig. 1

'Manioc'

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, ca. 1641–43

Oil on canvas

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N93

Fig. 2

'Still life with pineapple, melon, and other tropical fruits' (B-14)

Albert Eckhout (1610–1665)

Brazil, ca. 1641

Oil on canvas; 103 × 103 cm (framed)

© The National Museum of Denmark, Ethnographic Collection, Copenhagen, N92

SUGAR AND SLAVERY IN BRAZIL

Pedro Puntoni

Fig. 1

'Gathering Brazil wood' (B-3)

Rouen, France; ca. 1530

Wooden panel, 52 × 221 × 6 cm.

© CG76–Musée départemental des Antiquités de la Seine–Maritime, Rouen, 140

Photo: François Dugué

Fig. 2

'Gathering Brazil wood' (B-4)

Rouen, France; ca. 1530

Wooden panel, 53 × 170 × 6 cm

© CG76–Musée départemental des Antiquités de la Seine–Maritime, Rouen, 140.2 (D)

Photo: François Dugué

THE ARTS IN BRAZIL

BEFORE THE GOLDEN AGE

Nuno Senos

Fig. 1

'Saint Bernard' (B-22)

Frei Agostinho de Jesus (1600–1661)

Brazil, ca. 1652

Terracotta, 152 × 56 × 36 cm

Mosteiro de São Bento de São Paulo Collection

Photo: Rômulo Fialdini

Fig. 2

'Saint Francis of Assisi with Christ' (B-28)

Brazil, 17th century

Polychrome terracotta, 105 × 65 × 47 cm

Governo do Estado de São Paulo,

Museo de Arte Sacra Collection, 1298M

Photo: Rômulo Fialdini

Fig. 3

'Silver monstrose' (C-3)

Macao, China, 17th century

Silver, 39.5 × 12.5 cm

Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/

Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, OR 0060

Fig. 4

'Processional cross' (B-25)

Brazil, 17th century(?)

Silver; 226 cm

Private collection

Asia

THE INDIAN OCEAN

ASIAN EXPANSIONS

Diogo Ramada Curto

Fig. 1

'Goa stone container' (1-29)

Goa, India, late 17th–early 18th century

Gold (container and stand), Goa stone 16.2 cm (h.)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,

Rogers Fund, 2004 (2004.244a–c)

Fig. 2

'Discovery of India' (P-30)

Tournai workshop, Belgium, early 16th century

Silk and wool, 400 × 760 cm

Caixa Geral de Depósitos, Lisbon, 3721;

on loan to Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/IMC

Photo: Alfredo Dagli Orti

Fig. 3

'Triumph of the King of Cochín' (P-31)

The Netherlands or Portugal (?), ca. 1540–50

Oil on panel, 45.5 × 148 cm

Gallery de Jonckheere, Paris

Fig. 4

Shadow puppet (P-45)

Java, Indonesia, 16th century

Polychromed wood, gold foil, 50.5 cm (h.)

Kunstammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 12.397

Fig. 5

Shadow puppet (P-46)

Java, Indonesia, 17th century

Polychromed wood, 59 cm (h.)

Ethnographic Collection, National Museum

of Denmark, Copenhagen, HA.2

Fig. 6

Quatrefoil box (1-13)

Mughal empire, Mughal school, North India, ca. 1650

Red, green and white enamels on gold, 5.7 × 11.5 × 11.5 cm

Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution,

Washington, D.C., 1986.22a–b

Fig. 7

Cabinet (1-25)

Sind or Gujarat, India, late 16th or early 17th century

Teak, ebony, and shisham, other exotic woods,
natural and dyed ivory, lacquer, and brass fittings

140 × 142 × 70 cm (including feet)

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 1312 MOV

Photo: IMC/DDF/José Pessoa

Fig. 8

Box (1-30)

Goa, India, 16th century

Tortoiseshell, silver

14 × 21 × 13 cm

Museu de São Roque, Lisbon, 1041

Fig. 9

Fan (1-43)

Sri Lanka, mid-16th century

Ivory and horn, 43 × 33 cm

Kunstammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien,

KK 4751

SURPASSING SYLVESTER

Liam Matthew Brockey

Fig. 1

Indian miniature depicting two Jesuits seated

next to Emperor Akbar

From *The History of Akbar* (Akbarname),

Painted by Narsingh

India, ca. 1605

© The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin,

INV. 03.263

Fig. 2

'Saint Francis Xavier bidding farewell to king João III
before leaving for India'

André Reinoso, 1619

Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/

Museu de São Roque

Photo: Júlio Marques

Fig. 3

'Saint Francis Xavier travels to Yamaguchi, Japan'

André Reinoso, 1619

Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa/

Museu de São Roque

Photo: Júlio Marques

Fig. 4

Reliquary cross (J-7)

Portugal, 17th century

Silver, 36 × 18.5 cm

Museu Nacional de Machado de Castro, Coimbra,

6210, O-129

Photo: IMC/DDF/Manuel Palma

Fig. 5

Partial view of Namban Biombo depicting Jesuit
missionaries disembarking in Japan

Japan, 1593–1602

Tempera on paper; gold leaf, silk, lacquer, and metal

172.8 × 380.8 cm

© Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/IMC, Lisbon,

1638-1639 MOV

Fig. 6

Hideyoshi's Portuguese cloak

Late 16th century

Velvet embroidery, 81.5 cm (h.)

Hideyoshi and Kiyomasa Memorial Museum,

Nagoya City, Japan

Fig. 7

'Descent from the Cross'

India, Mughal dynasty

Probably Lahore, Pakistan, ca. 1598

Opaque watercolour and gold on paper

19.4 × 11.3 cm (painting)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 15. 133.79-1964

Fig. 8

'Salus Populi Romani'

(Protectress of the Roman People)

8th century

Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome

Photo: Vatican Museums

Fig. 9

'Dastan-i-Masih' (Life of Christ) (1-14)

Jerome Xavier, S. J. (Mughal empire, 1549–1617),

translator (with Abdu-s-Sattar ibn Qasim), ca. 1604

Colored pigments and gold on paper, 25.3 × 16.6 cm

Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon, BA 52-XIII-32, ff. IV–2r

Fig. 10

'Young Christ as the mariner on the Ship of Salvation'
(1-10)

India, 16th century

Ivory, 13.7 × 10.3 × 1 cm

British Museum, London, OA1959 70.21.1

Fig. 11

Folio from the 'Gulshan Album' (Rose Garden Album)

with calligraphy and European figures (1-11)

Mughal empire, Mughal school, ca. 1600

Opaque watercolor, gold, and ink on paper

42.5 × 26.5 cm (page)

Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution,

Washington, D.C., 1956.12b

Fig. 12

'Child Jesus as the Good Shepherd'

Goa, India, 17th century

31 × 10.5 × 9.5 cm

Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection

Fig. 13

'Child Jesus as the Good Shepherd' (1-23)

Goa, India, 17th century

Ivory, 72.5 × 20.5 × 16 cm

Joaquim Horta Correia Collection, Lisbon

Fig. 14

'Portrait of Matteo Ricci' (C-9)

Emanuel Pereira, S. J. (born Yu Wenhui;

Japan, Macao, and China, 1575–1633)

Beijing, China, 1610

Oil on canvas, 120 × 95 cm

Chiesa del Santissimo Nome di Gesù all'Argentina,

FEC, Rome, 68

Fig. 15

Terrestrial globe (C-25)

China, last third of the 17th century

Bronze, 39 cm (diam.)

Rudolf Schmidt Collection, Vienna, RS7

Fig. 16

Six astronomical instruments with case (C-28)

Palace workshops, Beijing, China, Qing dynasty,

Kangxi period, dated 1691

Silver gilt, 5 × 25 × 25 cm

Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 17
Detail, 'Poems Dedicated to Tang Ruowang'
(Adam Johann Schall von Bell, 1592–1666)
Wang Duo (1592–1652)
Ming dynasty, China, ca. 1620.
Ink on paper; album of eighteen leaves
Promised gift of the Yeh family collection, R2002.49.12.
© Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.
Used by permission

INCARNATE IMAGES

Gauvin Alexander Bailey

Fig. 1
Oratory with Calvary (1-18)
Goa, India, 17th century
Ivory, ebony, palo santo
188 × 195 cm (open)
Private collection

Fig. 2
'Saint Catherine of Alexandria'
Sigismondo Laire (1550–1639)
Oil on copper
Museo Nacional de Arte, La Paz

Fig. 3
Detail of paintings under the choir arch
Mural painting, first half 17th century
Church of Santa Mónica, Goa

Fig. 4
'Miracle of Ignatius of Loyola'
Wood panel, late 17th century
Jesuit seminary church, Rachol

Fig. 5
Detail of pulpit
Late 17th century
Jesuit church of Bom Jesus, Goa
Photo: courtesy of Rose Atkinson

Fig. 6
Façade
Begun 1601
Jesuit church of São Paulo, Diu
Photo: courtesy of Stuart Whatling

Fig. 7
Shri Manguesh Temple
18th century
Priol (Goa)

Fig. 8
Jesuit parish church of Nossa Senhora das Neves
Early 17th century
Raia (Salcete), India

Fig. 9
Right tower of the Jesuit parish church of the Holy Spirit
Rebuilt 1675
Margão (Salcete), India

Fig. 10
Detail, 'Portrait of Ignatius of Loyola'
Ivory casket with Jesuit imagery
Ceylon (Sri Lanka), after 1622
Dr. Jorge Neves da Mota Collection, Funchal

Fig. 11
'Portrait of a European' (1-8)
Mughal empire, ca. 1610–20
Opaque watercolor and gold on paper, 30.4 × 19.9 cm
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, IM 386-1914
Photo: V&A Images

Fig. 12
'Abgarus, King of Edessa'
From the 'Mirāt al-Quds' (Mirror of Holiness)
by Jerome Xavier
School of Manohar, Mughal, ca. 1602
Colors on paper
Lahore Museum, Lahore, M-645/MSS-46

Fig. 13
Portable altarpiece (J-3)
Japan, Momoyama period, late 16th century
Oil on copper (painting); wood, lacquer, gold, silver,
mother-of-pearl (frame)
47.2 × 35 × 5.1 cm
Santa Casa de Misericórdia, Sardoal
Photo: Nuno Fevereiro

Fig. 14
'Christ at the Column'
Macanese, 17th century
Polychromed wood
Museum of Sacred Art, Church of São Domingos,
Macao

Fig. 15
Fragment of mural painting with traditional Chinese
rock-and-flower ornamentation
After 1622 (?)
Church of Our Lady of Guia, Macao

Fig. 16
Detail of façade
Begun 1601
Church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção (St. Paul's),
Macao

Fig. 17
Chinese-style ceiling
Charles Belleville (1656–1730), after 1709
Oil and gold on wood
Church of Belém de Cachoeira, Brazil

"THEY HAVE DISCOVERED US"
Jorge Flores

Fig. 1
'Jahangir Entertains Shah Abbas,'
from the 'St. Petersburg Album' (1-12)
Ca. 1620, Abu'l Hasan (Mughal empire, b. 1588 or
1589); borders by Muhammad Sadiq, Mughal School,
dated A.H. 1160 (1747)
Opaque watercolor, gold and ink on paper, 25 × 18.3 cm
Purchase, Freer Gallery of Art,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., F1942.16a

Fig. 2
'The second [1502] fleet of Vasco da Gama,'
from 'Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu' (P-28)
Goa, India, 1558–64
Ink and colors on paper, 27 × 19 cm (each page)
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Purchase
(part 1); with the assistance of the Fellows; 1963/Gift
(part 3); J. P. Morgan (1867–1946); 1924. MS. 525, f. 18v

Fig. 3
'Portrait of Vasco da Gama'
from 'Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu' (P-29)
Goa, India, 1558–64
Ink and colors on paper, 27 × 19 cm
The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. Purchase
(part 1); with the assistance of the Fellows; 1963/Gift
(part 3); J. P. Morgan (1867–1946); 1924. MS. 525, f. 19r

Fig. 4
'Salver with African and Asian motifs' (P-37)
Portugal, late 16th or early 17th century
Silver gilt, 32 cm (diam)
Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisbon, 5155
Photo: Manuel Silveira Ramos/PH3;
courtesy of PNA/IGESPAR

Fig. 5
'View of Goa' (1-4)
José Pinhão de Matos, 18th century
Oil on canvas, 128 × 431 cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/IMC, Lisbon, 389 PINT
Photo: IMC/DDF/Luís Pavão

Fig. 6
'The drowning of Bahadur Shah' (1-7)
La'l, Agra, India, ca. 1602–4
Gouache on paper, 24 × 12.5 cm
The British Library. All rights reserved. OR12988, f. 66

MUSCAT AND THE PORTUGUESE IN OMAN

Enrico d'Errico

Fig. 1
'Portrait of Afonso de Albuquerque' (1-1)
Goa, India, ca. 16th century
Oil and tempera on wood
182 × 108 cm
Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, 2144P
Photo: IMC/DDF/Luís Pavão

Fig. 2
'Portuguese Dining in Hormuz' (1-5)
India (?), 16th century
Colors on paper, 30.3 × 42.5 cm
Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome, ms. 1889, ff. 29–30
Photo: By permission of the Ministry of Cultural
Activities and Heritage, © Biblioteca Casanatense

Fig. 3
Map of Muscat in 'Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental'
(1-2)
Pedro Barreto de Resende (Portugal, Goa, d. 1651)
Portugal, April 1635
Color on parchment
42.2 × 58.6 cm (open)
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, PORTUGAIS 1

EXPORT ART FROM PORTUGUESE INDIA

Nuno Vassallo e Silva

Fig. 1

'Divine and profane love' (1-41)

Sri Lanka, 16th century

Ivory, 17.7 × 22.8 × 1.8 cm

Museu Municipal de Viana do Castelo, 812

Photo: Rui Carvalho Design

Fig. 2

Bezoar with gold filigree mounts (P-56)

Goa, India, 16th century

Bezoar, gold filigree, 9.6 × 10.3 × 9.7 cm

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Schloss Ambras, KK 996

Fig. 3

'Christ Child' (1-37)

Sri Lanka, ca. 1600

Rock crystal, gold, sapphires, and rubies,

15 × 4.3 × 4.4 cm

Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection

Photo: Pedro Lobo

Fig. 4

'Christ Child' (1-38)

Child Jesus: Dresden, 18th century;

base and mount: Sri Lanka, first half of 17th century

Jacinth, rock crystal, gold, rubies, and sapphires, 10.3 cm.

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes

Gewölbe, v183u

Fig. 5

'Christ Child' (1-39)

Sri Lanka, 1550–1660

Crystal, gold, rubies, and sapphires, 13.7 × 4.3 × 3.7 cm

Peabody Essex Museum, Salem; museum purchase,

1996, £85219

Fig. 6

Salt container (1-36)

Sri Lanka, 17th century

Gold, gems, rock crystal, 11.4 × 6.5 cm

The Burghley House Collection, Stamford, Lincolnshire

EWAO8530

Fig. 7

Bedcover

16th–18th century

311 × 278 cm

Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga/IMC, Lisbon, 4575

Fig. 8

Cape (1-27)

India (?), Indo-Portuguese work, late 16th century

Silk taffeta, embroidered with polychromed silk

and gold thread

115.5 × 256.5 cm

Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, Madrid,

PN INV. 1005107

Fig. 9

Hardwood altar frontal inlaid in ivory

with Christian and Indian motifs (1-24)

Gujarat or Sind, India, 1600–10

Darkwood, ivory, 84 × 106 × 102.5 cm

Victoria and Albert Museum, 15 15-1882

Photo: V&A Images

Fig. 10

Oratory (1-20)

Goa, India, 18th century

Painted and gilded teak, 89 × 105 cm

Museu de Évora/IMC, ME 484

Photo: IMC/DDF/José Pessoa

Fig. 11

Writing box

16th century

Pedro Aguiar Branco Collection, Oporto

Fig. 12

'The Bagpiper'

Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528)

Nuremberg, 1514

Engraving, 11.5 × 7.4 cm

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Fig. 13

Casket (1-44)

Kotte (?), Sri Lanka, 1540–50

Ivory, gold, rubies, sapphires

13 × 23.5 × 11.5 cm

Private collection

MERCHANTS AND MISSIONARIES IN CHINA

MACAO

Rui Manuel Loureiro

Fig. 1

Sculpture of an archangel (C-1)

Probably Macao, China, 17th century

Marble, 97 × 39.5 × 22.5 cm

Private collection

Fig. 2

Bottle with a Portuguese name and Buddhist lions (C-20)

Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China,

Ming dynasty, dated 1552

Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, 25.4 cm (h.)

The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, 49.1616

Fig. 3

Bowl with 'Ave Maria' inscription (C-19)

Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China, Ming dynasty,

Second or third quarter of the 16th century

Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, 11 × 24 cm

Private collection

Fig. 4

'Madonna on a crescent with angels' (C-5)

Macao, China (?), 16th century

Ivory (plaque); ebony (frame), 18 × 13.6 × 3 cm

Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection, Porto

Fig. 5

'Virgin and Child crowned by angels' (C-6)

Macao, China, end of the 16th century (?)

Ivory, 15.6 × 9 × 1 cm

Távora Sequeira Pinto Collection, Porto

Fig. 6

Cope (C-10)

China, Ming dynasty, late 16th or early 17th century;

Russia, ca. 1700–20 (tailoring)

Silk satin, colored silk thread, gold thread

146 cm (l. of back); 60/61 cm (w. of cloth, with selvage)

State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, LI-606

Fig. 7

Plate with Dutch coat of arms (J-32)

Japan, early Edo period, 1615–1716

Wood, lacquer, 32.2 cm (diam.)

Private collection

FROM MARCO POLO TO MANUEL I Jean Michel Massing

Fig. 1

Katzenelnbogen bowl

China, early Ming dynasty, 14th to 15th century;

mount: Central Rhine region, between 1434 and 1453

Porcelain or porcelain-like stoneware with celadon

glaze; mount: silver, gold-plated, blue, red, and black

opaque enamel

16.8 cm (h.), 20.6 cm (diam.)

Hessisches Landesmuseum, Staatliche

Kunstsammlungen, Kassel

Fig. 2

'Catalan Atlas'

1375

Abraham Cresques (d. 1387)

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Espagnol 30

Fig. 3

'Central Asian Caravan,' from the 'Catalan Atlas'

1375

Abraham Cresques (d. 1387)

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, Espagnol 30

Fig. 4

Gaignières–Fonthill Vase

China, Yuan dynasty, ca. 1300–40

Porcelain with bluish-white ('qingbai') glaze

This image is reproduced with the kind permission

of the National Museum of Ireland, Dublin

Fig. 5

Drawing of Gaignières–Fonthill Vase

Roger de Gaignières

Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS FR. 20070,

f. 8

Fig. 6

Table decoration

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, Vienna

Fig. 7
Ewer with armillary sphere of King Manuel I (c-17)
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China, Ming dynasty
Zhengde mark and period (1506–21)
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, 18 × 10.1 cm
Grupo Banco Espírito Santo; on loan to Museo–
Escola de Artes Decorativas Portuguesas da Fundação
Ricardo do Espírito Santo Silva, Lisbon

Fig. 8
Bowl
Ming dynasty
Fundação Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon

Fig. 9
‘Emblematic Columns’
Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), 1515
Pen and brown ink with watercolor, 29.6 × 17.2 cm
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Fig. 10
‘Madonna and Child’
Francesco Benaglio, ca. 1460–70
Tempera on panel transferred to canvas, 807 × 562 cm
Widener Collection
Image © 2007 Board of Trustees,
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

Fig. 11
Detail, ‘Feast of the Gods’
Giovanni Bellini, 1514
Oil on canvas, 170.2 × 188 cm
Widener Collection
Image © 2007 Board of Trustees, National Gallery
of Art, Washington, D.C., 1942.9.1(597)

THE PORTUGUESE PRESENCE IN THE ARTS AND CRAFTS OF CHINA

Regina Krah

Fig. 1
‘Saint Michael the Archangel’ (c-2)
Jacobo Niwa (Japan, China, 1570–1635)
Macao, China, ca. 1630
Oil on wood, 202 × 133 cm
Seminario de São José, Macao
(Not in exhibition)

Figure 2
Embroidered bedspread with red silk ground
Macao, 16th century
250 × 220 cm
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York,
Rogers Fund, 1975, inv.no.1975.208d
Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fig. 3
Bowl with grotesques (c-15)
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China, Ming dynasty,
Jiajing mark and period (1522–66)
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue
13.2 × 28.4 cm
S. & F. Aichele, Stuttgart, AI 07

Fig. 4
Pair of ewers (c-22)
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province, China,
Ming dynasty, late 16th or early 17th century
Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, 31 cm (h.)
© The Trustees of the British Museum, London,
OAF. 154

Fig. 5
Blue-and-white porcelain bowl with a two-masted ship
manned with sailors in front of a Chinese pavilion
Ming dynasty, 16th century,
36 cm (diam.)
Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul
From Regina Krah with Nurdan Erbahar, 1986,
‘Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum,’
Istanbul, ed. John Ayers. 3 vols, London:
Sotheby’s Publications, no.1081

Fig. 6
Blue-and-white porcelain dish with figures dressed
in long gowns and stiff hats on a pleasure barge
and in front of a city wall
Ming dynasty, 16th century
34.5 cm (diam.)
Topkapı Saray Museum, Istanbul
From Regina Krah with Nurdan Erbahar, 1986.
‘Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapı Saray Museum,’
Istanbul, ed. John Ayers. 3 vols, London:
Sotheby’s Publications, no.1167

Fig. 7
Rhinoceros horn cup with a sailing ship, inscribed
with the pen name of the famous art collector
Xiang Yuanbian (1525–1590) and later inscribed
by the Qianlong emperor (reigned 1736–95),
Ming dynasty, 16th century
22 cm (w.)
National Palace Museum, Taipei

Fig. 8
Embroidered and painted wall hanging depicting
‘The Revenge of Hecuba’
Ming dynasty, early 17th century
370 × 500 cm
Musée des Beaux Arts, Lyon
© MBA Lyon-Photo Alain Banet

Fig. 9
Astrolabe (c-23)
Imperial palace workshops, Beijing, China,
Qing dynasty, Kangxi period, late seventeenth century
Paper and gilt bronze, 32.2 cm (diam.)
The Palace Museum, Beijing

Fig. 10
Armillary sphere (c-26)
Ferdinand Verbiest, S. J. (1623–1688)
Imperial palace workshops, Beijing, China,
Kangxi period, dated 1669
Silver gilt, zitan wood
37.3 cm (diam. of sphere), 35.8 cm (h. of pedestal)
The Palace Museum, Beijing, GU141931

Fig. 11
Tapestry fragment with armillary sphere
and Buddhist symbols (c-29)
Beijing, China, Ming dynasty,
late 16th or early 17th century
Silk and gold thread, 138 × 45 cm
Liaoning Provincial Museum, Shenyang City

ARRIVAL OF THE SOUTHERN BARBARIANS

JAPAN’S SOUTHERN
BARBARIAN SCREENS
Yukio Lippit

Fig. 1
‘World map and representations of forty nationalities’
(p-71)
Japan, 17th century
Colors and gold on paper, 167 × 349 cm
Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo, 9106

Fig. 2
‘Scenes of Western traders and missionaries in Japan’
(J-35)
Japan, mid-17th century
Colors on paper, 145 × 162.6 cm (each)
Idemitsu Museum of Arts, Tokyo, 2720

Fig. 3
‘Southern Barbarians in Japan’ (J-30, J-31)
Japan, Edo period, 17th century
Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, color, and gold
on paper
153 × 331 cm (each)
Purchase, Freer Gallery of Art, F1965.23, F1965.22

Fig. 4
‘Chinese and Nanban Ships’ (J-36, J-37)
Japan, 17th century
Pair of six-panel folding screens; ink, color, and gold
on paper
155.8 × 360.4 cm (each)
Kyushu National Museum
Photo: Fujimoto Kempachi

Fig. 5
‘Departure of the Southern Barbarians’ (J-23)
Kanō Naizen (1570–1616)
Japan, early 17th century
Ink, color, and gold on gilded paper; 162.5 × 364 cm
Agency for Cultural Affairs, Government of Japan
Photo: Kodaira Tadao

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Jay A. Levenson is director, International Program, Museum of Modern Art, and organized *Circa 1492: Art in the Age of Exploration* (1991) and *The Age of the Baroque in Portugal* (1993) for the National Gallery of Art.

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